THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM OF MUGHAL INDIA

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(1556–1707)

BY

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TO

MY FATHER

PROFESSOR MOHAMMAD HABIB

PREFACE

This book is a revised version of a doctoral thesis with the same title presented at the University of Oxford in 1958. Before I went to Oxford I had been asked to work on the subject under the Research Scheme of the Department of History, Aligarh University; and the revision I have carried out after submitting the thesis is due in large measure to the study of additional source-material to which I obtained access through the facilities provided by the Research Scheme. In the course of revision I have entirely re-written Chapters IV, V and VIII.

Only a few words are needed to explain the scope of this book. By using the term 'Agrarian System' in the title, I have wished to lay stress on the fact that the book is concerned not only with land-revenue administration, although that is in itself important, but also with agrarian economy and social structure. The geographical limits of the study are defined by the words 'Mughal India', which would exclude the Mughal possessions beyond the Indus (forming the Kabul and, at times, the Qandahar provinces) and the Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkunda (not annexed to the Empire till 1686 and 1687). In other words, the regions covered by the study are Northern India and what I have called 'Mughal Dakhin', comprising the territories of the Kingdoms of Berar, Khandesh, Ahmadnagar and Bidar (annexed by 1636 or, at any rate, by 1657). The two dates put in the title, namely, 1556 and 1707, the first the year of Akbar's accession and the second that of Aurangzeb's death, limit the period of the study to the classical period of the Mughal Empire. But needless to say, the two limits are not to be taken literally, and I have freely used evidence from the earlier parts of the 16th and the 18th centuries.

I have undertaken this study in the belief, firstly, that a clarification of the problems of agrarian history would generally help in improving our understanding of the general, specially political, history of the period; and, secondly, that there is much to be added to our present state of knowledge of the subject from the mass of Persian MS. material such as contemporary administrative records, letters, administrative and accountancy manuals and the lesser known chronicles, besides the better known historical works, and the European sources. I should add that,

while I have at many places found myself in disagreement with W. H. Moreland and Dr. P. Saran largely on the basis of my study of these sources, it would have been almost impossible for me to utilise this material without the benefit of their pioneer works on the economy and administration of the period.

It is a pleasant duty for me to acknowledge the kindness of my teachers and friends from whose help and advice I have benefited. I am deeply grateful to Dr. C. Collin Davies, my Supervisor at Oxford, who allowed me the greatest latitude in respect of my views, but insisted upon precise expression and careful documentation. I can never forget the understanding and care with which he examined my work. From Prof. S. A. Rashid, former Head of the Department of History, Aligarh, I received my first introduction to the subject and constant encouragement in my studies. Prof. Rashid kindly went through the whole typescript of the book and suggested a number of changes in the text. He also lent me photographs and transcripts of Persian documents from the U.P. Central Record Office, Allahabad, which were in his possession. In the course of preparing the book for publication I obtained guidance and help from Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, among whose pupils I have the privilege to count myself. It has been a source of pleasure and inspiration to work with my colleagues in the Department of History, Aligarh, who have allowed me to derive benefit from their work on related fields. I am particularly thankful to my friend and colleague, Dr. M. Athar Ali, who has generously helped me in seeing the book through the press. The discussions which I have had with Mr. B. R. Grover of the Delhi University, who is currently engaged in writing a detailed study of the Mughal land-revenue administration, have also been of considerable help to me. I will always cherish a grateful and happy memory of the kindness and affection my wife and I received from Miss Wenona Keane and Dr. Brigid Keane during the three years of our stay in England in which I prepared my thesis. I am, finally, grateful to my wife for correcting the entire typescript of the book and for her help in elucidating certain economic terms and ideas. None of those who have helped me are, of course, responsible for any errors that remain.

I am indebted to the authorities and staff of the Bodleian Library (Oxford), the British Museum (London), the Central Record Office (U.P.) (Allahabad), the India Office Library (London), the Indian Institute Library (Oxford), the John Rylands Library (Manchester), the

[illegible] Library (Aligarh), the Research Library, Department [illegible] (A[illegible]arh), and the Royal Asiatic Society (London), for allow[illegible] use [of] their collections; and to the authorities of the Edinburgh [illegible] Li[br]ary for lending certain MSS. to the Bodleian for my [illegible]

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IRFAN HABIB

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[Post]script. I am very grateful to Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, Mr. Moonis Raza [and] Mrs. K. N. Hasan, for permitting me to put in my book the Map of [the] Mughal Empire in 1605, which is based on their researches.

I.H.

NOTE

In the matter of transliteration I have generally followed the system of spelling and diacritical marks adopted by Steingass in his *Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, because it has seemed to me to suit best the standard Indo-Persian pronunciation. Since in Steingass's system, 'd' and 't' without points represent the soft sounds of the corresponding letters in Persian, and not the sounds of these letters in English, I have used 'ḍ' and 'ṭ' to represent the harder sounds in Indian languages which are identical with those of the English letters. For the harder 'r' sound, 'ṛ' has been used. I regret (for it is too late now to rectify the error) that I have not consistently followed Steingass in his treatment of the Arabic article *al*, which is always pronounced *ul* in India when it joins two words. In such words as *k͟hud, k͟hush,* where the exact transliteration should be *k͟hwud, k͟hwush,* I have adopted the simpler, though inexact, spelling.

It will be seen that diacritical marks have been generally put on a Persian or Indian term or word whenever it first occurs in the text, and then onwards only occasionally. They have not been put upon well-known personal or place names, except in the Index.

It may be noted for the sake of avoiding confusion that the words 'central regions' or 'central provinces', wherever used in this book, refer to the central portions of the Mug͟hal Empire, i.e. the country around, or the provinces of, Agra and Dehli. But by 'Central India' is invariably meant, as is usual, the territory largely covered by the present State of Madhya Pradesh.

The reader may kindly refer to the Additions & Corrections placed just before the Index, for the removal of misprints and certain changes of substance. His attention is particularly invited to a misprint on p. 211, footnote 63, Table I, which vitiates the significance of the Table, and which should be corrected by reference to the Additions & Corrections.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

1. EXTENT OF CULTIVATION

The cultivated expanse of the Great Plains, the valleys and hill-slopes of India has been created in the course of a stubborn struggle against Nature, which the Indian peasant has carried on for thousands of years. Forest and waste have retreated, recovered and again retreated, in endless cycles, before his hoe and plough. Every period in Indian history has had, therefore, its 'forest line' and desert frontier, besides its political and military boundaries. For the study of Indian history in any of its aspects, this boundary-line between Man's domain and Nature is obviously of great importance. It defined the area under cultivation and, therefore, was always an index of the growth of population in the different parts of the country. It might equally be related to the existence of particular systems of production and economic organization. Hoe-cultivation, migratory agriculture, permanently settled cultivation were all historical stages in the evolution of productive techniques, largely determined by the extent to which virgin land was available for fresh occupation in the respective periods.

Our study of the agrarian system of Mughal India should, therefore, begin with a survey of the extent of the cultivated area in our period. General statements made on this subject by contemporaries are unfortunately not very helpful, for they are either vague or exaggerated and quite often mutually inconsistent.[1] There is sometimes information in our sources about the state of cultivation in particular

1. Three historians of Akbar's reign declare with one voice that the whole of the land in his Empire was fit for cultivation ('Ārif Qandahāri 131; *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, III, p. 545; *Ā'īn*, II, p. 5-6). Sujān Rā'i, 11, a late 17th century writer, says more cautiously that "most of the land" of India was cultivable. But Mu'tamad Ḵẖān in his description of the Empire at Akbar's death tells us that "according to the saying of the sages" only one-third of the total area was to be regarded as cultivable. He actually goes so far as to give us an estimate of the cultivable area on this basis. But he might well have spared himself. For he first establishes the total area by assuming the Empire to have been a rectangle and by taking his distances between the farthest points in the Empire for the sides of this rectangle. In working out the area from this, he makes the further error

areas and here, perhaps, we are on surer ground. But most important of all, statistical records of measured areas and numbers of villages have survived from our period and it is possible to use these as the basis for our survey.

The chapter entitled "Account of the Twelve Provinces" in Abū-l Fazl's *A'īn-i Akbarī*, contains detailed area statistics for all North Indian provinces, except Bengal, Thatta and Kashmir. These statistics are assigned to the 40th year of Akbar's reign, or 1595-6. For each of the provinces a figure is given in *bīghas* for what is called *zamīn-i paimūda* or 'measured land'. Then in the Tables, under a column headed *arāẓī* or 'land', an entry is provided against each *sarkār* (the territorial division of a province or *ṣūba*); following this, figures are entered separately for all the *maḥals* or *parganas* composing the *sarkar*.[2] The great record of the *A'īn* remained unique in Mughal times, but statistics, though of a more summary kind, were compiled in the later years of Aurangzeb. One table surviving in two or three manuscripts, gives the *raqba* or area statistics for each province, together with the number of villages, divided into those measured and unmeasured.[3] In

of equating 12,000, instead of 5,000 *gaz* with the *kuroh*. (*Iqbāl-nāma*, II, Or. 1834, f. 231b.)

As for the area actually cultivated Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad says, in explanation of the object of Akbar's administrative measures in 1575, that "most of the vast, inhabited area of Hindustan was lying uncultivated." (*Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, p. 300). Yet Chandrabhān, writing in the last years of Shahjahan, says that most of the cultivable area in Hindustan was in fact under the plough. (*Chār Chaman*, Add. 16,863, f. 32a.)

2. "The Account of the Twelve Provinces" with its statistical tables will be found in Blochmann's ed. of the *Ain*, I, pp. 386-595. The year to which the statistics refer is stated on p. 386. In using Blochmann's ed. for these statistics, two things should be remembered. First, he has not reproduced the tables in their original form and has removed the columns with their headings altogether. Thus the figures in *bighas* appear against each *sarkar* and *pargana* in his text without any explicit indication of what they represent. Secondly he had only one good MS. among the several on which he based his text; besides the errors which he took on from some of his MSS, there are also a number of typographical errors in the figures reproduced by him. I have, therefore, collated his entire text of the statistics with the corresponding portions of two of the earliest and best MSS. of the *Ain*, Add. 7652 & Add. 6552. Often the corrections resulting from this collation have been silently assumed in this book, unless the alterations are too large to be left unexplained.

3. This record is preserved in two MSS., Bodl. Fraser 86, ff. 57b-60b, and Edinburgh 224, ff. 1b-3b, 8a-11b. Figures from it have been abstracted and reproduced in Or. 1286, ff. 310b-343a.

a work known as the *Chahār Gulshan*, written by Rāi Chaturman in 1759-60, information about the area and villages is also provided separately for each *sarkar*.[4] Because its figures quite often conform closely to those given for the provinces in the statistical table mentioned above, it seems certain that the *Chahar Gulshan* has really reproduced statistics prepared in the last years of Aurangzeb, or very shortly afterwards.

The area figures in the *Ain* are given in the *bigha-i Ilāhī*, while the unit used in the later statistics is presumably the *bīgha-i daftarī*, which was two-thirds of a *bigha-i Ilahi* and came into use in the reign of Shahjahan. The evidence brought together in Appendix A of this book suggests that the *bigha-i Ilahi* was 0·59 acre, or, for all practical purposes, three-fifths of an acre.

The area figures of Mughal times and of recent times can thus be all converted into common units of area. But a proper comparison is impossible unless we know with some certainty what the 'measured area' of the Mughal statistics represented. The Mughal administration measured the land primarily for assessing the revenue upon it. But as we shall see in a later Chapter (VI), the method of revenue-assessment by measurement was by no means universal. Indeed, the fact that the statistics of Aurangzeb's reign, while generally showing considerable increase in area over *Ain*'s figures, put down a large number of villages as unmeasured in all provinces, makes it clear that neither at the time of the *Ain*, nor when these statistics were compiled, did measurement cover the entire revenue-paying area in any province. In other words, both the statistics are incomplete. Only in the case of the later statistics, can the stated proportion between measured and unmeasured villages offer some guidance about the total area of land that, according to the standards of the time, could have been measured.[5]

These statistics as established after a collation of the MSS. are set out in tabular form on p. 4.

4. The *Chahar Gulshan* has not been printed, but the geographical and statistical portion was translated by Sarkar in his *India of Aurangzeb*. Bodl. Elliot 366 is not only the earliest among the catalogued MSS. (cf. Storey, No. 631), but is also probably the most authoritative, being a copy of the original work and not of its later recension. Its reading has generally been preferred here to that of Sarkar's *India of Aurangzeb*, which on the admission of the translator, was based on a carelessly transcribed manuscript and contains many errors in the statistical portions.

5. This is possible only in respect of provinces. The *Chahar Gulshan* does not provide us with area and village statistics for *sarkars*, but only gives for them

VILLAGE AND AREA STATISTICS OF AURANGZEB'S REIGN

Province	Total Number of Villages	Unmeasured Villages	Measured Villages	Measured Area in *bighas* (*Daftari*)
The Empire, excluding Bijapur and Haidarabad ..	4,01,567	2,01,564	(2,00,003)	29,57,42,337
Bengal ..	1,12,788	1,11,250	1,538	3,34,775
Orissa ..			26,768	5,95,379
Bihar ..	55,376	24,036	31,340	1,27,53,156
Ilahabad ..	47,607	2,262	45,345	1,97,07,783
Awadh ..	(52,691)	18,849	33,842	1,90,27,308
Agra ..	30.180	2,877	27,303	4,01,00,551
Dehli ..	45,088	1,576	43,512	6,01,42,375
Lahor ..	27,761	3,192	24,569	2,43,19,376
Multan ..	(9,256)	4,559	4,697	44,54,203
Thatta ..	1,324	1,324		
Kabul ..	1,316	1,316		
Kashmir ..	5,352	5,352		
Ajmer ..	7,905	2,873	5,032	1,74,09,684
Gujarat ..	10,370	6,446	3,924	1,27,49,374
Malawa ..	18,678	11,742	6,936	1,29,64,538
Khandesh ..	6,339	3,507	2,832	88,59,325
Berar ..	10,878	137	10,741	2,00,18,113
Aurangabad ..	8,263	718	7,545	2,34,73,295
Bidar ..	4,526	1,007	3,519	79,06,193

Note: The figures in this Table are drawn from Fraser 86, ff. 57b-60b and Edinburgh 224, ff. 1b-3b, 8a-11b. In case of variants, Or. 1286, ff. 310b-343a and *Chahar Gulshan*, Bodl. Elliot 366, have been used to help in establishing the original figures. In case of village statistics, readings of individual figures can be checked by comparing the total given in the MSS. with the number of unmeasured and measured villages added together. Since almost all the variants are quite obviously due to errors in transcription or looseness in writing the *raqam* notation in the individual MSS, it has been thought unnecessary to set them out in detail. The figures for the villages may be treated as generally definitive, while in the area figures allowance should be made for possible variations in the last five digits.

As to the kind of land covered by measurement in the Mughal period, Moreland has suggested that we should identify it with the 'total cropped area' of modern statistics.[6] It included this certainly, but we should speak more properly, perhaps, of the area sown, since the measured area also included the *nābūd*, or area affected by crop-failure.[7] However, measurement does not seem to have been confined to land actually cultivated and was extended also to land regarded as cultivable.[8] Indeed, in the reign of Aurangzeb we hear of it almost as a standing complaint that the local officials only sent returns for the cultivable land and not, separately, for the land actually cultivated.[9] Some uncultivable land, such as the land under habitation, tanks, *nālas*,

the total numbers of villages, without specifying how many of them were measured. The number of *mahals* which did not return any village or area statistics is, however, often indicated for individual *sarkars*.

The conclusions drawn by Moreland after a painstaking comparison of the *Ain's* statistics with modern cropped area statistics, in respect of the Western and Eastern Districts of the United Provinces, in the *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, II, 1919, Part i, pp. 1-39, and summarily stated in respect of other parts of Northern India, in his *India at the Death of Akbar*, 20-22, must be substantially modified for the simple reason that they are based on the assumption that the *Ain's* figures cover the entire area cultivated at the time. If a region did not have a large area figure assigned to it, it cannot necessarily mean that it was backward in cultivation: it is at least as likely that the cultivated area had not been measured.

6. *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, II (1919), Part i, pp. 3, 17. The total area cropped is obtained by adding together the land under each of the seasonal crops of the year, while the *net* area cropped is the total reduced by 'the area cropped more than once'.

7. For the measurement of cultivated land, see the Regulations drafted by Todar Mal in the 27th year of Akbar: "It is known that in the *parganas* of the *Khāliṣa* the (recorded) area (*arāẓi*) is less every year. (Therefore,) when the cultivated land has once been measured, they should, increasing it (the area measured) from year to year, establish a partial *nasaq*". (*A.N.*, III, p. 382; Add. 27, 247 f. 331b). For inclusion of *nābūd*, see the Regulations for the Bitikchi in the *Ain*, I, p. 288.

It may be remarked that in the more recent of modern statistics, figures are given not for the area cropped, but for the area sown.

8. The measurement of cultivable land is indicated in the draft of the *muwāzana-i dah-sāla* in the *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i 'Ālamgīrī*, f. 36b, and in the extant records of the village and *pargana* of Papal (Berar) of 1682-3 (1090 Fasli), described and analysed by Y. K. Deshpande, *IHRC*, 1929, pp. 84-86. See also the figures ascribed to Todar Mal's survey of Gujarat in *Mir'āt*, I, p. 25, where the area of the cultivable, not cultivated, land is entered.

9. Aurangzeb's *farmān* to Rasikdās Karorī; & *parwāna* in the *Nigārnāma-i-Munshī*, f. 99a, Bodl., ff. 74b-75a, Ed. 77.

and jungle, was also measured.[10] But we may assume that such measurement was confined to the limits of villages and settlements and not extended to large forests or wastes, so that it must normally have accounted for a very small portion of the measured area.

The measured area of the Mughal records then corresponds broadly to the area covered by three categories in modern agricultural statistics: 'The area cropped (or sown)', 'current fallows' and 'cultivable wastes other than fallows'. It is obvious that while the land actually cropped can be precisely determined, the word 'culturable' is open to many definitions and it is difficult to say whether the Mughal and modern statisticians used the same criteria, if, indeed they have either of them used any uniform criteria at all.[11] Nevertheless it would seem likely that the tendency of local officials, both in the Mughal and the British periods would have been to classify only that waste as cultivable, which stood on the margin of cultivation under the existing conditions rather than what might be ideally cultivable, that is, cultivable if, for example, large forests were cleared or canals brought from a distance. Generally speaking, therefore, the area of cultivable waste so determined will usually bear a more or less fixed proportion to the area actually cultivated. If this view is accepted, a comparison of the measured area statistics of the Mughal period with the figures for the cultivable area from recent times will become useful, for then it can

10. The types of uncultivable land mentioned in the text are specified in the *Dastur-o' 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 36b, where to these is also added garden land. Excluding the garden land, the area classed as uncultivable amounts to just 4·1 per cent. of the total measured area. In the records of the Papal *pargana* however, the uncultivable land is shown as amounting to one-fourth of the whole. But it consisted largely (430 out of 505 *netans*) of grazing land (*IHRC*, 1929, pp. 84-85). The grazing land might not really have been uncultivable, but placed in that category because it was protected from any encroachments. It has been authoritatively estimated that grazing lands cover three-fourths of the lands classed as 'culturable waste' in modern statistics, while they cover only a fourth of the waste not available for cultivation. (Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, *Report*, p. 177). In the *Mirat*, I, p. 25, the uncultivable portion of the measured land, consisting of "the area under habitation, jungle, &c." is shown as amounting to nearly a third of the whole measured area. It is not clear if it included grazing land. If it did not include it, there would seem to have been little reason for measuring such vast areas of wasteland.

11. The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, *Report*, 604-5, points out that the division between the categories 'culturable waste' and 'land not available for cultivation' in modern statistics is purely arbitrary and the former sometimes includes land which is not really cultivable.

be taken as a rough indication of the changes that have taken place in the actual extent of cultivation in the intervening period.

There is far less danger of confusion in comparing the numbers of villages given in the statistics of the two periods. Villages are usually visibly distinct units and one may expect that they could always be counted with precision.[12] However, the average size of the village, in population and area, might vary from locality to locality and, what is more important for us, from century to century. A comparison of the village statistics alone, therefore, cannot directly help us to form an estimate of the cultivated area in the Mughal period. But when set alongside other information, especially the area statistics, it might have some corroborative value.

For any comparative study of the Mughal and modern statistics, it is essential that the boundaries of the territorial units of the Mughal Empire be accurately determined. At the moment, detailed studies are available for the location of *mahals* listed in the *Ain* under the provinces of the Gangetic Valley.[13] But for the rest of the Empire, the boundaries of the provinces and *sarkars* can only be laid down very roughly, and sometimes even tentatively, on the basis of the better known or easily identifiable places in the *Ain's* lists.[14] For the Dakhin

12. The statement about villages being always distinct units is not, perhaps, true for all parts of India. Bengal might be an exception, for instance. Modern censuses also imply a distinction between revenue and actual villages; but they themselves give figures only for the latter.

13. For the portions of the Mughal provinces of Dehli, Agra, Ilahabad and Awadh, lying in the British 'North-western Provinces' (excluding 'Oudh'), see Elliot, *Memoirs & c. of the North-western Provinces*, ed. Beames, II, pp. 82-146 and 203-6 (with maps facing p. 203).

For Awadh: J. Beames, 'On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar', Part i, *JASB, LIII* (1884), pp. 215-32 (with map).

For Bihar: *Ibid*, Part ii, *JASB*, LIV (1885), pp. 162-82 (with map).

For Bengal: Blochmann, 'Contributions to the Geography & History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period)', Part I, *JASB*, XLII (1873), pp. 209-310; J. Beames, 'Notes on Akbar's Subahs', *JRAS*, 1896, pp. 83-136 (with map).

For Orissa: J. Beames in *JRAS*, 1896, pp. 743-65 (with map) & Manmohan Chakravarti in *JASB, N.S.*, XII, pp. 29-56.

14. For the Panjab, Dr. I. R. Khan's 'Historical Geography of the Punjab and Sind', *Muslim University Journal*, II, No. 1, January 1934, pp. 31-55, is helpful, though the contribution was not completed and the maps referred to in it have not been printed.

A series of maps of all the provinces of Akbar's Empire have now been drawn up in the Department of History, Aligarh University, under the supervision of Prof. S. N. Hasan and Mr. Moonis Raza. They show provincial and *sarkar*

provinces, an 18th century work, the *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Shāhinshāhī*,[15] has also been used here, since it gives lists of *mahals* in territory added to the Empire after the time of the *Ain.*

It should also be borne in mind that the boundaries of Mughal territorial divisions did not remain fixed. Several important changes are known to have taken place, though they were more numerous in the Dakhin, the scene of constant military operations and piecemeal annexations, than in Northern India.[16] These must be taken into account especially when referring to the statistics of Aurangzeb's reign.

boundaries on the basis of the *mahal*-lists of the *Ain.* It is hoped to publish them soon in the form of an atlas.

15. Add. 22,831. This gives *mahal*-wise statistics of villages and revenue. It also contains certain references to events of administrative history not easily found elsewhere.

16. The following changes may be specially noted:

The *sarkar* of Kamrup was added to Bengal, presumably after Mīr Jumla's Assam campaign (cf. *Chahar Gulshan,* f.53a, Sarkar 133). Shā'ista Khān's conquest of Chatgaon (Chittagong) in 1666 implied no formal change, for the territory (as a *sarkar*) was already claimed for the Empire in the *Ain.* Orissa, shown in the *Ain* as a *sarkar* (really a sub-*suba*) of Bengal, begins to appear as a separate province in the revenue records of Shahjahan's reign subsequent to the *Majālisu-s Salāṭīn,* ff. 114a-115b.

For some time the sarkar of Jaunpur seems to have been transferred from the province of Ilahabad to Bihar (cf. *ibid; & Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign* p. 112) but by c. 1659, it had been restored to the former (cf. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri,* f. 114a).

The *sarkars* of Tijara and Narnaul were transferred from the Agra province to Dehli before the close of Shahjahan's reign (*Ibid.,* f. 109a-b; *Chahar Gulshan,* f. 35b, Sarkar 125-6).

The *sarkar* (or sub-*suba*) of Thatta was still included in the Multan province at the time of the *Majālisu-s Salāṭīn,* but, like Orissa, begins to appear as a separate province in subsequent documents. One of its former *sarkars,* Siwistan, however, remained with Multan (cf. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri,* ff. 110b-111a; *Chahar Gulshan,* f. 44a-b, Sarkar, 130-131).

Kashmir's position as a *sarkar* or sub-*suba* of Kabul, seems to have been from the beginning a mere matter of form. But the revenue table in the *Majālisu-s Salāṭīn* is the last document of its kind in which it appears as an appendage of Kabul.

The *sarkar* of Sirohi was a part of the Ajmer province at the time of the *Ain.* At an uncertain date it was divided into the *sarkars* of Bansballa, Dongarpur and Sirohi, which were all transferred to Gujarat (cf. *Mirat,* Supp., 225-6).

In his 8th regnal year Shahjahan ordered the transfer from Malawa of all its territories south of the Narbada river, viz. the *sarkars* of Baijagarh and Nandurbar and most of the *mahals* of Handia, to Khandesh (Lāhorī, I, ii, pp. 62-3; Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, ff. 60a-61a, Or. 1671, ff. 33b-34a; *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Shahinshahi,*

Though complete accuracy must await the time when all or almost all the *mahals* or *parganas* of Mughal times are plotted on the map, the margin of error can still be very greatly reduced by considering only large blocks of territory, placed within limits that can be defined with relatively greater exactitude. In most cases it can be so arranged that the area of the doubtful territory between two such blocks is almost insignificant in comparison to the area known to be definitely covered by either of the blocks. Thus, though it may be difficult at present to establish accurately the boundary between the Mughal provinces of Lahor and Multan, the limits of the territory covered by the Lahor province and the *sarkars* of Multan and Dipalpur of the Multan province can be laid down with tolerable certainty. Even this case is exceptional and most Mughal provinces and often groups of *sarkars* within them, can be separately treated as blocks and their boundaries put on the map without very serious danger of error.

From modern statistics one is entitled to demand details as well as completeness. Agricultural statistics and census returns for divisions below the level of districts have been published.[17] But in the present study, for the reason that we are only considering large areas, the series of *Agricultural Statistics*, giving annual returns for districts, has been considered adequate.[18] For villages the numbers given district-wise in the census reports have been used. Both the agricultural statistics and censuses are often incomplete, especially in the earlier years, in respect of the princely states. In such cases information from later returns, or from the *Imperial Gazetteer*, has been drawn upon. It will be noticed

ff. 29a, 32a, 34b). Baglana, after being annexed in 1638, was treated as a separate unit (*mulk*) for some time, but in or by 1658 was attached to Khandesh as a *sarkar* (Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, ff. 60b-61a, 87b-88a, Or. 1671, ff. 33b-34a, 48a; *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Shahinshahi*, f. 29b).

Shahjahan separated the *sarkar* of Telingana from Berar and made it into a separate province, probably in the 8th regnal year (Lahori, I, ii, 62-63, 205); but towards the end of the reign, it was merged with the newly annexed territory of Bidar to form the province of Bidar (*Dastur-al 'Amal-i Shahinshahi*, f. 80a).

Northern Konkan or the Talkokan-i Niẓāmul Mulkī, had been ceded to Bijapur upon the final conquest of Ahmadnagar. But it was attached to the province of Aurangabad, apparently, after Aurangzeb's 1657 campaign against Bijapur. (*Ibid*, ff. 77-b-78a; *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 262-3).

17. The best source where these will be found, if one is not interested in statistics of any particular year, is the *District Gazetteers*.

18. *The Agricultural Statistics of India*, issued by the Department of Revenue & Agriculture (and successors), Government of India, published at uneven intervals.

that as a rule, our attempt has been to use figures from the period around the beginning of the present century.[19] This has been done partly because Moreland, who was the pioneer in such comparative study, worked with the figures of this period and partly under the conviction that this was the time when India felt the full economic effects of British rule in their most unalloyed form and so provides a good vantage point for comparison with conditions in the best days of the earlier Empire.

For our regional survey, Bengal as the easternmost province of the Empire, may best serve as the starting point. The *Ain* does not provide any area statistics for this province and only an insignificant number of its villages is entered as 'measured' in the statistics of Aurangzeb's reign. Excluding Kamrup, there were 109,923 villages under Aurangzeb,[20] compared with 116,153 in the corresponding territory in 1881. It would, indeed, seem from contemporary statements that most of the province was fully occupied.[21] Blochmann came to the conclusion, from an examination of the *mahals* listed in the *Ain*, that cultivation then extended as far down to the deltaic Sundarbans as in his own day (1873).[22] The eastern parts of the delta were, however, mercilessly ravaged and depopulated for the greater part of our period by the Magh pirates.[23] An extensive resettlement in the Bāqirganj ('Backergunge') district began only after the successful expedition of 1665-6 against Arakan,[24] though the Sandwip Island had already been colonised by a rebel chieftain.[25] Further to the east the forests were probably considerably more extensive than now. In the Chātgāon ('Chittagong') territory, heavily overgrown with forest under the Maghs,[26] the extent of reclamation under the Mughals could only have been

19. The Agricultural Statistics mostly used are of 1899-1900, 1909-10 and 1920-21 and the Censuses, of 1881, 1891 and 1901. The later returns have been used either because the earlier ones were incomplete or were not easily available.

20. Both Aurangzeb's statistics and the *Chahar Gulshan* agree as to the total number of villages in the province, viz. 112,788. From this the figure for the *sarkar* of Kamrup, whose limits are uncertain, have been deducted, according as it appears in the Bodl. MS., f. 53a, of the *Chahar Gulshan.*

21. Manrique, II, 123; Bernier 202, 441-2.

22. *JASB*, XLII, 1873, pp. 227, 228, 231-2.

23. *Fathiya 'Ibriya*, ff. 122b, 123b, 164a-b, 173b; Bernier 175; Master, II, 66.

24. *JASB*, XLII, 1873, pp. 228, 229, 232.

25. *Fathiya 'Ibriya*, ff. 142 a-b, 143b, 144a, 150a.

26. *Ibid.*, f. 164a-b.

slight.[27] There were dense forests in the district of Sylhet down to the 18th century;[28] and it is possible that the Bhowal or Madhupur jungle covered a wider area.[29]

Unfortunately nothing can be deduced for Orissa with any confidence. Its exact limits in Mughal times cannot be laid down and modern statistics are also either incomplete, or, in their published form, not detailed enough for the large number of petty states in the region.

For Bihar, Aurangzeb's statistics show a measured area, which on conversion from *bigha-i daftari* to *bigha-i Ilahi,* amounts to more than three times the area shown in the *Ain.* But though over a half of the total number of villages are shown to have been measured, the area under Aurangzeb still came to a fourth of the total cultivable area recorded in 1899-1900. This may be explained partly by the possibility that the Mughals confined their measurement to villages in the narrow and densely populated belt along the Ganga, which would have been smaller in size than the villages lying outside it. But the difference in area would still seem to be substantial. The total number of villages asigned to the province was, however, practically equal to that counted by the 1881 Census. The *Chahar Gulshan* shows that this applied also to the case of the four *sarkars* situated wholly to the north of the Ganga, though the figure for the easternmost *sarkar,* Mungir, which also stretched across the river into the Tarai is much smaller. It is not to be imagined, therefore, that the Tarai forest held an undisturbed sway in this region. Some *mahals* listed in the *Ain* lie close under the hills in Nepal, while large areas more to the south are unaccounted for and were then apparently under forest. Large tracts have been cleared that lay then in wilderness, but there have been clearings too which are now overrun by the jungle.[30]

To the west of Bihar lay the two provinces of Ilāhābād ('Allahabad') and Awadh. The former covered large blocks of territory on both sides of the Ganga, stretching deep into Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand and also including the lower portions of the Ganga-Jamuna

27. *JRAS,* 1896, p. 127.
28. *Ain,* I, 391; and *JRAS,* 1896, p. 131.
29. The forest lay in the *sarkar* of Bazuha. Cf. *Ain,* I, 390; *JRAS,* 1896, p. 127.
30. Cf. Beames in *JASB,* LIV, p. 177. In the *sarkar* of Champaran the *mahal* of Simranu stretched into Nepal and the ruins of its capital lie "among dense jungle". The territory around Bettiah, on the other hand, is said to be a more recent clearing.

Doab and of the Ganga-Gaghra Doab. Awadh extended to its north, from the river Gandhak in the east to the Ganga in the west. Only a very small part of the cultivated area of the two provinces had been measured in the time of the *Ain*.[31] But measurement seems to have been considerably extended in the following century. Aurangzeb's statistics show that practically all the villages of the Ilahabad province were covered by measurement. The measured area then was about half the cultivable area reported in 1909-10. In Awadh well over a third of the villages were unmeasured and the measured area came to about two-fifths of the 1909-10 figure.

The numbers of the villages assigned to the two provinces are considerably larger than the numbers recorded in the 1881 Census—larger by one-third in Ilahabad and by one-half in Awadh. But the *sarkar* of Gorakhpur contained about the same number of villages as counted in its territory in 1881; that is to say, it did not have the same numerical superiority in villages over the present day, which the other parts of Awadh possessed.[32] It was, therefore, probably more backward in its cultivation. Indeed in the 47th year of Aurangzeb, the governor of Awadh described this *sarkar* as "absolutely desolate."[33] Much of it must have been covered by the Tarai forest. From a statement by Tavernier it would appear that all was forest north of the town of Gorakhpur.[34] And we know that the forest retained its old domain up till the beginning of the last century, when, at last, a general process of reclamation began in this region.[35] Across the Ghagra to

31. This can be seen from the fact that the *Ain* entered nearly 4 million *bighas* for Ilahabad and slightly over 10 million for Awadh, while the corresponding figures in the statistics of Aurangzeb's reign converted into the same units of area, are 13·1 and 12·7 million *bighas*. And over one-third of the villages of Awadh had not yet been measured in the time of Aurangzeb.

Moreland is, therefore, in obvious error when he takes the *Ain's* area figures to represent the entire cropped area and concludes that there has been since its time a five-fold increase in the cultivated area in the Ghagra-Ganga Doab and a 17-fold, possibly a 40-fold, increase in the Trans-Ghagra tract. (*Jour. U.P. Hist. Soc.*, II (1919), pp. 18ff).

32. The number of villages in the Gorakhpur *sarkar* is given in *Chahar Gulshan*, f. 59a. In Sarkar, 137, the figures for this *sarkar* have been interchanged with those for Lakhnau. The *Chahar Gulshan* enters no figure for area under Gorakhpur.

33. *Akhbarat* 47/320. The *sarkar* of Gorakhpur had been renamed Mu'azzamābād-Gorakhpur or simply, Mu'azzamabad.

34. Tavernier, II, p. 205.

35. Muftī Ghulām Ḥaẓarat in his Persian memoir of the Gorakhpur district, written in or before 1810, says that the city of Gorakhpur was surrounded on two

the south, a dense forest existed along the Tons river in the eastern parts of of the A'zamgarh district, where there are now no traces of any jungle.[36] But the belief that the forest extended so far as to interpose between Jaunpur and Ilahabad is based on a misunderstanding of the original evidence and we know otherwise that this could not have been the case.[37]

sides by forest and that "in certain *tappas* of the *parganas* of Aonla, Bansi, Silhat, Basti, Maghar and Gorakhpur, the country is extremely desolate, being uninhabited, owing to the scarcity of the peasants, or the jungle, or the inroads of wild elephants" (I.O. 4540, f. 1a). He adds, however, that the promulgation of lower revenue rates had begun attracting cultivators from the neighbouring areas (ff. 9b-10a). It may be noted that the Gorakhpur district at that time also included the present districts of Basti and Gonda.

36. *A.N.*, III, pp. 266-7. It would appear from this passage that the forest lay along the southern bank of the river Saruar, i.e. the Chhoti Sarju or Eastern Tons, between Muhammadabad and Mau.

37. The original evidence for the forest consists of the following statement by Finch, in the course of a description of various itineraries: "Thus much from Agra to Jounpore this way [i.e. via Lakhnau and Ajodhya]; from thence (returning that way to Agra) to Alabasse is 110 c. [*kos*], 30c. all which are thorow a continuall forest" (*Early Travels*, 177). It is possible to interpret this statement as meaning that the distance between Jaunpur and Ilahabad was 110 *kos*, of which 30 *kos* were covered by a forest. This is how De Laet, 65, in copying Finch, has read it. The interpretation put forward by the editor of *Early Travels*, and by Moreland, is however, that 110 *kos* represented the distance of the route from Jaunpur to Agra, via Ilahabad, and 30 *kos* that part of it which lay between Jaunpur and Ilahabad. This seems to have no justification in the text. Under either interpretation 110 *kos* would be an incredibly wrong estimate of the distance: It would be too high for the distance between Jaunpur and Illahabad and a "gross underestimate" for that between Jaunpur and Agra. There remains one possible interpretation. The bracketed phrase, "returning that way to Agra" might not define the next route to be described but might be an abbreviated way of saying that we should return the way already described, to Agra in order to start on a new itinerary from there. "Thence" would therefore refer to Agra and 110 *kos* would cover the distance between Agra and Ilahabad, certainly a reasonable estimate. The 30 *kos* of forest must, on this reading, be put somewhere on this route. It is probable that this is an exaggerated description of the ravines and barren country through which the established route passed between Bhognipur and Fatehpur (Mundy,89, 92).

From Mundy's evidence it is clear that the route between Ilahabad and Jaunpur could not have been through a continuous forest. He (p. 110) praises this route without any suggestion of any wilderness astride it, and regrets that in proceeding from Ilahabad to Patna, he adopted the alternative route running south of the Ganga.

The Agra province comprised the central Doab and a big block of territory on the right side of the Jamuna, both north and south of the Chambal river. Almost all its villages were under measurement during the reign of Aurangzeb, though the area recorded was about the same as in the *Ain* (making allowance for the transfer of Tijara and Narnaul to Dehli).[38] It amounted to about five-sixths of the cultivable area reported for the corresponding territory in 1909-10, so that the result for the whole province is practically the same as obtained by Moreland from a comparative study of the *Ain* and modern 'cropped area' statistics, relating to the central Doab.[39] The number of villages assigned to the province in Aurangzeb's record was about one-third larger than the figure derived from the 1881 and later censuses.[40]

The general picture of almost full occupation of the land, which these statistics present, is confirmed by Pelsaert, who says that in the Agra region there was a great shortage of firewood and trees were scarce.[41] The references to a desolate zone near the Jamuna, where tigers could be hunted[42] and rebellious peasants sought refuge,[43] apply to the famous ravines which are, perhaps, still as wild as then.

The province of Dehli consisted of three distinct geographical units: the country now known as Rohilkhand, the Upper Doab and the Hariana tract. By the reign of Aurangzeb practically all villages had been brought under measurement and the area recorded had grown by nearly a third over the *Ain's* figure (including Tijara and Narnaul). It came, moreover, to about four-fifths of the cultivable area returned in 1909-10. At the same time the number of villages in Aurangzeb's statistics was nearly one-half larger than that recorded in the 1881 Census. The *Chahar Gulshan* shows that, compared to the conditions today, there was no particular disparity between the Doab and Rohilkhand,

38. It should be noted that Blochmann's figure for the *sarkar* of Agra is incorrect. Add. 7652 shows it should be 9·1 million not 91·0 million *bighas*. The *Ain's* figure for the *sarkar* of Kalpi is some 14 'laks' lower than the total of the *pargana* figures under it. In the *Chahar Gulshan*, Sarkar 126-7 reads 'two karors' for the Agra *sarkar*, where the Bodl. MS., f. 39a, reads 'one karor' only and the latter is doubtless correct. Sarkar also interchanges the figures for Gwaliar and Koil.

39. *Jour. U.P. Hist. Soc.*, II (1919), p. 19.

40. The later censuses are used only where, in the case of 'native states', sufficient details are not given in the 1881 Census.

41. Pelsaert 48.

42. *T.J.*, 279; Lāhorī, I, ii, p. 5.

43. *T.J.*, 375-6.

such as Moreland in his study of the *Ain's* statistics has suggested.[44] There are some indications in contemporary literature which enable us to approximately trace the 'forest line' in the north. We know that the *mahal* of Gola in the sarkar of Badaun, which covered a very large tract in the present Shahjahanpur district and projected into Kheri, was almost unsurveyed at the time of the *Ain*. But by 1119 Fasli or c. 1711, it had come to comprise ten *tappas* with 1484 villages.[45] The explanation might be that the area was previously in the hands of local chiefs, but was now seized from them and brought under proper administration.[46] Yet it might equally indicate a real advance of cultivation at the expense of the forest. In any case the large number of settled villages assigned to this *mahal* in the later record, shows that the process of reclamation had in the main been completed here by the end of our period. Further to the north-west there seems to have been a ring of forest around Aonla,[47] which has now almost disappeared.[48] The Rampur territory was apparently well cleared,[49] but the plains of the Naini Tal district lay in dense forest down to the earlier part of

44. While Moreland found only a 'slight increase' in the Doab districts, he thought that the cropped area has increased by one-half in 'Badaun, etc.', and has doubled in Bareilly and nearly doubled in part of Bijnor district (*Jour. U.P. Hist. Soc.*, II (1919), pp. 18-19). The present districts of Badaun and Bareilly lay in the Badaun *sarkar*. The area given for the Badaun *sarkar* in the *Chahar Gulshan* is double that given in the *Ain* (after conversion into common units). This means that either the increase postulated by Moreland took place entirely in the 17th century, or, as seems more likely, the cultivated area had not been entirely measured in the time of the *Ain*. For the Badaun *sarkar* and other *sarkars* of Dehli only the Bodl. MS. of the *Chahar Gulshan*, ff. 35a-36a, should be used. The figures in Sarkar, 124-6, are very defective and must be set aside.

45. '*Qanungo* papers' cited by Elliot, *Memoirs, &c.*, ii, pp. 167-8.

46. A battle between a *zamindar* and local *jagirdars* in the *zila'* or country of Gola and Kānt (Shahjahanpur) in the reign of Shahjahan is referred to in Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 183b, Or. 1671, f. 90a.

47. Badā'ūnī, as cited by Elliot, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 150. I have not been able to trace the statement in the original owing to the fact that Elliot, using a MS., has not given the page reference. He observes that Badauni must have greatly exaggerated in saying that the forest surrounded Aonla on all sides for 24 *kurohs*. The measured areas assigned to Aonla and the surrounding *mahals* in the *Ain* do not also lend any support to the belief that a large forest was in existence in the area.

48. It has survived in name, however, for Circle III of the Aonla *pargana* is known as the 'Aonla jungle', which now has "large areas of dhak jungle". (Moreland, *Agricultural Conditions of the United Provinces & Districts*: Note on Bareilly, p. 5).

49. Elliot, *op.cit.*, ii, p. 138.

the 18th century.[50] The Dun valley, on the other hand, contained "inhabited villages and *mahals*" and a certain amount of peasant population.[51]

Both in the Doab and the Hariana tract the role of canal irrigation became important by the closing decades of the last century. The area thus irrigated in 1909-10 was about one-fifth of the net cropped area of the Upper Doab and about one-tenth that of Hariana. But the canal system has provided more a safeguard against drought and a means of improving the crops, than a means of extending cultivation.[52] This might explain why the cultivated area has not materially increased in this region, and though the prospect is now changing for an immense tract as the Bhakra-Nangal scheme gets under way, it is still true to say that large areas in Hariana are neglected simply for lack of water.[53]

It is, in fact, further to the west, in the Indus plains, that the modern canal system has brought about a fundamental change. Here, the Mughal province of Lahor covered the northern portion of the Panjab in its strict geographical sense. To the south of it stretched the province of Multan, extending down to the delta in the time of the *Ain*, but later on only to below Sehwan. The measured area of the former does not show any noticeable alteration between the *Ain* and the statisics of Aurangzeb's reign, when nine-tenths of the villages are shown to have been measured. In the Multan province, the practice of measurement was apparently abandoned in the *sarkars* of Multan and Bhakkar, but almost all the villages of the Dipalpur *sarkar* had come under measurement by the later years of our period.[54] Taking, then,

50. Elliot, *op.cit.*, ii, pp. 150-51, citing the testimony of two travellers of the period, Yar Muhammad and Tieffenthaler about the country around and beyond Kashipur and Rudarpur. It is to be observed that when Elliot says that in 'the Mahomedan histories' "all beyond Amroha, Lakhnor and Aonla is spoken of as a desert (*sic!*) which the Imperial troops fear to penetrate", he has probably only the period of the Dehli Sultans in mind. This line was well breached by the time of the *Ain* as a glance at Elliot's own map would show. Moreland accepted this statement as applying also to the Mughal times, but suggested certain modifications (*Jour. U.P. Hist. Soc.*, II, 1919, p. 20).

51. Waris, *a*: f. 49a; *b*: f. 142b-143b.

52. Cf. Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, *Report*, p. 325.

53. Thevenot, p. 68, says of "Dehly" that "The Ground about it is excellent, where it is not neglected, but in many parts it is".

54. This is based upon a comparison of the provincial total in Aurangzeb's statistics and the provincial and *sarkar* figures in the *Chahar Gulshan*, f. 44a-b, Sarkar 130.

the Lahor province and the Dipalpur *sarkar* together, we find that the area recorded under them amounted to even less than half the cultivable area of the corresponding districts and states in 1909-10. There is an interesting tradition preserved by a late 17th century historian to the effect that the Panjab had been grievously laid waste and depopulated by the successive invasions of the Mongols and that a recovery began only under the Lodis, when, for example, the town of Batala was founded in the Upper Bāri Doab in a clearing amidst wasteland and forest.[55] And although the province enjoyed a period of exceptional peace and security under the Mughals,[56] it is not unlikely that much of the effects of the desolation still remained. Moreover, besides the periodic havoc caused by uncontrolled rivers, when in flood, the Bias and Sutlej rivers had created in the region of Dipalpur an extensive waste and forest, known as the Lakhī jungle.[57] The extent to which the canals are responsible for the change since those days may be seen from the fact that the proportion of land irrigated by government canals in the districts and states of the British "Punjab", lying within the Mughal provinces of Lahor and Multan, was over one-third of the *net* area cropped in 1909-10 and in terms of total cropping the proportion would have been still higher. It is not to be thought of, of course, that every acre irrigated by the new canals was unploughed before. Indeed the canals have superseded, while the embankments have closed, most of the old inundation channels and man-made canals. But by the same means the Lakhi jungle and such other wastelands have also been eliminated and, on the balance, the extension brought about by the modern system is very great.

Despite this increase in cultivation the numbers of villages assigned in Aurangzeb's statistics to the Lahor province and the Multan and Dipalpur *sarkars*, together, exceeded by over one-half the 1881 Census figure for the same region.[58]

The Thatta province was entirely unmeasured and the only data from the Mughal period that we have for it relate to the number of villages. In contrast to the position in the Panjab and other parts of

55. Sujan Rai, 66-7.

56. This is emphasised in *Ibid*, 88, where it is stated that in the Mughal possession of Kabul lay the key to the prosperity of the Panjab.

57. *Ibid*, 63; Manucci II, pp. 457-8 and tr.'s *n.* on *p.* 457.

58. The *Chahar Gulshan* (f. 44a-b, Sarkar 130) figures have been used for the two *sarkars*.

Northern India, the number assigned to this province, together with the Bhakkar and Siwistan *sarkars*, amounts to but two-thirds of the 1881 figure for Sind,[59] although the region included in the former was considerably larger. This alone may or may not mean that this region was exceptionally desolate in Mughal times. Inundation channels and canals there were, as we shall see; but still the fact that the modern Government canals irrigated nearly three-fourths of the net sown area of Sind in 1909-10, perhaps, speaks for itself.

Like Sind, Kashmir was also unmeasured. The number of villages, as recorded in the Mughal statistics, was practically the same as that of the 1901 Census for the corresponding districts. Little can at the moment be said about the province of Ajmer, because while the Mughal area and village statistics for the province are very incomplete,[60] modern agricultural statistics too cover only a part of its total area.

In Gujarat the practice of assessing land revenue on the basis of measurement was superseded, partially at least, under Akbar's successors.[61] It is not surprising, therefore, that in the reign of Aurangzeb as many as 6,446 out of 10,370 villages should have been unmeasured and the recorded area amounted only to about half that of the *Ain*. Besides these statistics we have a summary statement of the measured area for this province in the *Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī*,[62] allegedly based upon the survey of Todar Mal. But the total figure is very close to that in Aurangzeb's statistics and the *Chahar Gulshan*, and the specification of the unmeasured *sarkars*, with one exception, is the same as in the latter. One can, therefore, hardly doubt that the attribution to Todar Mal's survey is imaginary and the figures are really taken from the records of Aurangzeb's reign. In the Supplement of the *Mirat-i Ahmadi* we have a detailed *mahal*-wise statement of revenue and village statistics, which is invaluable and is in broad conformity with the *sarkar*-figures in the *Chahar Gulshan*. It may be noted that Soraṭh[63] was not included in the area statistics of either the *Ain* or the later records, and the number of

59. Including Khairpur, for which the *Imperial Gazetteer*, s.v., has served as the source.

60. This is apparent not only from the *Ain* and the *Chahar Gulshan*, but also from a detailed memoir (*yāddāsht*), giving the figures for revenue and villages (in a number of cases) for each *mahal* (Royal Asiatic Society, London: MS. Persian 173).

61. *Mirat*, I, 217-18, 263.

62. *Ibid*, I, 25.

63. This was later divided into the *sarkars* of Sorath and Islamnagar.

the measured villages in Aurangzeb's statistics was half the total number of villages in the remaining territory. It would seem very likely therefore, that at the time of the *Ain*, which shows an area double that given in later times, almost all the villages in the administered tracts were covered by measurement. When we compare the *Ain's* area with the modern returns of cultivable area from the corresponding territory,[64] the difference in favour of the latter is found only to be slight. But the *Mirat* shows that nearly one-third of the measured area was, in fact, uncultivable. It is not impossible to offer an explanation for such a large proportion of what must, from the revenue point of view, have been unnecessarily measured land,[65] but the statement is difficult to disregard entirely. It is true that in 1881 the number of villages was only slightly higher than the Mughal figure.[66] Yet a Dutch observer, writing about 1629, i.e. before the great famine of the following decade, declared that "not one-tenth of the land is cultivated" and so anyone

64. These are generally drawn from the 1920-21 statistics, but the figures for Cambay and Rewa Kantha are taken from the *Imperial Gazetteer*, s.v., and relate to 1903-4. For the new Sabar Kantha district recourse has been had to the 1949-50 figures, earlier returns being unavailable. It is to be noted that most *mahals* lying in the Rewa Kantha district do not appear on the *Ain's* list and the *Mirat* expressly classes them—e.g. Rajpipla, Bariya, Lunavada, &c.—as tributary territories not covered by the administrative records.

65. As suggested in a previous note, it might have included grazing land under this category.

66. The statistics of Aurangzeb's reign and the *Chahar Gulshan* put the total number of villages at 10,370. The *Mirat*, I, 25, gives the total as 10,465½; its figures given under *mahals* (*Ibid*, Supp., pp. 188ff), when totalled up, come to 11,563, but these include a large number of villages explicitly stated to be in ruins. The 1881 Census returned for Gujarat and Kathiawar, excluding Kacch, Rewa Kantha and the Surat states. 12,545 villages. It may be mentioned that even outside the territories here excepted, the *Mirat* offers no village returns for certain *mahals* in Kathiawar and in the *sarkar* of Pattan. In Commissariat, *Mandelslo*, p. 28, it is stated that the *suba* of Ahmadabad "comprised within its jurisdiction 25 great towns and 3,000 villages." But here the *sarkar* has been confounded with the *suba*. Geleynssen, writing a decade earlier (1629) states that there were under Ahmadabad "25 large chief-villages or small towns and below them 2,898 hamlets, &c." (*JIH*, IV, pp. 78-9). These figures may be compared with those of the *Mirat* for the same *sarkar*: 25 *parganas* with villages totalling 3,497, of which 404 were either not under the control of the administration or were in ruins. The *Chahar Gulshan*, Bodl. MS., f. 64a, assigns it 28 *mahals*, with a total of 2,880 villages. It is singular that the agreement in all these authorities should be so close. Similarly, Geleynssen (*op. cit.*, p. 75) speaks of 210 villages being "under" Baroda. *Mirat* has 226 villages under the *pargana* and 348 (385 in the *Chahar Gulshan*, *op.cit.*) under the *sarkar*.

could obtain land to till wherever he wanted.[67] The statement is an obvious exaggeration,[68] but if there is even a little grain of truth in it, it would presuppose a state of affairs very different from the one today, when practically the whole of the land is occupied. Gujarat was the province most fully described by foreign travellers, but one looks in vain for any confirmation or contradiction of this statement in their accounts.[69] The evidence that we have, then, is largely inconclusive and even contradictory, though it tends, on the whole, to show that cultivation was much less in extent than now. But whether it was a full one-third less, as the *Mirat-i Ahmadi* suggests, must be left an open question. It may be added that it is possible that some amount of reclamation has taken place since Mughal times in parts of Gujarat not covered by the Mughal statistics, such as the territory around Rajpipla, in whose forests wild elephants used to roam during our period.[70]

Even though large tracts south of the Narbada had been transferred from Malawa to Khandesh by Shahjahan, the measured area for the former in Aurangzeb's statistics is more than double the area recorded in the *Ain*. Yet, only a third of the villages had been brought under measurement. Modern returns (1920-21) for the territory of the reduced province (omitting a few minor 'states' for which statistics are not available) show a cultivable area about three times the area under Aurangzeb. But besides the fact that the latter only represented the area of a third of the villages, two-fifths of the modern figure is made up of 'Cultivable Waste', in respect of which the Mughal records are not likely to have been as complete. The number of villages, according to the 1891 and 1901 Censuses, was distinctly, but not very considerably, larger than that given in the Mughal records.[71] From these indications, it would seem that a large

67. Geleynssen, tr. Moreland, *JIH*, IV, p. 79.

68. Cf. Moreland, *Agrarian System*, p. 129n.

69. Mundy, 264, indeed, says that "from Agra itself......to the Gates of Ahmudavad (Ahmadabad) is a desert, barren and thievish country," but the words are, probably, not meant to be taken literally. He met 'champion' country, mingled with woods, already before Mehsana (*Ibid*) and makes no reference to desolate conditions between that place and Ahmadabad.

70. Lahori, I, 331; *Mirat*, I, 14.

71. Aurangzeb's statistics give the number of villages for the province as 18,678, but from this 759 should be deducted as the number of those lying in the *sarkar* of Garh (cf. *Chahar Gulshan*, ff. 67b-68a; Sarkar, 142), since its exact limits cannot be determined. In the remaining territory the Censuses of 1891 (used for Bri-

increase in cultivation cannot be postulated for this region. Malawa already enjoyed in Mughal times an established reputation for fertility and unfailing abundance.[72]

Similar deductions may, perhaps, also be drawn in respect of Khandesh. No figures are provided for the measured area of this and the other Dakhin provinces in the *Ain*, but Aurangzeb's statistics show that by then 2,832 out of its total of 6,339 villages were under measurement. To judge from the 1891 and 1901 Censuses the number of villages has almost remained constant, while the cultivable area reported in 1920-21 amounted to about 2·5 times the measured area of Aurangzeb's reign, which belonged to less than half of the total number of villages. It would seem, therefore, that there has been no material extension in cultivation and this accords with the evidence of other authorities, which describe the province as well cultivated and almost fully occupied.[73]

In Berar practically all villages had been brought under measurement by Aurangzeb's reign. But though the number of villages, according to the 1891 Census, was almost unchanged, the increase in cultivable area amounted in 1920-21 to over two-thirds of, if not nearly as much as, the measured area of the Mughal statistics. Here, therefore, the extension of cultivation has been substantial and we may assume that it has taken place largely at the expense of the great Central Indian forest, which then lay dense over the eastern regions of this province.[74]

tish districts) and 1901 (for 'native states') disclosed 19,500 villages in the districts fully included in the Mughal province and 4,092 in the territories only partly covered by it.

72. *Ain*, I, 455; Mundy, 54-57, especially, 57; Tavernier, I, 47. The fame of Malawa survived till recently in the imagination of North Indian peasantry (See Crooke, *The North Western Provinces of India*, London, 1897, p. 171; Elliot, *Memoirs &c.*, ii, p. 315).

73. "There is little left uncultivated and many of its villages look like towns" (*Ain*, I, 474). *Vide* also Fitch, ed. Ryley, p. 95 & *Early Travels*, 16; Thevenot 101-2; Tavernier, I, 42; Manucci, II, 429; *Dilkushā*, f. 7a. The only discordant note is struck by Roe, 68, who says that the whole country from Surat to Burhanpur was "miserable and barron." Abu-l Fazl says that most of the region was desolate in olden times, and that extensive resettlement began only under the patronage of the founder of the local dynasty, Malik Raji, in the latter part of the 14th century (*Ain*, I, p. 475).

74. Cf. *Ain*, I, pp. 477-8.

In the Aurangabad province the total number of villages given in the Mughal records is about the same as in 1891.[75] The measured villages amounted to over nine-tenths of the total, but the measured area was only about two-thirds of the cultivable area reported in 1920-21. The neighbouring province of Bidar was very small and any comparative examination of the figures relating to it will involve a very large margin of error, so long as its boundaries are not precisely determined.

No returns of the area or number of villages are recorded in the Mughal statistics for the provinces of Bijapur and Haidarabad.

It might have seemed tedious to follow the Mughal statistics in such detail. But one thing emerges from this study, namely, that some minor difficulties apart, the statistics are set to a very coherent pattern and the amount of corroborative evidence available is not insignificant. This may entitle us to place some reliance upon the general results which our comparison with modern statistics has brought out. It thus seems established that an increase in cultivation since Mughal times has taken place everywhere, though in varying degrees. The increase is the greatest, amounting to about a hundred per cent. in three regions. The first region comprises Ilahabad, Awadh and Bihar and, possibly, parts of Bengal. Here the increase has obviously been due largely to reclamation from the great sub-montane forest, the Tarai. The second region is that of Berar, where cultivation has extended at the expense of the central Indian jungles. And, finally, the Indus valley, where the extension has been due almost entirely to the modern canal system. Besides these territories, the increase in cultivation seems to have varied from one-half to one-third, or only one-fourth. Forest-clearings have played little or no part in this increase, which has mostly been brought about by ploughing up lands of inferior soils and grazing lands—a process that is still continuing.

It has been a matter of some controversy whether the average yield of the land was higher in earlier times. It has been recognised that—with the established practice, or rather the practical absence, of manuring—two causes might contribute to a fall in the average produce.

75. The figure for the number of villages in Aurangzeb's statistics, viz., 8,263, has been accepted. The *Chahar Gulshan*, f. 74b, Sarkar, 151, has 5,950 only. The total of figures against individual *sarkars* given by Sarkar, 152, is incorrect, mainly owing to a misreading of 599 as 5,599 under Purenda.

First, the extension of cultivation over inferior lands, which it was previously uneconomical to sow; and, secondly, the continued use of clearings in the forests, where after a period of great fertility, the soil is exhausted or comes down to the level of ordinary land.[76] We have seen that if our statistical comparisons have any validity, the first factor has operated almost everywhere and the inferior land since then conquered by the plough, amounts generally to a third, and in some parts half, of the area previously cultivated. We have also seen that in some provinces the forests were far more extensive than now and that from the data concerning Bihar we can discern the existence of the practice, whereby the old clearings were abandoned once the land was exhausted, and fresh clearings were made elsewhere. It is probable that this was the position throughout the Tarai. It was certainly so in Gorakhpur at the beginning of the last century.[77] As the forest has receded, this method has also disappeared. It is obvious, then, that in these areas, the average fertility of the land actually under cultivation must have declined even more than in others.[78] We may notice, for example, Abu-l Fazl's reference to the richness of the soil in the *sarkar* of Champaran (Bihar), where the pulse *māsh* (*urd*) used to require no ploughing nor any care at all in order to grow.[79] The position is different only in the Indus plains and, to some extent, in the Doab, where the canals have enabled high class soils to be tilled and put to better use. But taking the area of the Mug͟hal Empire as a whole, and assuming that agricultural practice has not changed, the average acre sown cannot be as productive now as in the Mug͟hal times.

76. Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, *Report*, p. 75.

77. Muftī G͟hulām Ḥaẓarat, who speaks of the *chakla* of Gorakhpur with its older limits, i.e. including besides the district of Gorakhpur, that of Basti and a large part of Gonda, says: "The customary practice here, owing to the abundance of forest land, is that the *banjar* (previously unsown) land, which requires little to be tilled and is very productive, is sown for up to three years, whereafter it reaches the full yield and its strength declines. They then abandon it and instead of it, cultivate some other plot of *banjar* land. The land of the *chakla* of Gorakhpur is not as recuperative as that of the *chakla* of A'zamgarh and its yield declines within three or four years (of being cultivated)." (I.O. 4540, f. 10a).

78. Cf. Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, p. 117. His interpretation of the effects on the average yield from the elimination of forests is entirely different from the one here advanced.

79. *Aīn*, I, p. 417. He says also that the *banjar* lands of the sub-montane tracts are even more productive than the best category of land (*polaj*) elsewhere and the revenue officials regarded it as equivalent to it. (*Ibid*, p. 297).

In this Section we have also referred frequently to the village statistics of our period. A curious fact which appears from our comparison of these with modern returns, is that in a compact group of provinces in Northern India, from Ilahabad and Awadh to Lahor and Multan the number of villages was generally higher by half than in the final decades of the last century. On the other hand, for Bengal and Bihar and the country south of the Northern Plains, i.e. Gujarat, Malawa and the Dakhin provinces, the Mughal returns are either a little below, or correspond very closely to, the numbers recorded in modern censuses. The reason for this relative multiplicity of villages in the North Indian provinces is not easy to discover. It is possible, that villages decreased in absolute numbers in the 18th century, when many might have been laid waste, while smaller hamlets were abandoned in favour of bigger ones for better defence.[80] Or, when later, rings of waste and grazing land, previously marking off one village from another, were ploughed up, there might have been a tendency for one village to lose its entity and merge with another. This is, perhaps, mere speculation. Still, the relevant fact for us is that not only was the extent of cultivation in Mughal times much less than now, but it also maintained a much larger number of villages, which, therefore, must, on average, have been considerably smaller, when compared with the villages of to-day.

2. Means of Cultivation and Irrigation

Set against the great achievements of modern, scientific agriculture, it might seem difficult to imagine anything more primitive than the crude implements of the Indian peasant. In the context of the world three hundred years ago, however, these provoked little comment. Though oxen were yoked to it, not horses, the Indian plough was no stranger to European eyes. Terry described it as the "foot-plough", a type used in England.[1] Fryer, whose observations were confined to

80. Crooke, *The North-Western Provinces of India*, p. 40, explains that the villages in the western part of the province look like "miniature forts" and are a relic of "the tradition of raid and rapine, when the land was harried by Sikh and Marhatta."

1. Terry in *Early Travels*, 292. As defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. IV: 'F', pp. 403c, 404b, this did not have a wheel. Nor, says Moreland (*India &c. of Akbar*, p. 160n.) a mould-board. It should be borne in mind that the inverting as well as the deep-digging plough is not suitable for most Indian soils (Cf. Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, *Report*, pp. 110-112).

the coastal areas, declared that the "Combies (Kumbis)....Till the Land, and dress the Corn with no remarkable difference from other Nations". He found no peculiarity in the ploughs, except that "their Coulters (are) unarmed mostly, Iron being scarce, but they have hard Wood (which) will turn their light Grounds".[2] This statement could have been true only of the coastal belt. Iron teeth would have been indispensible for the drier or harder soils inland and have obviously been in use since ancient times.[3] It is true that iron was "scarce" in our period, but its mining and manufacture were widespread in India and the price in terms of wheat was not more than three times the price in 1914.[4] This should not have been prohibitive for the very small amount used in the share of Indian ploughs.[5]

It has, moreover, been pointed out that in certain respects, Indian agricultural methods were far from primitive when judged by the standards of the day.[6] Drill-sowing, as well as dibbling, has been an old and familiar practice in India.[7] Though bone manure has not been in general use, the exceptional value of fish as fertilisers seems to have been appreciated, since we are told that in Gujarat, fish manure was used in sugar-cane cultivation.[8]

The outstanding feature of Indian agriculture which impressed contemporary observers was the harvesting of two—and in some areas,

2. Fryer, II, 108.

3. Thus the stricture against agriculture in the *Manusmriti*, x, 84, on account of "the wooden (implement) with iron point", which injures the earth and its creatures (*The Institutes of Manu*, tr. Buhler, pp. 420-21).

4. This statement is based on Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, where the conditions of the industry are discussed on pp. 147-9 and the price of iron, on pp. 150-51. He cites the *Ain's* price for picket-pegs, valued at 3 *dāms* per *ser*. (*Ain*, I. 143). English iron was sold at Surat in 1613 at a lower rate—3½ to 4 *maḥmūdīs* for one local *man*, or 2⅓ or 2⅔ *dams* per *ser-i Akbarī* (*Lett. Recd.*, I, pp. 235, 238, 299).

5. A description of the forms, in which iron teeth are used in the ploughs in various localities, will be found in N. G. Mukerji, *Handbook of Indian Agriculture*, Calcutta, 1915, pp. 92-3.

6. Elliot. *Memoirs &c.*, ii, pp. 341-2.

7. Cf. Elliot, *op.cit.* Voelcker, *Report*, 223, found the "native" seed-drill "wonderfully efficient and leaving little to be desired". In a tract on agriculture, written probably by Amānullah Ḥusainī in the earlier part of the 17th century, the practice of dibbling is noticed in connexion with cotton cultivation: "In some places they push down a pointed peg (*mekh*) into the ground, put the seed into the hole, and cover it with earth—it grows better thus". (I. O. 4702, f. 30b).

8. Thevenot, 36-7.

three—crops in the year.[9] The system of rotation of crops was, therefore, practically a gift of nature and to know the combinations which best suited particular soils would have been a matter of experience.[10] No statement of this principle in explicit terms has survived from the period, but this was, perhaps, only because it was regarded as too obvious and common a fact of life to need any exposition. The principle that certain crops could enrich or improve the soil is distinctly stated.[11]

As for the fields, the general appearance they presented seems to have been practically the same as today. There were no hedges—nothing to remind the European traveller of the growing practice of "enclosures" on his continent.[12] In Gujarat alone were thorn-bush hedges commonly raised to protect the fields; and these are noticed in our authorities as something of a local peculiarity.[13]

An important aspect of Indian agriculture is artificial irrigation to supplement the natural bounty of the monsoons. The principal means employed for this purpose has been the construction of wells, tanks and canals.

In the Upper Gangetic plains as also parts of the Dakhin, wells must have provided the chief source of irrigation. The different methods of drawing water out of the wells now prevalent—except, of course, the tube-wells—are nearly all described by our authorities. East of the Jhelam, in the regions of Lahor, Dipalpur and Sirhind, there was the elaborate *arhat*, or *rahat*, called by the English the 'Persian wheel', which Babur found such a novelty.[14] Around Agra and further east,

9. *Ain*, II, pp. 5 & 6 (concerning Hindustan), I, 389 (Bengal), 513 (Dehli province); J. Xavier, tr. Hosten, *JASB*, N.S., XXIII, 121 (Agra region); Pelsaert, 48 (Agra region); Bowrey, 121 (Orissa coast); Sujan Rai, 11 (Hindustan).

10. For praise of the Indian peasant's knowledge of rotation of crops, see Voelcker, *Report*, 11, 233-6; Elliot, *Memoirs &c.*, ii, 342.

11. Thus Amānullāh Ḥusainī considers the *bāqila* bean (faba sativa) and the Egyptian bean (*bāqila-i miṣrī* or *tarmas*) to possess fertilising qualities. (I. O. 4702, ff. 2a-b, 30a), while madder (*rūnās*) is held to improve nitrous soils (f. 31a).

12. "Their ground is not enclosed unless it be neare townes and villages". (Terry in *Early Travels*, p. 298.)

13. *Ain*, I, p. 485; *T.J.*, p. 205; Fryer, III, p. 158; *Mirat*, I, p. 14.

14. *Bābur-nāma*, tr. S. A. Beveridge, I, p. 388; II, p. 486. In the latter passage, she omits 'and Sihrind' from her translation, although it appears both in the Turki 'Haidarabad Codex', f. 273b, edited by her, and in 'Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān's Persian tr., Or. 3714, f. 376b. Babur's geographical limits of the *rahat* closely approximate to those existing today (Cf. Elliot, *Memoirs &c.*, ii. p. 220). A description of the *rahat* appears also in Sujan Rai 79, as peculiar to the Panjab.

the *charas*, or the leathern bucket lifted out of water by yoked oxen, was most common.[15] Fryer, in his general account of India, describes, in addition, the *ḍhenklī*, based on the lever principle, which is generally in use wherever the water-level is close to the surface.[16] There was in some parts at least, a professional class of vagrant well-diggers[17] whose work, especially when digging in sandy soil to great depth, as in the Thar Desert, is said to have been extremely hazardous.[18]

It seems clear from a reading of Abu-l Fazl's account of the various provinces in the *Ain* that he has found it superfluous to say anything about the role of irrigation, if the crops depended mostly upon rainfall and only partly on wells.[19] His silence as to the presence of this form of irrigation in respect of particular regions should, therefore, occasion no surprise.[20] What is interesting is his statement that "most" of the province of Lahor "was cultivated with the help of well-irrigation."[21] This is repeated later by a historian, who himself belonged to this province.[22] One must suppose, therefore, that wells were relatively far more important than now in the upper portion of the Panjab. It is equally possible that in many tracts, especially in the central Ganga-Jamuna Doab, there

15. *Baburnama*, tr. Beveridge, II, p. 487: "a laborious and a filthy way," says the imperial diarist.

16. Fryer, II, p. 94.

17. This appears from the account of an incident happening near Basawar in Agra *sarkar*, in Badauni, II, p. 243.

18. Cf. Faiẓī Sirhindī, ff. 58b-59b.

19. As Sujan Rai, p. 11, remarks of 'Hindustan', "although in some parts cultivation depends on wells and in some regions the land is also watered by inundations, nevertheless, most of the land is *lalmi*, which is synonymous with *bārānī* (i.e. dependent upon rain)." (The editor misreads *'ilāhī'* for *'lalmi'*, but see MSS. A, 11b-12a & B, 11a-b). Cf. also *Baburnama*, tr. Beveridge, II, p. 488. An example of how Abu-l Fazl ignored the role of well-irrigation is offered by his remarks on the Dehli province, of which he says simply that "much of the land is irrigated by inundations (*selābī*)." (*Ain*, I, p. 153.) Sujan Rai, 39, on the other hand, says of the same province that its cultivation is "dependent upon rain and inundation and in some places on wells."

20. Cf. however, Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, p. 121, for comment on the case of Awadh ('Oudh').

21. *Ain*, I, p. 538.

22. Sujan Rai, 79 (see also MSS. B: f. 72a; C: 44a). He also says that the *Kharif* harvest (the litho. text reads *'kharīf* and *rabī'*; but this is not supported by the MSS.) depended mainly, upon rain. Cf. also Manucci, II, p. 186, who noticed "an abundance of wells" around Lahor.

has been a heavy decline in the number of wells, owing to the interference by the canals with the natural drainage of the country.[23]

Archaeological remains testify to the great antiquity of irrigation tanks in Central India and the Dakhin.[24] Tavernier describes the country of Golkunda as being "full" of tanks, which are said to have been made by building dams, "sometimes half a league long," so as to enclose the water in natural depressions and use it after the rains for the fields.[25] There was the great Kamthana tank at Bidar, made by a dam built to its north, which was "verily" a "Tigris" and which freed the cultivators of the surrounding country from all dependence upon rain.[26] In the later years of Shahjahan we find the Mughal administration proposing to advance nearly Rs. 40,- to 50,000 to cultivators in Khandesh and the Painghat portion of Berar, for the purpose of erecting bunds or dams.[27] In the north, in Mewar, the famous tank of Udaisāgar—16 *kurohs* in circumference—dates from our period and is said to have supported the cultivation of wheat in the country around.[28]

23. The effect of canals on wells has been of two kinds. First, the canals have appropriated to themselves, or cut off the supply of, 'sub-soil water of many tracts, causing a fall in the under-ground water-level. A number of such cases are noted by Moreland in his *Agricultural Conditions of the United Provinces and Districts*, Notes on Aligarh (p. 2), Mathura (p. 2), Agra (p. 1) and Mainpuri (p. 2). Secondly, in many areas, especially sandy tracts, the canals have, through saturation of the sub-soil, "caused" the sides of the wells to fall in, and make unsupported excavations to any depth impracticable." (Mainpuri *Dist. Gazetteer*, Allahabad, 1910, p. 53. Cf. Voelcker, *Report*, 69).

It may be assumed that, as at the present day, most peasants of this region in Mughal times, could only afford to have *kachcha* wells, i.e., wells without use of masonry. Thus Pelsaert, 48, speaks of annual construction of wells during the *rabi'* season in the territory around Agra, since the *kachcha* wells seldom survived the Monsoons.

24. Two of the most interesting examples, historically speaking, are the Sudarshana Lake (Girnar, Kathiawar), created by a dam under Chandragupta Maurya and furnished with conduits, 'for better facility of irrigation,' under Asoka; and the 'tremendous reservoir' at Bhojpur, Malawa, constructed by Bhoja, 11th century. (See N. Sastri, ed., *Comprehensive History of India*, II, 281-2, and Kosambi, *Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, 280-281.)

25. Tavernier, I, pp. 121-2.

26. *Ma'āṣiri-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 308-9.

27. *Adāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, f. 53a; *Ruq'āt-i 'Ālamgīr*, p. 134.

28. *Ain*, I, p. 509. 16 *kurohs* would be about 40 miles. Cf. Tod, *Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan*, London, 1914, Vol. I, p. 619, who speaks of "the enormous magnitude and strength" of the dam, "as is necessary indeed, to shut in a volume of water twelve miles in circumference."

In cases where a river rises and inundates the fields seasonally every year, both the irrigation and fertilisation (if a layer of the sub-soil is left behind) are purely natural. But it is probable that the construction of embankments to 'train' the rivers for the sake of canals or railways, or for the prevention of floods, has considerably reduced the extent of land formerly enriched by this means. Abu-l Fazl notices especially the lands thus irrigated by the Saru (Sarju) and Ghagra in Awadh[29] as also land subjected to inundations in the Sambhal *sarkar* (Upper Rohilkhand).[30] But it was the area affected by the Indus and its tributaries that offered the greatest contrast to present conditions. The seasonal inundations of the rivers, as they flowed through the parched and thirsty plains, were almost uncontrolled and nothing reveals their range more clearly than the spectacular changes which used to take place from time to time in the river courses during our period. In the time of the *Ain*, for example, the Beas and Sutlej after uniting at, or near, their present junction bifurcated below Firozpur, the upper chan nel being again known as the 'Beas', while the lower one was known as 'Sutlej' and was practically identical with the present bed of the Sutlej river. The two channels after flowing for more than two hundred miles, at about thirty miles from each other, probably united near the present confluence of the Panjnad and the Sutlej.[31] Some time in the reign

29. *Ain*, I, p. 433; also p. 303. It may be mentioned that the Sarju, which now meets the Ghagra in the south-eastern corner of the Kheri district, used to flow, at the time of the *Ain*, past Bahraich and joined the other river at only one *kuroh* above the town of Ajodhya (*ibid*, 433, 435), so that it had a far longer course in the plains than now. The old channel is still traced on the maps. Jarrett's tr. (II, ed. Sarkar, p. 182) is seriously misleading because he has muddled up the Sai with the Saru or Sarju.

30. *Ain*, I, p. 303. For the Dehli province generally, see *ibid*, I, p. 513.

31. *Ain*, I, 549. This bifurcation and the courses of the two branches are established by the fact that the *Ain* places towns like Dipalpur, Pakpattan, Kahror and Dunyapur in the Beth-Jalandhar Doab (Multan Province). (Cf. I.R. Khan in *Muslim University Journal*, II, No. 1, pp. 34-36). The Survey Maps show two old beds of the Beas (so-called also on the maps) running quite close to each other. A detailed examination of the *parganas* listed under the Beth-Jalandhar Doab of the Multan province, which I undertook jointly with Mr. Moonis Raza, showed that the northern of the two channels was probably the one which the Beas occupied at the time of the *Ain*. The fact of the two separating channels being known as Beas and Sutlej is not only deducible from Abu-l Fazl's use of the word 'Beth' for the area lying between them, but is also directly established by the account of Safshikan Khān's proceedings near Multan during the pursuit of Dara Shukoh. Marching from Multan towards Uchh, he first crossed the 'Beas' and then, after traversing two stages, the Sutlej (*'Alamgirnama*, 271-2).

of Aurangzeb the 'Beas' abandoned its old bed: The bifurcation still took place, but much below the previous one and the two branches maintained a separate course only for a short distance.[32]. This change must have devastated a very large area previously irrigated by the Beas channel. Similarly, the site of the confluence of the Chenab and Jhelam moved up by over 25 miles within the course of the 17th century.[33] The Panjnad did not exist and the Chenab and Beas-Sutlej met the Indus separately near Uchh.[34] The Indus shifted its course continuously, so that the huts of the villages on its banks had to be made of wood and straw.[35]

The fickleness of the rivers to their beds in the soft alluvial soil has, indeed, strewn the whole of the plains with innumerable abandoned channels, many of which become active during the season of the inundations, when water from their parent rivers forces its way into them. Modern embankments, again, have closed the mouths of many of these

32. As seen from the passage of *'Alamgirnama*, cited in the preceding note, the old Beas bed was not yet abandoned in 1659. But writing in 1695, Sujān Rāi placed the bifurcation at a point much below Dipalpur and said that the northern channel known as Beas rejoined the Sutlej after a course no longer than "a few *farsakhs* (*kurohs*)". (Sujān Rāi, 76; *Muslim University Journal*, II, No. 1, pp. 38, 40).

The Multan-Bhakkar itinerary in the *Chahar Gulshan*, Bodl. MS., f. 108a, shows the route as crossing the Beas and then a branch of it, which from the position of Shuja'atpur on its northern bank, would seem to have been flowing in the present bed of the Sutlej. This, however, does not mean that the conditions of the time of the *Ain* were restored by the middle of the 18th century, but perhaps only that the *Chahar Gulshan* has copied an itinerary prepared in the 17th century.

The abandoned channels of the Beas probably became active during the season of inundations to merit the remark of Sujan Rai, 63, that the river covered a few *farsakhs* in width during the season and that this created the great Lakhi Jungle in the *sarkar* of Dipalpur. See also Rennel's Map reproduced in Francklin's *History of the Reign of Shah-Aulum*, London, 1798, frontispiece, for the numerous channels thrown out by the Beas-Sutlej river.

33. At the time of the *Ain*, the confluence took place below Shorkot, which stood then in the Chunhat Doab (*Ain*, I, pp. 547, 549). Sujan Rai, 78, however, put it near Jhang-i-Sialan, i.e. at or near the site it occupies today.

34. This appears from the *Ain*, I, 549; Sujan Rai, 76; and Rennel's map, *op.cit.* The Panjnad now meets the Indus near Mithankot.

35. *Ain*, I, 558. Lambrick in an article on 'Early Canal Administration in Sind', *Journal of Sind Hist. Soc.*, III (1937), part i, pp. 15 & 16, emphasises that "the area annually overflowed has become far less extensive since the provision of an almost continuous line of river protection bunds" and he thinks that "the vast bulk of cultivation in Sind from prehistoric times to the eighteenth century was bosi; that is, *rabi* crops raised on lands naturally flooded by the season(al) rise of the Indus, after its subsidence".

channels, but physical traces still remain to justify the supposition that the number of such natural canals in Mughal times was quite large.[36] These are usually to be distinguished from purely man-made canals by their winding courses; but so often has human effort gone into deepening them or clearing their beds of silt that in some cases, at least, the distinction will be hard to draw.[37] In the following survey an attempt has been made to present evidence about canals of both types that were active or were excavated during our period.

In the Dakhin the practice of leading off small canals from rivers and streams was, like that of storage, an ancient one. We are told, for example, that in Baglana "they have brought into every town and village thousands of canals, cut from the river for the benefit of cultivation;"[38] and these were managed, probably, according to the co-operative *phad* system, which still survives in that area.[39]

It was, however, in Northern India that really large canals were excavated. There is a tradition that the old channel of the Eastern Jamuna Canal was dug in the reign of Shahjahan, but it is thought really to date from the earlier part of the 18th century.[40] On the other side of the Jamuna ran the celebrated canal of Firuz Shah.[41] This was repaired during the reign of Akbar, first by Shihābu-ddīn Khān and later by

36. Cf. Lambrick, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

37. An illustration of this is provided by the use of old river channels by Firuz Shah for carrying his West Jamuna Canal to Hansi and Hisar. (See below).

38. Ṣādiq Khān, Or. 174, ff. 60b-61a; Or. 1671, f. 34a.

39. Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, *Report*, p. 325.

40. Cf. *Saharanpur Dist. Gaz.*, 1909, pp. 58-60. Its author regards it as probable that the canal was completed in the reign of Muhammad Shah. There is certainly no reference to it in any of the histories of Shahjahan's reign. The tradition that attributes its construction to 'Alī Mardān Khān is as ill-founded as the one that supposes the same noble to have dug the *Nahr-i Bihisht.*

41. Firuz Shah's canal seems to have taken off from the Jamuna at Tajewala in the Ambala District, flowing in the bed of an old arm of the Jamuna down to Indri (*Karnal Dist. Gaz.*, 1918, A Vol., pp. 3 & 4). A little beyond Safedon it ran into the old channel of the Chutang river, which carried it down to Hansi, Hisar and beyond. (See *JASB*, 1892, p. 420; *Imperial Gazetteer*, 1908, Vol. X, p. 186.) This channel was not first excavated by Firuz Shah as is sometimes supposed, but had been carrying the Chutang river past Hansi for centuries earlier. The 13th century Persian version of the *Chachnāma,* originally written in the 8th century, contains a definite reference to the "River of Hasi (Hansi)". (*Chachnāma*, ed. Prof. Daudpota, p. 51).

Nūru-ddīn Muḥammad Tarkhān[42]: at the time of the *Aīn*, the canal was apparently carrying water past Hansi and only disappeared finally at Bhadra.[43] It silted up again, but Shahjahan decided to reopen it from its mouth at Khizrabad, almost under the hills, down to Safedon and thence to dig a new channel, some thirty *kurohs*, or nearly 78 miles in length, to serve the new city of Shahjahanabad at Dehli.[44] This was the famous 'Nahr-i Bihisht' or 'Nahr-i Faiẓ',[45] which must for the period be regarded as something of an achievement and though of no comparison to its modern successor, the West Jamuna Canal, it must have irrigated a considerable area.[46]

The Hariana tract, stretching between the Jamuna and the Sutlej is a large area not served by any perennial river: The seasonal streams which rise in or below the Siwaliks either disappear in the plains or join one of the channels leading to the Ghaggar or Hakra, the dry river of the desert. It has been the practice in the region to throw dams or bunds across these streams to create an artificial inundation, or, at least,

42. We are told by Wāriṣ, a:f. 401a; b:f. 16b (Ṣāliḥ, III, p. 29) that the canal had silted up by the time of Akbar and Shihabu-ddin Khan, when he was Governor of Dehli (i.e. during the early years of Akbar's reign), repaired the canal "to extend cultivation" in his *jagirs* and renamed it *Shihāb Nahr*. Nuru-ddin Muhammad Tarkhan probably only repaired or re-excavated the bed of this canal, for according to Badauni III. p. 198, his canal, named after Prince Salim, was cut from the Jamuna and ran for 50 *kurohs* in the direction of Karnal and beyond (presumably, past Safedon, which he himself held in *jagir*). The chronogram given for the construction of the canal, seems defective for it yields 976, while Salim was only born in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569).

43. *Ain*, I, pp. 514-15.

44. Wāriṣ, a: ff. 401a-402a, 411a; b: ff. 16b-18a, 30b; Salih, III, p. 29; Sujan Rai 29-30, 36-37. Work on the canal was started in the 12th and finished by the 21st regnal year of Shahjahan. The *kurohs* in which the length of the canal is given, are stated to be *kuroh-i shāhī*, for which see Appendix A. 'Ali Mardan Khan had nothing to do with this canal and his name is linked with it only in later tradition, e.g. *Chahar Gulshan*, tr. Sarkar, p. 124 and Francklin, *The History of the Reign of Shah-Aulum*, p. 208; see also Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 196.

45. Also known simply as *Shāh-nahr*, the Royal Canal.

46. Sujan Rai, 36-37, says, indeed, that the canal could be said to have carried half the Jamuna and that "*it conferred benefit upon the cultivation of many parganas and irrigated the gardens near the Capital.*" Francklin, *op.cit.*, in an account of Delhi, written in 1793-4, speaks of it as "fertilising in its course a tract of more than ninety miles in length" and says that the "canal, as it ran through the suburbs of Moghul Para, nearly three miles in length; was twenty-five feet deep, and as much in breadth, cut from the quarry of solid stone...."

obtain some supply of water.[47] The position in the lower reaches of the rivers has naturally been precarious and this is confirmed in the case of the Chutang or Chitrang river by the detailed information about it, that has come down to us in a semi-official document. This is a long memorandum, prepared during the reign of Shahjahan, proposing to clear and deepen its channel so that its water might reach Hisar, which it had failed to do for a long time, causing great distress to the country around.[48] There is, however, nothing to show that any action was taken on these proposals;[49] and no hint of such work appears in any later account.

In the Panjab proper, a small system of canals was brought into existence in the Upper Bari Doab. The best known of these was the Shāhnahr also excavated in the reign of Shahjahan. It took off from the Ravi at Rajpur (or Shahpur) close to the hills and carried water up to Lahor—a distance of about 37 *kurohs*, or 84 miles.[50] Taking off from

47. Thus, for example, the '*band*' on the 'Karnal stream', built by Aṣālat Khān and visited by Shahjahan in his 11th year (Lahori, II, p. 112). Monserrate (p. 102) praises the groves and gardens of the plain country around Sirhind, watered from "a deep and artificial lake," filled "during the rainy season by means of irrigation channels" (read, probably, seasonal streams).

48. The memorandum suggests, rather rhetorically, that the Chutang had been failing Hisar for "a hundred years". But from what we are told about Shihab-nahr and from the evidence of the *Ain*, it would appear that the channel at Hisar ran dry only when the Shihab-nahr silted up. Shahjahan's canal abandoned the Chutang river altogether and diverted the whole supply from the Jamuna towards Dehli. The memorandum makes no reference to this link with the Jamuna (which could hardly have been restored now) and concentrates its attention on the Chutang only. It traces this river to its source near Sadhaura and contends that even if it was a seasonal river, an improved channel would enable it to reach Hisar. It also suggests that '*bands*' might be built on the river at two or three places in the *chakla* of Sirhind. This document is included among the papers collected by Balkrishan Brahman, Add. 16,859, ff. 107a-109b. The papers belong to the later years of Shahjahan and the earlier years of Aurangzeb, but this memorandum refers to "A'lā Ḥazarat," the usual mode of address for Shahjahan.

49. It is stated that the *zamindars* and the peasants in the *chakla* of Hisar were prepared to undertake the digging of the channel through their lands or localities as soon as the water was brought up close to them. It is clear, however, from the memorandum that the authorities of the *chakla* of Sirhind, i.e. of the region of the upper reaches, were not very enthusiastic about the project.

50. Lahori, II, pp. 168-9, 233-4, 311, 315; Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, ff. 92a, 102a-b, Or. 1671, ff. 50b, 56a; *Ma'āṣiru-l Umarā'*, II, pp. 806-7; Sujan Rai 77. Lahori says that the first attempt, begun under the supervision of a *protégé* of Ali Mardan Khan,

the same point, one canal ran to Pathankot, another to Batala and a third to Patti Haibatpur. "Great benefit accrues to cultivation from these canals," says the local historian writing at the end of the 17th century.[51]

For the rest of the Panjab our authorities are not very enlightening. The Sidhnai reach could no longer have been a canal since it was already carrying the main stream of the Ravi.[52] We know, however, of a small canal cut from the Tavi to irrigate 'Alī Mardān Khān's garden at Sodhra near Wazirabad in the Upper Rechna Doab.[53] The presence of canals in the Multan *sarkar* is indicated by the draft of an order appointing a *mīr-i āb* (canal superintendent) for the area, which has survived in a collection of administrative documents. It requires the appointee to "dig new channels (*nāla*), clear the old channels, and erect bunds on flood-torrents (*band-i sail*)" and to see to the equitable distribution of canal water among cultivators.[54] The most southerly portion of the present Sindsagar Doab, lying in 'the Baluch country,' was reputed for its fertility,[55] which Aurangzeb attributed to the inundations and well-irrigation.[56] The area is, indeed, full of abandoned river channels,[57] but tradition also suggests that the present reach of the Indus above Mithan-

was a failure, although the channel, 48½ *kuroh-i jarībī* in length, was fully excavated. Perhaps, it was given too wide a loop and the water did not reach Lahor in sufficient quantity. A second attempt at deepening the channel also proved unsuccessful Ultimately, the whole of the first channel, except for a length of 5 *kurohs* was abandoned and a new one dug, which was 11½ *kurohs* shorter, and was completed by the 16th year. The distances are probably given in the earlier (and shorter) official *kuroh*. (See Appendix A).

51. Sujan Rai, 77. It is possible that the canal running to Batala occupied the first channel excavated for the Shah-nahr.

52. The *Ain* puts Multan and Tulamba in the Bari Doab, from which one presumes that the Ravi had abandoned its old channel running past east of Multan and was flowing in the Sidhnai channel. (See also Sujan Rai, 77.) This reach is supposed by tradition to have originally been a man-made canal and this is supported by its remarkably straight course. (Cf. *Mooltan Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 2; *JASB*, 1892, p. 370, *note* no. 365; G. R. Elsmie, *Thirty-five Years in the Punjab*, 1858-93, p.354.)

53. Sujan Rai, 74. Assuming that the Tavi then joined the Chenab at or near the present point of confluence, this canal must have been well over 30 miles in length.

54. A *parwana* in the *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 198b 199a; Bodl. f. 157a-b; Ed. 151-2.

55. Sujan Rai, 63 & 64.

56. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 13b-14a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, p. 29.

57. *JASB*, 1892, p. 299.

kot was originally a man-made canal, which the Indus broadened into its own bed, early in the 19th century.[58]

In Sind, the Indus is even more prone to throw out its arms and flood channels, which extend as far eastward as the Eastern Nara. In addition to these there have been large artificial works also, notably the long Begari Wah in Upper Sind, its very name signifying a canal excavated with forced labour, and the Naulakhi in the Naushahro Division, supposed to have been dug before the beginning of the 18th century.[59] In the Delta, Daryā Khān, a minister of the Jāms, excavated the 'Khān-wah' in the early years of the 16th century.[60] By continuously depositing silt the Indus raises its bed to a much higher level than that of the surrounding plains, so that it is easy to use the supply in its main stream as well as inundation channels for irrigating the fields. The local practice has been to either cut the *kārīzs*, or "artificial channels" from the river or canals as Bernier tells us,[61] or set up 'Persian wheels' to lift out the water, to which also we have an allusion in contemporary testimony.[62]

Our information on the system of canal-irrigation is admittedly incomplete. It is, however, obvious that while considerable use was made in our period of the natural inundation channels, a number of canals had also been excavated, some of which were really very large works.[63] The high quality cropping of the Punjab and Sind, of which we hear often from contemporary authorities,[64] was probably largely to be found in

58. *Ibid*, p. 303, *note* no. 301; *Muslim Univ. Jour.*, i, p. 569.

59. Lambrick in *Jour. of Sind Hist. Soc.*, III, 1937, part i, p. 17.

60. *Tārīkh-i Ṭāhirī*, Or. 1685, f. 26a. This canal still appears on survey maps. It took off from near Thatta, from the main channel of the Indus, and ran westward. The purpose in digging it, according to the *Tarikh-i Ṭāhirī*, was "to populate the *pargana* of Sankora [now Mirpur Sakro] and other territory under the hills [i.e. the small hills north of the Gharo creek] and around the city [of Thatta]." (Cf. also Haig, *Indus Delta Country*, p. 86, *n.*).

61. Bernier, 454. He says 'kalis'. This can be either *kārīz*, a cut from a river, or *khāl* (or *khālā*), an artificial channel, as used in the Panjab. See Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, London, 1846, Vol. I, pp. 33 & 154, where the words are respectively spelt "khureez" and "khool"; also Elliot, *Memoirs, &c.*, ii, 225.

62. *Factories, 1646-50*, p. 119, concerning indigo-cultivators. For both these practices see Lambrick, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

63. For an opposite view, based on rather summary considerations, see Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, 107-8.

64. *Ain*, I, 538; Thevenot, 85; and Sujan Rai, 79—for the Panjab; and *Ain*, I, 556 and Manrique, II, 238 — for Sind.

tracts thus irrigated. Nevertheless it is also clear that the natural channels could hardly have always been suitable for irrigation, which requires the level of water in the source to be generally much higher than the fields. Nor could the man-made canals of the period have offered, either in capacity or in regularity of alignment, any comparison to those built on the foundations of modern engineering. There can, therefore, be no doubt about the very great advance made over the mediaeval canal system, even at its best, by the construction of the great network of modern canals in the Indus Valley and the Upper Gangetic Plains.

3. The Crops and other Agricultural Produce

In the production of foodgrains Mughal India exhibited the same broad division into rice and wheat-&-millet zones, that we find today, with the 40 or 50-inch annual isohyets setting the dividing line. In the Assam valley,[1] in Bengal[2] and Orissa,[3] on the eastern coast[4] and in the Tamil country,[5] the narrow strip along the western coast[6] and Kashmir,[7] rice was cultivated to the virtual exclusion of wheat and millets. In Bihar,[8] Ilahabad[9] and Awadh[10] and in Khandesh[11] it enjoyed only a partial domain. It was grown in Gujarat, especially in the southern coastal belt;[12] and a writer of mid-18th century claimed that there had been a substantial improvement in the quality of the rice raised in the province as compared to "olden times."[13] Rice cultivation crossed its climatic limts in the dry region of the north-west in about the same way as it does now: Irrigation from the Indus and its branches

1. *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 32b.
2. *Ain*, I, 389.
3. *Ibid*, 391.
4. *Relations of Golconda*, 7-8; Fryer, I, p. 99.
5. *Dilkusha*, ff. 112b-113a.
6. Fryer, I, pp. 137, 139; Linschoten, I, pp. 245-6; *Factories*, 1665-67, p. 45.
7. *Ain*, I, p. 563; *T. J.*, 300-301. The opposite was the case in Kishtwar (*ibid*, p. 298).
8. *Ain*, I, p. 416.
9. *Ibid*, p. 423; Mundy, 91-2, 98.
10. *Ain*, I, 433.
11. *Ibid*, 473; Tavernier, I, pp. 41, 116; Thevenot, 102.
12. *Ain*, I, p. 493; Commissariat, *Mandelslo*, p. 15; Tavernier, I, p. 54; Thevenot, 37.
13. *Mirat*, I, p. 14.

made it the chief crop of the delta;[14] while high grade rice was sown in the Lahor province.[15]

Similarly, wheat was cultivated throughout its 'natural' region. It is interesting, however, to find that it intruded into Bengal; and although the crop obtained there was recognized to be of a low quality, it is possible that a larger quantity of it was then grown than at the present day.[16] Like wheat, barley grew most abundantly in the central plains[17] and Gujarat,[18] but could not be well cultivated in Bengal,[19] while it was not raised in Kanara[20] and Tamilnad,[21] nor in Kashmir.[22]

The region of millets[23] coincides largely with that of wheat, but tends towards still drier zones. Thus *juwār* and *bājra* were not cultivated in the Ilahabad province,[24] while, westwards, in the Dipalpur region, *juwar* was the main *kharīf* (autumn) crop, with wheat sown for the *rabī'* (spring).[25] In Ajmer,[26] Gujarat[27] and Khandesh[28] millets

14. *Ain*, I, p. 556; Manrique, II. p. 238.

15. Sujan Rai, 79. Cf. also Manrique, II, p. 221; Thevenot, 85.

16. Bernier, 438; Master, II, pp. 81-2 (referring to the territory around Hugli). The Surat factors in 1616 denied "not but that Bengalla brings wheat....to Indya." (*Lett. Recd.*, IV, p. 327), which, however, may be due to a confusion between the port and the hinterland for the source of supply (Cf. Moreland, *India &c of Akbar*, p. 120).

17. It appears in practically all the *dastūrs* of the *Ẓabṭī* provinces (viz. Ilahabad, Awadh, Agra, Ajmer, Dehli, Lahor, and Multan), except for Malawa, where it is given only in the *dastur* of Raisen.

18. Fryer, I, p. 297. It is noticed also in Orissa (Bowrey 121).

19. *Ain*, I, 389. Nor in Assam (*Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 32b).

20. Linschoten, I, p. 246.

21. Tavernier, I, p. 226.

22. *Ain*, I, p. 389. Barley is often concealed in contemporary references under words like *jins-i ghalla*, or (in European sources) corn, cereals, etc.

23. The millets in the *Ain* (I, pp. 293-300) are: *juwār*, *lahdra* (i.e. *bājra*), *sānwān* (Pers. *shāmākh*) (mod. *sawan*), *chīna* (Pers. *arzan*), *mandwa* (mod. *marua* or *ragi*), *kodron* or *kodram* (mod. *kodon*), *kangunī* (Pers. *gāl*) (mod. *kakun*), *kodirī*, *or korī*, and *barṭī*. The last two cannot be identified. *Kodiri* is explicitly stated to be a low-grade crop and *barti* is not entered in the *dasturs*. Perhaps, '*kodiri*' is a variant of '*gondli*' (Panicum miliare). Moreland (*India &c. of Akbar*, p. 303) suggests *menjhri* or *kutki* (Panicum psilopodium) as identical with either *kodiri* or *barti*.

24. *Ain*, I, 423. *Juwar*, nevertheless, appears on the *dasturs* of this province. But *lahdra* (i.e. *bajra*), together with three or four other millets, is omitted.

25. Sujan Rai, 63.

26. *Ain*, I, p. 505.

27. *Ibid*, 485; *T.J.* 207; *Mirat*, I, p. 14.

28. *Ain*, I, p. 473; *Dilkusha*, f. 7a.

in fact predominated over cereals; this was not true, however, of Malawa[29] and Saurashtra.[30] In the case of pulses also it is difficult to detect any substantial change that has taken place since Mughal times. What we know of the different crops from the *Ain* suggests that the general pattern was very similar, if not identical.[31]

The geographical distribution of the principal food crops, therefore, shows little alteration from present conditions. Moreland, who has examined the prices and assessment rates of different crops, in the provinces of Awadh, Agra and Dehli, given in the *Ain*, concludes that the price, as well as the value of produce per acre, of one crop in terms of another has changed very little since then. Among the food-grains only the small millets seem to have yielded more (in terms of exchange with wheat) per acre than now, while *bajra* was, in comparison with the present day, considerably undervalued.[32] What has caused the decline in price of the smaller millets is not easy to establish, but it is possible that this is associated with their displacement on drier soils by maize. The spread and acclimatisation of this important crop is mainly a 19th century phenomenon[33] and it was probably unknown in India in the 17th century.[34]

29. *Ain*, I, p. 455.

30. *Mirat*, I, p. 178, though *Ain*, I, p. 490, says *juwar* yielded three crops a year in Sorath.

31. The *Ain* (I, pp. 298-300) lists the following pulses: *nakhud* (gram) of two kinds: *Kābuli* and *Hindi*, or ordinary; *masūr* (Pers. *'adas*); *maṭar* (Pers. *mashang*, green peas); *mūng* (Pers. *māsh*); *urd* (*māsh-i siyāh*, but entered in the *dasturs* simply as *māsh*, the *mung* appearing under its indigenous name); *lobiyā* and *kult* (mod. *kulthi*). *Arhar* is not included in this list, but appears in the 19-years rates and the *dasturs*. It is curious that all spaces against it should be left blank in the latter, except for a few circles in Awadh. In the 19-years rates also, the crop is rated only in Ilahabad, Awadh and Multan provinces and this too from only the 20th year and uniformly at 20 *dams* per *bigha*. It seems therefore, to have been regarded as too low-grade a crop to be rated in most areas. The pulse now called *khesari* is noticed as *kisāri* in its true region, Bihar, and it is said to be the food of the poor and a cause of sickness (*Ain*, I, 416). It is stated that *mash*, i.e. *urd*, could be sown without ploughing the land in Champaran (*ibid*, 417). *Moth* was seldom grown in the Ilahabad province (*ibid*, 423).

32. *JRAS*, 1917, p. 820; *Ibid*, 1918, pp. 377-8; *India &c. of Akbar*, p. 103 & n.

33. Cf. Watt, *Dict. Eco. Products of India*, Vol. VI—Part iv, pp. 334-5.

34. Moreland in *India &c. of Akbar*, pp. 305-6, refutes the suggestion that "Indian corn" was grown in the Vijayanagar Kingdom. Watt (*op.cit.*, p. 334) admits that maize is not listed among the rated crops in the *Ain*, but cites Blochmann's tr. (I,

The 'cash crops' of modern classification are practically identical with what in Mughal records are termed *jins-i kāmil* or *jins-i a'lā*[35]—'high-grade crops', chiefly grown for the market. Cotton and sugar-cane were the two major crops belonging to this category. Cotton cultivation is duly noticed in what at present is known as the Bombay Cotton Tract, but specially in Khandesh.[36] It was, however, cultivated throughout Northern India[37] and, what is more significant, was an important crop in Bengal,[38] where it has now practically disappeared.[39] It seems very probable that in geographical terms the cotton-producing area shrank

p. 83) for an incidental reference to maize. This arises, however, from a misrendering of the text (I, p. 97), which reads *juwāri*. No genuine reference in any other work of the period to this crop has been traced so far. The general Indian name for it is *maka* or *makka;* also *bhuṭṭa*, but that, more specifically, for the ear of the corn.

35. These two terms are very frequently met with in the revenue literature of the period from the *Ain* onwards, but the sense seems everywhere to have been regarded as self-evident. Khafi Khan classifies crops as *jins-i ghalla* (foodgrains) and *jins-i a'lā* such as "sugar-cane, etc." (I, pp. 156, 735*n*.). In a late 18th century glossary of revenue terms (MS. Add 6603, f. 57a) the *jins-i kāmil* is stated to include sugar-cane, betel leaf, cotton, etc., as distinct from the *jins-i adnā*, defined as crops fetching low prices, such as the various kinds of millets.

36. For Khandesh see *Ain*, I, p. 473; Salbancke, Purchas, III, 82-3. Pelsaert 9; Thevenot 101; and Tavernier, I, pp. 42-3. For Berar, Thevenot, 101; for Aurangabad and southern Maharashtra, Thevenot 102; *Factories, 1655-60*, p. 241; *1668-9*, p. 270; Fryer, I, pp. 331, 344. It also extended into Golkunda (*Relations*, 61), whose cotton was found to be better and cheaper than the cotton grown in Gujarat (*Lett. Recd*, II, p. 102). For Gujarat see also Godinho, *JASB*, Lett. IV, 1938, pp. 549-50; *Factories, 1634-6*, p. 64; Commissariat, *Mandelslo*, p. 15; Fryer, III, pp. 158-9; and for Kachh (Cutch), *Factories, 1636-8*, p. 130.

37. Manrique (II, p. 221) noticed cotton fields between Lahor and Multan; the Multan province is noted for the "plenty of Cotton" it yielded, by Thevenot 77; and "vast quantities" of cotton were "collected" in the territory of Thatta (Manrique, II, pp. 238-9). Salbancke (Purchas, III, 84) noticed "store of cotton-wools" in the villages on the Bayana-Merta route (Rajasthan). Roe (p. 322) found cotton fields on the way from Ajmer to Mandu near Toda, and Mundy, pp. 56-57, in Malawa. It was apparently an important crop in the Agra region (*Factories, 1655-60*, p. 118) and there is a reference to its cultivation in the territory of Sirsa, in the Dehli province (Balkrishan, f. 63a). The inclusion of cotton in the *dasturs* for almost all circles in Ajmer, Ilahabad and Awadh shows that it was being cultivated in these provinces as well. We know from *Factories, 1618-21*, pp. 192-3 & Mundy, 134, that its cultivation extended up to Patna, and there are references to cotton grown in Orissa (Fitch: Ryley 114, *Early Travels*, 26; *Ain*, I, p. 391).

38. Linschoten, I, p. 95; Fitch: Ryley, 25, 28, *Early Travels*, 112, 118; Bernier, pp. 402, 439; Master, II, pp. 81-2; Bowrey, 132-4.

39. An official report of 1886-7, quoted by Watt, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 134, says: "Cotton was formerly grown extensively in the Dacca and Mymensingh districts,

very greatly during the course of the last century. The development of sea-trade and the subsequent construction of the railways have given rise to a great concentration of cotton-cultivation in certain regions and it is possible that the average acre now devoted to cotton is better suited to the crop than in Mughal times. And from what we know of the amount of clothing then available to the peasants it may also be assumed that the total yield and, perhaps, acreage as well, of cotton, has increased very considerably since those days.[40] Its relative scarcity in our period might therefore explain the high value, in comparison to other crops, which was assigned to the yield of cotton per acre in the *Ain*.[41] It is to be noted, however, that there has been no such change in the comparative value of sugar-cane.[42] Its cultivation was certainly quite widespread in Mughal times, much more so, perhaps, than that of cotton.[43] The Bengal sugar was then pre-eminent both in volume of output and quality.[44] The cultivation of sugar-cane has obviously greatly declined since then in Bengal, although it still remains one of the important crops of the province.

in a large tract of land....very well suited to the cultivation of the plant. The cotton raised here....was the finest known in the world and formed the material out of which the....Dacca muslin was manufactured. Since the decline of that celebrated fabric, the cultivation of cotton has almost entirely ceased in this tract".

40. Cf. Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, p. 105, for the same conclusion.

41. This is worked out in *ibid*, p. 105, and *JRAS*, 1918, p. 381.

42. *India &c. of Akbar*, p. 103.

43. For Bihar, *Ain*, I, p. 416; Mundy, 134. It is listed (distinguished as of two grades, ordinary and thick, *paunda*), practically without exception in the *dasturs* of all the *zabti* provinces in the *Ain*. Bayana and Kalpi (Agra province) and Maham (in the *sarkar* of Hisar Firuza, Dehli province) are specially noted for the sugar produced there (*Ain*, I, pp. 442, 527). Steel and Crowther (Purchas, IV, 268) say of "all the Countrey betwixt Agra and Lahore" that "it yeelds great store of poudered Sugar...." See also *Factories, 1646-50*, p. 255, *1655-60*, p. 118, for Agra; Bernier, 283, Thevenot 68, for Dehli; *Baburnama*, tr. Beveridge, I, 388, *Factories 1637-41*, pp. 134-5, Thevenot 85 and Sujān Rāi, 79, for the Lahor province; Pelsaert 31, Thevenot 77 for Multan; and *Ain, I*, 455, for Malawa. For Sind, see Linschoten, I, p. 56. For Gujarat, Linschoten, I, p. 60, Tavernier, I, p. 54, Thevenot 36 & Fryer, I, p. 266. There was, however, no surplus for export, (*Lett. Recd.*, V, p. 115; VI, p. 280). For Khandesh, Mundy 48. For Baglana, Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, ff. 60b-61a; Or. 1671, f. 34a. For Berar, Manucci, II, p. 429. For Aurangabad province, Thevenot, 102. For Konkan, Careri, pp. 168-9, 179.

44. Linschoten, I, p. 97; *Haft Iqlīm*, 94, 97; *Factories, 1630-33*, p. 323, *1646-50*, p. 255; Bernier, 437, 442. Assam produced white, red and black sugar, sweet, but hard (*Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 32b). The sugar of the Dakhin and of Lahor was also much esteemed for quality (Sujān Rāi, 79; Thevenot, 85).

The small amount of information that we have concerning the :erent oil-seed crops, does not indicate any notable difference in their ographical distribution. They were prominent in Bengal[45] and appear th some minor exceptions in the *dastūrs* or revenue-rates of all the ovinces from Ilahabad to Multan.[46] Rapeseed and, perhaps, the stor-plant were noticed also in Gujarat.[47] Flax was grown mainly the linseed, i.e., for its oil, although its fibre-producing quality was own.[48] It was acknowledged, however, that it grew better and in eater quantity in Europe and the Ottoman Empire.[48a] Relatively to dgrains, the price in weight and value per acre of the oilseeds, espe-lly linseed, were much lower than now,[49] when they have assumed nsiderably greater importance both as raw materials and as substi-tes, or ingredients for substitutes, of *ghi*, It would be surprising if eir production per head of population is not substantially higher than Mughal times.

Among the fibre-yielding crops, *san*, or sunn-hemp, probably far tstripped jute in our period. The *dasturs* in the *Ain* assume its cul-vation in almost every portion of the *Zabti* provinces. Jute was obvi-sly produced in Bengal for the local market alone, for it is noticed ly as a crop of the *sarkar* of Ghoraghat in the *Ain*[50] and a subsequent ference to it also is very casual.[51] The tremendous extension of its ltivation in Bengal, in fact, took place largely in the course of the st century, at the expense of rice and sugar, a circumstance which is,

45. Bernier, 442, says "mustard sesame for oil" was grown in this province. ie *arindi* silk in Bengal was dependent upon the castor-plant. See also Master, II, . 81-2; Bowrey, 132-33.

46. The *Ain* lists four oil-seed crops: safflower, linseed, mustard, sesame or pe-seed and *toryā*. Of these the first, third and fourth seem to have been iiversally cultivated; the second is omitted from the *dasturs* of the Agra province id the last is given only in those of Awadh, Agra, Lahor and Ajmer (central, istern and south-eastern parts only). Monserrate, 214, says that flax was grown "the neighbourhood of the Indus". But see Thevenot 51, who denies its presence, i error probably due to the fact that its fibre was not used in India.

47. Fryer, I, p. 297.

48. "*Kattan* (Flax): They sow it in the *kharīf* season, either for oil or for ope or for linen". (Tract on Agriculture, I.O. 4702, f. 30b). Linen was, however, ever produced in any noticeable quantity in Mughal India.

48a. "In the countries of Rūm and Farang". (*Ibid*).

49. Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, pp. 103-4, *JRAS*, 1918, pp. 378-9.

50. *Ain*, I, p. 390: '*Pārcha-i ṭāṭ-band*', cloth woven of *ṭāṭ* or jute.

51. Master, II, pp. 81-2, where among the products of the territory around ugli are listed "course hempe, gunnyes and many other Commodityes".

perhaps, deeply connected with the chronic food shortage now affecting the province.[52]

The dye-yielding crops are now of little account; but this was certainly far from the case in the 17th century and indigo, especially, looms large in the commercial literature of the time. The best indigo grew in the Bayana tract near Agra,[53] while that of a lower quality was cultivated in the Doab, around Khurja and Koil (Aligarh).[54] The second place was generally assigned to the indigo of Sarkhej near Ahmadabad.[55] But that of Sehwan in Sind was thought to be better than it in many respects.[56] The indigo of Telingana in the Dakhin occupied a mid-way position between these fine varieties and the coarser sorts of indigo which were grown practically everywhere, from Bengal to Khandesh.[57] So profitable were the crops of the Bayana and Sarkhej tracts that the stalks were kept in the fields to give three cuttings in two years, a practice frequently described by contemporary authorities,[58] though

52. Another fibre-yielding crop, rhea, or china-grass, was also cultivated in our period in Bengal (Linschoten, I, pp. 95-6) as well as Orissa (Fitch: Ryley, 114; *Early Travels*, 26).

53. *Ain*, I, 442; Finch, *Early Travels*, 151-2; Pelsaert, 13-14; Mundy 222, 234; Tavernier, I, p. 72; *Factories, passim.*

54. Pelsaert 15; Mundy 96; *Factories, 1630-33*, p. 325.

55. *Ain*, I, p. 486; Finch, *Early Travels*, 174; Jourdain, 171-3; Broeke, tr. Moreland, *JIH*, X, p. 246; *Factories, passim.*

56. *Factories, 1637-41*, p. 274; *1646-50*, p. 29. Cf. also Withington, *Early Travels*, 218; Roe 76; *Factories, 1634-36*, p. 129, *1637-41*, p. 136-7, *1642-45*, p. 203, *1646-50*, pp. 12-13, 33, 119.

57. For the Telingana indigo see *Lett. Recd.*, II, p. 102; Foster, *Supp. Cal.*, 93; *Relations*, 35-36, 61; *Factories, 1665-7*, p. 164.

Indigo was grown in Bengal (Tavernier, II, p. 8) as well as Bihar (Mundy 151, 153). The crop is listed in the *dasturs* of all the *zabti* provinces in the *Ain*. It was grown near Gwaliar (*Factories, 1646-50*, p. 122), in Mewat (Pelsaert 15) and near Dehli (Thevenot 68). Mundy, 235, 240, noticed 'base Indico' being cultivated at Lalsot and near Sambhar in the Ajmer province and Salbancke (Purchas III, 84, 88) found "store of course Indico" in some of the villages on the route between Bayana and Merta. Apart from Sarkhej, other parts of Gujarat, e.g. the territory around Khambayat, Baroda and Baroch, also produced indigo (Jourdain, 173-4; Commissariat, *Mandelslo*, 15; Tavernier, I, p. 54). For indigo grown in Khandesh see Thevenot, 101 and Tavernier, I, pp. 1,42. Indigo was also an important crop in southern Coromandel (Cf. T. Raichaudhuri, *The Dutch in Coromandel*, typescript of thesis, p. 291).

58. Finch, *Early Travels*, 152-3; *Lett. Recd.*, IV, pp. 240-41; Pelsaert 10-13; Mundy, 221-3. All these descriptions apply only to the Bayana tract, but from such passages as *Factories, 1655-60*, p. 76, it appears that the practice was also followed

largely abandoned in later days.[59] Indigo is, perhaps, the only crop for which contemporary estimates of yield are available, though it must naturally have varied greatly from year to year according as the seasons had been favourable or otherwise. From the various estimates in our authorities, it would seem that the annual production of the dye in the three principal indigo tracts of the Empire—Bayana-Doab-Mewat, Sarkhej and Sehwan—amounted in favourable years to some 1·8 million lb.[60] This excludes the yield of such regions as parts of Gujarat

in the country around Sarkhej. Tavernier, II, pp. 8-9, is probably as mistaken in taking it to be the universal practice in India as in asserting that "it is cut three times *a year*". The tract on agriculture, already cited, says clearly that the general method of cultivating it much resembled that of cotton; only it was cut earlier. (I.O. 4702, f. 31a). Linschoten's description of the method of cultivation in Gujarat (II, p. 91) is also in accord with this. Neither refers to more than one cutting from the same stalks.

59. Not entirely, however. The practice of taking off two cuttings survived in the North-Western Provinces (Watt, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 407), while in Khandesh "a two-year and sometimes a three-year crop" was grown to "a very small extent". (*Ibid*, p. 412). The principal cause of this change seems to be that in the old indigo tracts the extra remuneration from the second cutting, which was much better than the first, did not justify the land's being left exclusively under indigo for two years which this method required. Moreover, the Bayana indigo was cultivated with the help of well-irrigation and much of its special quality was held to derive from the well-water (Pelsaert, 13-14). Under canal irrigation the quality deteriorated considerably (Cf. Watt, *op.cit.*, p. 406).

60. Contemporary estimates are given either in terms of bales, churls or fardles, or in *mans*. Both units were subject to regional variations and the *mans* were also altered from time to time. In this note the original figures are all converted into their equivalents in terms of lb. avdp. on the basis of information brought together in Appendix B.

Pelsaert, 13-15, put the yield of the Bayana tract at 884,800 lb. in favourable times and half of it in bad years. In addition, the Doab and Mewat contributed, in his judgment, some 221,200 lb. each annually. In 1633 the output of the "whole of Hindustan", i.e. presumably the central regions of the Empire, was estimated at nearly 830,000 lb. and of this the Bayana tract was thought to contribute one-third. (*Factories, 1630-33*, p. 325).

The quantity produced at Sarkhej seems to have reached or exceeded 332,000 lb. in good years like 1615, and to have fallen, excepting the period of famine, to about 221,400 lb. in indifferent years such as 1644. (*Lett. Recd.*, III, p. 51; *Factories, 1624-29*, p. 232; *1630-33*, pp. 125, 178; *1634-36*, pp. 73, 292; *1642-45*, pp. 163-4).

The production in the Sehwan tract appears to have fallen steadily. This decline is not only attested to explicitly in *Factories, 1642-5*, p. 136, but is also reflected in estimates of the output: 132,600 lb. in 1635; 73,760 lb. in 1639 and only 29,480 lb. in 1644. (*Factories, 1634-36*, p. 129; *1637-41*, pp. 136-7; *1642-45*, p. 203).

(besides Sarkhej), Khandesh, Bihar, &c., for which no estimates are recorded. But even allowing for this, the total indigo production of the Empire could hardly have exceeded a third, or even a fourth, of the output in 1880s when foreign demand was at its height.[61] It is, however, not to be compared with the position only one or two decades later, when indigo cropping was in rapid decay and due to disappear completely, owing to the manufacture of a synthetic substitute in Europe. It is worth noting that its elimination has had an adverse effect on other crops as well, especially wheat and cereals, for it had great fertilising properties and did not necessarily conflict with the *rabi'* cropping.[62] The fate of indigo had been anticipated by that of *āl* (morinda citrifolia), yielding a red dye and cultivated in the lower Doab and Bundelkhand at the time of the *Ain*.[63] This was also completely eliminated owing to manufactured dyes.[64]

Opium (poppy) and true hemp have greatly declined since Mughal times owing to administrative restrictions. Opium was grown almost everywhere, but especially in Malawa and Bihar.[65] True hemp (*siddhī*

The estimate of 1·8 million given in the text is made up of Pelsaert's estimate for Bayana, Doab and Mewat, the estimated output of Sarkhej in 1615 and of Sehwan in 1635. The favourable years were, however, not always the same everywhere and the total yield was, probably, much lower in most years. There is a statement in *Factories, 1637-41*, p. 92, from Surat, that according to "general report" the "proceed of the lease" of indigo in the Empire in 1638 was going to be 40,000 "maens", i.e., if the Gujarat *man* is meant, about 1,476,000 lb.

61. This is based on the assumption that the total produce in 1880s was about 12 million lb. av. in the area covered by the Mughal Empire. This is deduced from the figure of 10·8 million lb. exported from the ports of Bengal, Bombay and Sind and the total domestic consumption for the *whole* of India, estimated at 2 million lb. (Watt, op.cit., IV, pp. 421-2).

62. Cf. Moreland, *Agricultural Conditions of the United Provinces & Districts*, Note on Bulandshahr, pp. 5-6, for the adverse effect of its disappearance on wheat. For its value as a preparatory crop for wheat, see also Voelcker, *Report*, 361. Indigo refuse or 'seet' also possessed great value as manure (*Ibid*, 106). Cf. also Watt, op.cit., 407.

63. No rates are given against this crop anywhere except for the *dastur*-circles of Kālpi, Phapūnd and Īraj in the Agra province and Kūṭyā and Kālinjar in Ilahabad. In the latter case, the MSS are at variance with Blochmann, where the rates are given under Korra and Jājma'ū.

64. Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, pp. 102-3.

65. For Malawa see *Ain*, I, 455; Finch, *Early Travels*, 142; Jourdain, 149; *T.J.*, 179. Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer*, IX, 1908, p. 36. For Bihar, Fitch: Ryley 110, *Early Travels*, 24; Marshall 414. Opium is also noticed in Bengal (Bernier, 440; Master, II,

or the *bhang* plant) was also widely cultivated,[66] although Aurangzeb ordered it to be completely eradicated.[67] Its cultivation is now illegal.

The introduction and rapid extension of the cultivation of tobacco represents one of the most remarkable changes in the crop pattern that occurred within the course of the 17th century. Tobacco is not mentioned anywhere in the *Ain;* but within a decade of its compilation pious pilgrims returning from Mecca had brought news of the novelty to the court and an imperial envoy coming back from Bijapur was able to present to Akbar a hookah (*chilim*) well and properly made in every respect.[68] The addiction to tobacco spread fast: Jahangir's prohibition was, perhaps, merely formal and in the event, totally ineffective.[69] By Shahjahan's reign tobacco had found a place in the perfumery of aristocratic households.[70] In the following reign, while "Mahomedans" are said to have taken to consuming "a great deal of this article",[71] a writer bemoans the fact that the infection had seized the rich and poor alike, without distinction.[72] He also alleges that in the beginning only a small quantity of it used to come from Farang (Europe), so that it was not very common. But ultimately the peasants took to cultivating it with such enthusiasm that it began to predominate over other crops, a change which, according to him, took place during Jahangir's reign.[73] That this is substantially true is shown by the fact that by 1613 a "great quantity" of tobacco was being grown

81-2) and finds a place in almost all the *dasturs* of the *Zabti* provinces in the *Ain.* For Multan, see Pelsaert 31, Thevenot 77. For Sehwan, *Factories 1634-36,* p. 129. For Marwar, Mundy 247. For Mewar, Manucci, II, p. 432. For Gujarat, Linschoten, I, p. 60; Godinho, *JASB, Lett.* IV (1938), pp. 549-50. For Berar, Manucci, II, p. 429.

66. Monserrate, 214; Linschoten, I, p. 60 (refers to Gujarat only).

67. Aurangzeb's order of May 1659, addressed to the *diwan* of Gujarat, forbidding its cultivation, is preserved in the *Mirat,* I, p. 247. Late in his reign we find the *faujdār* of Kuch Bihar acknowledging the receipt of a similar order for its eradication. (*Matinu-l Inshā,* f. 12a-b). Cf. also Fraser 86, f. 92b.

68. Asad Beg has preserved a very detailed account of this occasion in his Memoirs (Or. 1996, f. 21a-b).

69. *T.J.,* 183. Sujan Rai, 455-56, says the lips of some of the tobacco addicts of Lāhor were cut off for defying this order, but his authority for saying so—he was writing nearly eighty years after the event—is obscure.

70. *Bayāẓ-i Ḵẖūshbū'ī,* I.O. 828, f. 11b.

71. Manucci, II, p. 175.

72. Sujan Rai, 454.

73. *Ibid.*

in villages near Surat[74] and Terry testifies that it was sown "in abundance" in his time.[75] Its cultivation soon became universal and two revenue manuals belonging to mid-17th century record its presence in regions so far inland as Sambhal and Bihar.[76]

Coffee as a beverage had become familiar to aristocratic and polite society.[77] It used to be imported from the Arabian peninsula and Abyssinia through Mocha and was not as yet properly acclimatised in India.[78] Still, an apparently unsatisfactory variety was being grown in southern Maharashtra.[79] Tea was as yet almost unknown and was not cultivated anywhere,[80] not even in Assam, where it must have existed in a wild state.[81]

Among spices, pepper was commercially the most important article of Indian produce. Long pepper grew chiefly in Bengal, but the best, the round or black pepper was produced outside the limits of the Mughal Empire, in the range of the Western Ghats.[82] Capsicum or chilli,

74. *Lett. Recd.*, I, pp. 299-300. Cf. Fryer, I, p. 266, for its cultivation in the same region. It had spread to Golkunda also "a few yeeres" before Methwold's time, 1618-22 (*Relations*, 35-36).

75. *Early Travels*, 299. He says (what the *Lett. Recd.*, *op.cit.*, imply) that as yet the peasants knew "not how to cure and make it strong as those in Western India (West Indies)." Cf. also Methwold, *Relations*, 35-6.

76. *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, f. 182a-b;*Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 36b.

77. Ovington 180. The discovery of coffee or *qahwa* is referred to in *Haft Iqlim*, 14, but the beverage is mentioned neither in the *Ain*, nor in the *Bayaz-i Khushbu'i* of Shahjahan's reign. It is likely, therefore, that it became popular only in the latter part of the 17th century. In the later years of Aurangzeb it was apparently treated as a suitable article of gift at the Court (*Akhbārāt* 44/269 & 49/25). There is a careful description of the seed and beverage in the mid-18th century work, *Mir'āt-al Iṣtilāḥ*, f. 218a.

78. Tavernier, II, p. 20; Ovington, 180; *Mirat-al Istilah*, f. 218a.

79. *Factories, 1655-60*, p. 241. In Ma'muri, f. 202a (Khafi Khan, II, p. 501) coffee plants are mentioned among the trees surrounding the fort of Khelna, captured by Aurangzeb in 1702.

80. *Factories, 1655-60*, p. 276; Ovington, 181.

81. Nothing like tea is described or referred to in the *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, which contains a detiled account of the country.

82. For long pepper grown in Bengal see *Ain*, I, p. 390; *Haft Iqlim*, 94, 97; Fitch: Ryley 189, *Early Travels*, 46; Bernier 440; Bowrey 134. It grew also in Kuch (Kuch Bihar) (*Haft Iqlim*, 100) and in the forests of Champran (Bihar) (*Ain*, I, p. 417). Tavernier, II, p. 12 is alone in saying that "without going beyond the territories of the Great Mogul there is enough (of long pepper) to be obtained in the Kingdom of

now so widely grown and an indispensable ingredient of every Indian meal, was unknown to Mughal India. It was acclimatised in our country only about the middle of the 18th century.[83]

One can discern little difference from the present day in the cultivation of betel leaf or *pān*, which was grown practically all over India.[84] Perhaps, the improved means of transport have helped to substantially extend its cultivation, but we have no definite proof.

Another crop grown entirely for the market was saffron, but its cultivation was confined, as now, to Kashmir.[85]

Vegetables were widely cultivated in Mughal India. Urban demand put a premium on their cultivation in plots near the towns and it was characteristic of Indian social structure that a particular caste, that of 'Mālis', should have specialised in this.[86] Among the vegetables the

Gujarat." But he has, perhaps, the re-exports, rather than the produce, of Gujarat in mind. For the round pepper produced in Bijapur, Kanara and Kerala, see Linschoten, I, pp. 66, 67, 71-74; Fitch: Ryley 186, 188, *Early Travels* 45, 46; *Factories, 1622-23*, p. 51; *1624-29*, pp.2-3; *1634-36*, p. 212; *1637-41*, p. 93; *1668-69*, pp. 112, 224-5; Tavernier, II, p. 11; Fryer, I, p. 139, II, p. 42; Ma'muri, f. 202a.

83. The two commonest varieties, *capsicum frutescens* and *capsicum annum* are both natives of South America (Watt, II, pp. 134-5, 137-8, &c.). Āzād Bilgrāmī, writing in 1762-3, has left an interesting account of the introduction of chilli or *mirch-i surkh*. He says it was unknown in Hindustan (i.e. Northern India) ten or twenty years earlier and was taken there by the Marathas, who were greatly addicted to it. He concedes, however, that "some people of Hindustan" had now also learnt to use it in their meals. (*Khizāna-i 'Āmira*, Nawal Kishor, Kanpur, 1871, p. 48).

84. For *pan* cultivation see *Ain*, pp. 80-82; & Tract on Agriculture, I.O. 4702, f. 27a-b. The *pan* leaves of the following regions are specially noticed or praised in the *Ain*: Bengal (from which came the *Bangla* leaf) (I, p. 80), Orissa (I, p. 391), Bihar (*Makhī*) (I, p. 416), Banaras (*Kapūrkānt*) (I, p. 80), Agra province (I, p. 441), especially Antri (near Gwaliar) (I, p. 449), Malawa (I, p. 455), especially Bajalpur in Sarangpur *sarkar* (I, p. 462), and Khandesh (I, p. 473). References in other literature abound.

85. See *A.N.* III, p. 648; *Ain*, I, pp. 98, 565, 570; *T.J.*, pp. 45, 296, 315; Pelsaert, 35, 36.

86. See a report in *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir* 235: "One Baja by name, belonging to the caste of *Mālī*, i.e. of gardeners who engage themselves in the cultivation of potherbs and vegetables, had remained outside the City (of Ajmer) for the night in order to guard a field of egg-plants (or brinjal) and was kidnapped by thieves, &c." Cf. Ānandrām Mukhlis, *Safarnāma-i Mukhlis*, p. 37, for fields of egg-plants around the town of Hasanpur (Rohilkhand). And, for the caste of *malis*, *Tashrih-al Aqwam*, ff. 231b-233a.

introduction of the sweet and the ordinary potato probably represents the most notable change since Mughal times.[87] Varieties of yams were, however, known[88] and formed an article of popular diet in parts of the Dakhin and so possibly also in Northern India.[89] Tomato is certainly a new comer. But with these exceptions, the vegetables commonly grown were practically the same as now[90] and they impressed some of the European travellers with their variety and abundance.[91]

In fruit-growing it was natural that the most diverse features should have been observed. Many fruits grew wild in the jungles and were only gathered for sustenance by the poor.[92] Others, notably the melon

87. The problem of the origin of the potato and its introduction in India is best discussed in Watt, III, pp. 115-122.

88. Two species of yams are mentioned in the *Ain* among the fruits, viz. *tarrī* and *pindālū* (I, pp. 79-80). In the tables of prices the former is listed among fruits proper, while the latter, with another yam, *kachālū*, appears in the list of 'fruits eaten after being cooked' (I, pp. 70, 72). Linschoten, II, p. 42, says: "There grow in India many Iniamos and Batatas"; and a similar statement is made by Careri, 206. As Watt, op. cit., points out the 'Iniamo' and 'Batata' of Linschoten are only different species of yam and his 'batata' does not mean sweet potato. In the English literature of the time, 'potato' either meant a sweet potato or an ordinary potato (*Oxford English Dictionary*, VII: 'P', pp. 1184-5), but English travellers seem to have used it for yam as well, confounding, like Linschoten, the yam with the sweet potato. Methwold found "good store of potatoes" in Golkunda (*Relations* 8) and Terry, *Early Travels*, 297, lists 'potatoes' among the 'good roots' cultivated in India.

89. Fryer, II, p. 76, noted that in Kanara "Potatoes (yams?) are their (the people's) usual Banquet." In the 1655 edition of his work Terry added that "potatoes excellently well-dressed" were served at a banquet given by Āṣaf Khan in 1617 (London, 1777, p. 197; *Early Travels*, 297, n.). But his memory might well have been playing him false, for yams are not mentioned in the recipes given in the *Ain*, I, pp. 55-58, or in the *Bayaz-i Khushbu'i*, ff. 96a-103b. It is possible, on the other hand, that yams were considered too coarse for use in the imperial kitchen or aristocratic households while being commonly eaten by the poor.

90. The most comprehensive list of the vegetables then in the market will be found in the *Ain*, I, 63-4 and 72-3, classified as vegetables proper and fruits eaten after being cooked.

91. Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 297; Pelsaert, 48; Mundy, 310; Manucci, I, p. 66; Fryer, I, pp. 297-8; Careri, 206.

92. Jungles of mangoes, khirni and tamarind were encountered when entering Gujarat via Dohad (*T.J.*, 205), and "faire woods of Kheernee, Peelooes etts.", as well as "mangooes", when entering the province from the direction of Sirohi (Mundy 260-62, 265). "Wild date trees" grew between Baroch and Surat (Finch, *Early Travels*, 175).

(*kharbūza*), were cultivated as seasonal crops by the peasants.[93] Trees bearing the better class of fruits such as quality mangoes were usually planted in groves, in carefully measured rows.[94] The groves might belong to the peasants,[95] but it is probable that quite often they were owned richer people, who seasonally rented them out to cultivators or professional fruit-sellers, as is the custom even to-day.[96] Members of the aristocracy and officials possessed orchards to have fruits not only for their own consumption but also to sell for profit.[97] Many, if they were Muslims, built their graves amidst groves of fruit trees, the income from which went to support their descendants or the guardians of their graves.[98]

Our authorities are far from reticent on the subject of fruits, especially in regard to their taste. But much of what they have to say —on, for example, the regions where the best mangoes grow[99] or the extraordinary usefulness of the coconut palm,[100] and so on—may with equal truth be said today. It is best to concentrate our attention chiefly

93. The *Ain* lists both the *Wilāyatī* (Central Asian) and Indian melons in the *dasturs*, but doubtless the latter were more widely grown. In the Dakhin "helpless and destitute people grow the muskmelons (*kharbūza-ī garmā*) in the sand upon the banks of rivers". (Ma'mūrī, f. 184b; Khafi Khan, II, p. 405).

94. The Tract on Agriculture, I.O. 4702, f. 28b, recommends that mango trees be planted in an orchard (*bustān*) at a distance of 23 *gaz* (yards) from each other. See also Mundy 97: "Round about Kera (Kara, Ilahabad province)....wee sawe and past through many groves of Mango trees Sett in Rancke by measures."

95. This would appear from *T.J.*, 251-2, where it is stated that anyone who converts his cultivated land into an orchard, is entitled to get all his revenue remitted. Allahabad 1198 (A. H. 1085) refers to an orchard laid out by two *muqaddams* (headmen) of a village.

96. This was the case in Goa, where the Portuguese "let out (their coconut trees) unto the Canariins", some of these rentiers having as many as "300 or 400 trees or more" (Linschoten, I, p. 187). In the Mughal Empire even the great imperial garden at Sirhind was yearly rented out "for fifty thousand rupias". (Finch, *Early Travels*, 158).

97. An imperial *farman*, issued in the 8th regnal year of Aurangzeb, recites: "15. Officials and government servants grow in their gardens and those of the Crown (*sarkār-i wālā*) every kind of vegetables and fruits and give them to the greengrocers at double the rates and extort the price by force", (*Mirat*, I, p. 261.)

98. Pelsaert 5; *Mirat*, I, 263-4; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 200a, Bodl. f. 158a-b, Ed. 152; and *Durr-al 'Ulūm*, ff. 55b-56a.

99. Specified in the *Ain*, I, pp. 75-76, as Bengal, Gujarat, Malawa, Khandesh and Dakhin.

100. "In the whole world there is not a tree more profitable than this tree is" (Caesar Frederick: Purchas, X, p. 91). Cf. *Ain*, I, p. 79; Manucci, III, pp. 185-6, &c.

on the changes that appear to have taken place in the products . practices of horticulture during and since our period. These char stemmed, first of all, from the new species of fruit-trees introduced fi America through the agency of the Portuguese. The most not was the pine-apple (ananas sativa), which spread throughout the len and breadth of India with striking rapidity. Grown in the beginr in the Portuguese possessions on the western coast,[101] it had by end of the 16th century become common enough in Bengal[102] and Guj and Baglana[103] to be noticed among the important products of th regions. It figures prominently among the Indian fruits described Abu-l Fazl[104] and during Jahangir's reign many thousands of pi apples were gathered every year in the imperial gardens of Agr Papaya and cashew-nut were introduced from the same source, took more time to spread.[106] Guava was probably introduced after period.[107]

Secondly, the court and the aristocracy made great endeavours grow almost every variety of fruits in their gardens.[108] The atter to grow Central Asian fruits had begun with Babur[109] and it was cla

101. Linschoten, II, p. 19; *T.J.*, p. 173; P. d. Valle, I, pp. 134-5. It is remark that the Brazilian name of the fruit, *ananas*, should also have been taken over] in Persian and the local dialects.

102. *Haft Iqlim*, 94. Cf. also *'Alamgirnama*, pp. 691-2; Bernier, 438; Manucci, p. 183. In the sixties of the 17th century, pineapple of a very good quality found growing in Assam (*Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 32b).

103. *Ain*, I, pp. 488, 492.

104. *Ibid*, I, pp. 69, 76.

105. *T.J.*, p. 173.

106. P. d. Valle (I, pp. 134-5) tasted these two fruits in Daman in 1623. goes too far, however, in attributing an American origin also to the mango 'Giambo' (either eugenia jambolana or eugenia jambos). Linschoten, II, p. had already found the cashew nut growing in the Portuguese possessions noted that it had been transplanted from Brazil. Thevenot, p. 102, noticed it gr ing along the route from Surat to Aurangabad.

107. It may be mentioned that *'amrūd'* in the literature of the time, e.g. *Ai* p. 68 or the tract on agriculture above cited, I.O. 4702, f. 16b-17a, signified a p not guava. The name was transferred to the latter fruit much later.

108. Praising the mangoes of Muqarrab Khān's garden at Kirana (betw Dehli and Sirhind), Mu'tamad Khan says that Muqarrab Khan "had obta seeds of mangoes from the Dakhin, Gujarat and other distant parts of which had heard any praise, and planted them here." He adds that this garden, cove an area of 140 *bighas* or 84 acres, contained "a large number of trees nativ warm and cold climates." (*Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī*, Nawal Kishor ed., III, p. 557

109. *Baburnama*, tr Beveridge, II, p. 686.

ed during the reign of his grandson that melons and vines as good as those of Turan and Iran were being grown in the plains around Agra.[110] But the success was confined only to the imperial gardens and the orchards of the nobility, where their cultivation was often superintended by Central Asian gardeners[111] and the seeds constantly imported from abroad,[112] not to mention the special irrigation facilities that were provided.[113] Nevertheless an important practice was popularised from these efforts in horticultural emulation. Cherries were not grown in Kashmir before Akbar's reign, but now Muḥammad Qulī Afshār transplanted them from Kabul by means of grafting. By the same method, apricot trees which were formerly few, now became plentiful.[114] Apparently for reasons of prestige, the practice was restricted for some time to imperial gardens only, but Shahjahan lifted this ban for both "the select and the masses". Remarkable results are said to have followed from its wider application. The quality of the oranges, the *sangtara, kola* and *nārangī*, was very greatly improved.[115] It was also applied to mangoes in Bengal.[116] How far it was a new practice or only a case of new experiments on lines of an old principle, it is hard to say.[117] Bernier's remarks suggest that by the sixties of the century, it was either not being followed at all or followed only very carelessly in Kashmir, the very site of the first experiment.[118]

Indian sericulture has notoriously suffered a great decline in the last hundred years. In the Mughal Empire, the largest quantity of

110. *Ain*, I, 441; II, 6. Cf. also *Ma'āṣir-i Raḥīmī*, Bib. Ind., II, p. 604.

111. This appears from *Baburnama, op.cit.; Ain*, II, p. 6; and Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 102a, Or. 1671, f. 56a.

112. Pelsaert 48; Bernier, pp. 249-50.

113. The water-works of Mughal gardens are justly famous. Even Roe recognised that "the King and nobility have as excellent and artificial waterworks of their own as can be desired." (*Lett. Recd.* VI, p. xxvi). See also C. M. Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, London, 1913, pp. 14-15 & *passim*.

114. *T.J.*, 299.

115. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 102a; Or. 1671, f. 56a.

116. I.O. 4702, f.28a-b.

117. The practice was of course common in Persia and Central Asia. In the tract on agriculture we have just cited, the method is discussed in detail and the grafting of fig on mulberry, apple on pear, peach on plum, apricot on almond and vine on apple is recommended. All this is taken, however, from the much earlier work, *Risāla-i Falāḥat* (Add. 1771, ff. 157-269 &c.), which was written in Persia.

118. Bernier, 397.

silk was undoubtedly produced in Bengal,[119] but sericulture was also practised in Assam,[120] Kashmir[121] and the western coast.[122] Anything like an estimate of the volume of production comes only from Tavernier, who says that Qasimbazar in Bengal alone could furnish about 22,000 bales, which, since his equation of a bale with 100 *livres* is open to doubt, might mean either 3·1 or 2·4 million lb. av.[123] This estimate, not even of the produce of Bengal, but only of the supply in, perhaps, the chief market,[124] may be compared with the *total* Indian silk production of 3 million lb., as estimated fifty years ago.[125] It is probable, then that there has been an absolute fall in the volume of silk produced since our period, besides a relative fall per head of population.

Lac-culture was also a prominent occupation in Mughal times, but there is no evidence of any particular difference in its position as compared to the present day.[126]

119. *Ain*, I, p. 390; *Haft Iqlim*, 94, 97; Bernier, 202, 439, 441; Master, II, 81-2; Bowrey, 133. The quality of Bengal silk was not as good as that of Persia or Syria, but was much cheaper and it was thought that if "well selected and wrought with care", it might improve in quality as well (Bernier, 439-40). The coarser kinds of silk, tusser and arindi or 'eri' were also cultured in Bengal, the latter chiefly in Ghoraghat (Master, II, pp. 81-2, 202). There was 'great store' of eri silk in Orissa as well; it was not cultured, but, so we are told, "groweth amongst the woods without any labour of man" (Caesar Frederick, Purchas, X, p. 113).

120. Tavernier, II, 220. He is referring probably to tusser silk. Silk was also produced in 'Kuch' or Kuch Bihar (*Haft Iqlim*, 100).

121. *Ain*, I, pp. 562-3; *T.J.*, 300.

122. *Factories, 1668-9*, p. 91.

123. Tavernier, II, p. 2. A bale of Bengal silk weighed, according to Dutch records, 143 lb., while 100 French *livres* of the time would have come to less than 109 lb. av. See Appendix B.

124. It is curious that despite the clear words of the author, Moreland (*India &c. of Akbar*, pp. 173-4) should make the contrary assumption.

125. Maxwell-Lefroy in *Journal, Royal Society of Arts*, 1917, pp. 290ff, cited by Moreland, *op.cit.*, pp. 174, 195.

126. The lac produced in Bengal was the best, the cheapest and the most abundant (*Factories, 1630-33*, p. 323, *1634-6*, p. 146; Tavernier, II, p. 18; Bernier, 440; Bowrey 132). It was also abundant, Tavernier adds, in Assam (II, p. 221). It was produced in Orissa (Bowrey 121-2) and Bihar, but that of the latter region was neither very good nor very cheap (Mundy 151, 153). It was also collected in Gujarat (*Lett. Recd.*, I, 30; Commissariat, *Mandelslo*, 16) and in Bijapur and Malabar (Linschoten, II, p. 90; *Factories, 1624-29*, p. 258). This geographical distribution corresponds largely with that existing today, except for the fact that no authority of our period notices the presence of lac-culture in the region of the British 'Central Provinces', where it is now to be had "abundantly" (Cf. Watt,

Where the 17th century peasant enjoyed a distinctly superior position to his descendant of today was in respect of cattle and draught animals. From what we know about the extent of cultivation during that period, it is obvious that the land available for grazing, both waste and forest, was far greater in extent than now.[127] Even in so densely cultivated a province as Bengal, a traveller found 'pasturages' with 'enormous herds' a noticeable feature of the rural scene.[128] We need not read much into the statement made by contemporary European observers about the great numbers of cattle found in the various parts of India,[129] since cattle were particularly scarce in most parts of Europe, where satisfactory methods of keeping them fed and alive through the winter were yet to be discovered. When, however, Abu-l Fazl says that the number of tax-free cattle allowed per plough was four bullocks, two cows and one buffalo,[130] it is difficult to resist the impression that an ordinary peasant had, compared to these days, a more numerous stock to work with.[131] The larger number of working cattle per head

op.cit., IV, p. 570). Lac yielded a red dye and served as sealing wax and varnish (*Lett. Recd.*, I, p. 30; Commissariat, *Mandelslo*, pp. 16-17; Tavernier, II, pp. 18, 221). As a dye it has now ceased to be of any value owing to chemical competitors.

127. Cf. Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, pp. 106-7; and Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, *Report*, pp. 201-2. It is also to be noted that the extension of cultivation into the Tarai forests has greatly curtailed the excellent grazing land available there to the professional breeders. (See Moreland, *Agricultural Conditions of the United Provinces & Districts*, pp. 28-31).

128. Manrique, II, p. 123.

129. Linschoten, I, pp. 300-301; *Relations*, pp. 63, 86; Roe 67; Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 296; Pelsaert 49; Manrique, II, pp. 123, 329.

130. *Ain*, I, 287. The average number of cattle per yoke in the United Provinces in 1924-5 was 2 bullocks, 1·1 cows and one buffalo; and in the Panjab 2 bullocks, 1·3 cows and 1·4 buffaloes. (Figures worked out from the tables given in the *Report* of the Royal Agricultural Commission, pp. 181-2). For the United Provinces see also Moreland, *Agricultural Conditions* &c., pp. 26-27.

131. There is an interesting memorandum on the number of new peasants, with their bullocks, settled in certain *parganas* in the Aurangabad province assigned as *jāgīr* to Aurangzeb during his viceroyalty of the Dakhin (*Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, p. 245). The total for the bullocks at the head of the memorandum has probably been misread by the editor because it does not conform to the figures given thereunder. The total figures for the peasants and bullocks of *parganas*, where they are both legible, are 158 and 290 respectively. It was estimated that in Bombay, including Sind, there were, in 1924-5, but 10 bullocks to every 8·1 cultivators (male workers) (Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture,

of population is perhaps even better demonstrated by the obvious plenitude of clarified butter or *ghī*. In the Agra region, we are told, butter, with rice, formed "the food of the common people" and there was no one in Agra who did not eat it.[132] Similarly, butter was produced in such plenty in Bengal that besides being part of the diet of the masses, it was also exported.[133] In terms of wheat and millets it was considerably cheaper as compared with to-day. In the *Ain* it is rated 8·75 times dearer than wheat[134] and exactly the same ratio is found in the prices reported officially from Agra in 1669.[135] As worked out by Moreland, the average price of *ghī* prevalent at Agra, Delhi and Lahore in 1910-12 was 13·9 times that of wheat,[136] and it has remained about the same since then.[137] The rise in the relative price of *ghī* does not, however, seem to have been as substantial in the Dakhin: the ratio with the wheat price has, perhaps, altered from about 7 : 1 to 9 : 1.[138]

It may be supposed that with more fodder and grass available, the average quality of the cattle should also have been much better, but

Report, p. 182). This is all the more noteworthy since one would expect the migratory peasants to have belonged generally to the poorest strata.

132. J. Xavier, tr. Hosten, *JASB, N.S.*, XXIII, 1927, p. 121.

133. Bernier, pp. 438, 440.

134. *Ain*, I, pp. 60, 65.

135. *Ma'āsir-i 'Alamgiri*, 98. For *raughan* in the printed text, Add. 19,495, f. 54b, reads *raughan-i zard*, this being the more specific word for *ghi*. A report of prices, dated August 5, 1678, from Ajmer, puts the price of *ghi* at as low as 5·5 times that of wheat, but this was probably because grains were fetching exceptionally high prices owing to a failure of the rains. (*Waqā'i'-i Ajmir*, p. 14).

136. *JRAS*, 1918, p. 820.

137. The price of *ghi* at the Amritsar market was nearly 14 times that of wheat at Ludhiana in 1939 and nearly 16 times in 1952. For the Doab, only the rates for the inferior *deshi* buffalo *ghi* are available and even this (Chandausi) carried a price 12 times that of wheat (Hapur) in 1952. See *Agricultural Prices in India, 1951 & 1952*, pp. 132, 200.

138. An official price-report from Aurangabad, dated May 20, 1661, shows the price of *ghi* to be about 7·5 times that of wheat (*Waqa'i' Dakhin*, 37, 43-44), while another '*nirkhnāma*', dated February 19, 1662, puts it at 6·5 times (*ibid*, 75-76; *Daftar-i Dīwānī o Māl o Mulkī, &c.*, pp. 73, 75). The ratio for the present day has been worked out from a comparison of the price of *ghi* in the Hyderabad market in February 1952 and the harvest price of wheat for the whole state as well as for the Bidar district. The necessary data have been obtained from the *Agricultural Prices in India, 1951 and 1952* and its supplement, *Farm (Harvest) Prices of Principal Crops, 1947-48 to 1951-52.*

the traditional aversion to slaughtering useless cattle[139] makes it unlikely that the breeds were much superior.[140] The milk-yield of the cows and buffaloes in the imperial stables,[141] at the maximum, does not exceed that given by the best breeds today, and a Dutch observer noted that the cattle gave "nothing like so much milk" as those of his own country,[142] where the general slaughter before every winter enforced a remorseless selection.

The wool of the Indian sheep also was not of a quality that could impress European travellers: it was coarse and regarded as fit only for blankets.[143] The goat's hair from which the famous shawls of Kashmir were woven, was really imported from Ladakh and Tibet.[144]

If, as we have suggested above, the cattle population per capita was larger than today, one would expect the peasant of our period to have a more abundant supply of cattle manure. Moreover, since wasteland and jungles were far more extensive and firewood, therefore, more easily available, cow-dung would probably have done its proper duty as

139. This sentiment was strongest in regions like Bengal (Fitch: Ryley 119, *Early Travels*, 28), Gujarat (Roe 67) and the Dakhin (*Relations* 17; *Factories 1655-60*, p. 261; Tavernier, II, 169) particularly, of course, in respect of cow-slaughter. Cow-slaughter was also administratively discouraged by Akbar and Jahangir, which seems to have had some effect of its own in Northern India (Pelsaert 49). Here, however, the existence of Muslim communities created a large market for meat (cf. Tavernier, I, 38). Sind, in fact, exported hides (Linschoten, I, p. 56; Manucci, II, 427).

140. The point has, however, been made that the best Indian breeds were the result of the efforts of the special castes of professional breeders, who were nomadic and took cattle to graze over long distances. The extension of cultivation has either seriously curtailed or completely eliminated their occupation (Royal Agricultural Commission, *Report*, pp. 198-9). It is interesting to note that Hisar, the home of the famous breed, has an old history as an exporter of cattle (Cf. Bālkrishan Brahman, ff. 59b-60a, concerning the despatch of two batches of 349 and 652 *gāo* (cows, bulls and/or bullocks) to an unnamed potentate at the price of about Rs. 7½ per head, from the *chakla* of Hisar).

141. "A cow gives daily 1 *ser* to 15 *ser* (1·4 to 20·7 lb. av.) of milk and a buffalo from 2 to 30 *ser* (2·8 to 41·5 lb.)"—*Ain*, I, p. 151. The buffalo of the breed of Mahur (Berar) gave one *man* (55·32 lb.) or more of milk (every day). (*Ibid*, p. 477).

142. *Relations*, p. 86. The statement relates only to Golkunda.

143. Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 297; *Lett. Recd.*, VI, p. 200.

144. *T.J.*, 301. Cf. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 245-6.

a fertiliser and not been consumed as fuel.[145] Still, in the more densely cultivated regions like the Agra province, where firewood was scarce, "the poor" commonly used to burn cow-dung for domestic purposes.[146]

It is no part of our present purpose to dwell upon the developments which have taken place subsequent to our period. But in so far as they help us to mark out the particular features of agricultural production in our period, it may be useful to recall where the changes since then have been most pronounced. In the food crops, the only additions have been maize and potato, while the lower grade millets have declined in significance. The important difference has, however, been in the proportionate increase in the acreage devoted to the cash crops at the expense of foodgrains. The increase in their acreage has gone hand in hand with a considerable geographical concentration of particular crops in certain tracts. The twin processes arose in the 19th century with the destruction of important Indian hand industries, chiefly textiles, and the conversion of our agrarian economy into a source of raw materials for the Workshop of the World.[147] The same impulse led to the ultimate ruin of the indigo crop and sericulture.[148] But on the whole it may be said that the new organisation of the distribution of crops has enabled land to be devoted to crops for which it is best suited, in contrast to Mughal times, when a tendency towards self-sufficiency in the main crops was to be observed in almost every region. Besides, the predominant emphasis on food crops in those times must have led to useless surpluses in favourable years. We had concluded at the end of Section 1 that were other things to remain the same, the fertility of the average acre under the plough should have declined since the Mughal period. It is possible to argue that the better distribution of crops must to a very large part have mitigated the effects

145. Cf., however, Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, p. 107, where it is argued that the droppings of cattle on the grazing land might not have been collected at all and much of the fertiliser lost, owing to the extensiveness of the waste land itself.

146. Pelsaert 48; Ovington, 183.

147. Cf. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Eng. tr., ed. Dona Torr, pp. 453-4.

148. We have not included the introduction of tobacco and pine-apple in the changes since Mughal times, because actually they were introduced early in the 17th century and it is not clear how far their per capita production has increased since then. The tea and coffee plantations of today lie largely outside the limits of the Mughal Empire. Opium and true hemp, on the other hand, are on the way out.

of this decline. On the other hand, the reckless encroachments on grazing and forest lands, in the environment of a moribund economy, have caused a dangerous crisis in animal husbandry, which in a country, where cattle power is used to drag the plough and work the water-lift, must be regarded pre-eminently as a pillar of agriculture.

4. Agricultural Manufactures

The combination of purely agricultural work with manufacturing processes was a notable feature of peasant life in our period. The destruction of the rural 'cottage industries' forms one of the most violent chapters in the economic history of British rule in India.[1] From the facts of the last century, when the elements of the older system still survived or were remembered, it is possible to obtain a general picture of these industries in Mughal times. But the following outline is mainly based on contemporary evidence.

It is to be supposed that in the case of foodgrains, the peasant's part in the productive process generally ended with the threshing of the corn.[2] The milling of flour (by hand) and rice-husking took place usually in the household of the consumer and were confined, in that of the peasant, to whatever was meant for the consumption of his own family.[3]

1. See R. Dutt, *The Economic History of India under Early British Rule*, London, 6th ed., pp. 256ff. & *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age*, London, 1950, pp. 99-123; also D. R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India*, 1944, pp. 33-47.

2. Of which the methods were practically the same as now. A description of these is given by Fryer, II, p. 108, who especially notes threshing with the aid of yoked oxen in the "open Fields". Why he should describe this as the practice of "Moor-men" (Muslims) and threshing with a "Stick" as that of "Gentues" (Hindus) is obscure. It varies, of course, with the kind of grain, and the locality, not the faith of the peasant.

3. "The *Indian* Wives dress their Husbands Victuals, fetch Water, and grind their Corn with an Hand-Mill, when they sing, chat and are merry". (Fryer, II, 118. Cf. also Linschoten, I, pp. 246, 261). Only now has the establishment of power mills modified to some degree, and that only in the towns, this universal picture of the Indian woman's daily work in the home. In the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 57a-b, there is an account of the milling of 4 *mans*, 4 *sers* of wheat. The flour obtained amounted to 4 *mans* and the wages of the grinder came to 3 annas per *man*, representing according to the price of wheat given in the same manual, 3¾ *sers* of the grain. Ordinary wheat flour (*khushka*) is priced a quarter above wheat in the *Ain*, I, p. 63. See also the prices in the *Waqa'i' Dakhin*, 37, 42-43, 75, 77. In 1630 we find the English proposing to buy 7000 maunds of "paddye (which when

It was chiefly in respect of the so-called 'cash crops' that not only the existing techniques, but also the conditions of transport, made it necessary for certain manufacturing processes to be carried out before the produce left the hands of the peasant or, at least, the precincts of the village. Thus cotton was picked and ginned by the peasants and then cleaned or carded by a special class of itinerant labourers, called *dhunyas*.[4] After this it was spun into yarn within the peasant households[5] and so finally became ready for sale to be passed on to the weaver. With the transfer of its ultimate destination to the textile factory, the processes of ginning, cleaning and spinning have all been largely lost to the countryside, the picked crop being usually sent straight off to the ginning mills. Sugar and *gur* manufacture was another important village industry,[6] now in full retreat before power-worked refineries. The

beaten there will be reduced to somewhat above 4,500 maunds ryce)". (*Factories, 1630-33*, p. 62).

4. This is the Hindi name, the process being known as *dhunnā*. The Persian term for the carder is *naddāf*. That he was itinerant and moved from "village to village" with his family, appears from Thevenot 10, *Mirat*, I, p. 260 and *Ẓawābiṭ-i 'Alamgīrī*, Ethe 415. f. 181b; Or. 1641, f. 136a; Add. 6598, f. 189a. The caste is also described in the very interesting work, James Skinner's *Tashrīḥ-al Aqwām*, written in 1825 (ff. 302b-303a). In cases where cotton wool, not yarn, was put on the market, cotton was not carded, because it would then have swelled and become too bulky for transport (*Factories, 1665-67*, p. 174. Cf. also *ibid, 1630-33*, pp. 19-20).

5. "It (yarn) is made or spun in the out villadges by the porest sort of people; from whence it is gleaned up by persons that trade in it". (*Ibid, 1661-65*, p. 112).

6. Thevenot, p. 102, speaking of his journey from Surat to Ahmadabad says: "in many places they have Sugar-Canes, with Mills to bruise the Canes and Furnaces to boyl the Sugar." Careri, p. 169, describes the "Sugar Canes Press'd between two great wooden Roulers, turn'd about by Oxen, whence they come out thoroughly squeez'd". Wooden rollers were replaced by iron rollers only in the last century (Cf. Crooke, *North-Western Provinces of India*, p. 332). The process of refining the sugar by boiling it in iron couldrons is referred to in Careri 169, *Mirat*, I, p. 287 and *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 61b, besides Thevenot, *op.cit*. *Guṛ* (Persian, *qand-i siyāh*) must have been the most common of all varieties of sugar. Abu-l Fazl (*Ain*, I, p. 77) mentions it, but does not give its price. The prices reported from Aurangabad in 1661 and Ramgir in 1662 show it to have been worth about twice the price of wheat (*Waqa'i' Dakhin*, 37, 43, 75, 76; *Daftar-i Diwani o Mal o Mulki*, p. 173). This implies that it was relatively more expensive than now, when its price seldom exceeds anywhere one and a quarter of wheat. Careri, 169, saw white sugar being manufactured in the villages and Abu-l Fazl lists four varieties beside *gur*: Red and white (powdered) sugar, white candy (or crystals)

extraction of oil from the oilseeds also used to take place within the village at the hands of members of the semi-itinerant caste of *telīs*, oilmen working with the help of primitive ox-driven presses.[7] In the Agra region, at least, the indigo dye was manufactured in the villages, probably generally requiring some kind of co-operative effort among the cultivators. The method used then is often described in detail by contemporaries[8] and it remained essentially the same till the very last days of the crop.[9] It appears, however, that in Gujarat the peasants frequently sold the leaf to a class of middle-men who arranged for the extraction of the dye and finally put it on the market.[10]

No claim is made that the facts adduced above are anywhere near comprehensive. They should nevertheless help us to appreciate the degree to which the wholesale separation of industry from agriculture has intensified, even if it has not wholly created, the problem of seasonal unemployment in the villages. And if we look still more closely, we will notice that the manufactures we have mentioned covered some of

and the best refined *nabāt*. (*Ain*, I, pp. 65, 77). Moreland finds their prices as given in the *Ain*, to be much higher in relation to wheat than now (*JRAS*, 1918, p. 379; *India &c. of Akbar*, pp. 157-8).

7. The Persian name for *telī* is *'aṣṣār*, who like the cotton-carder, is presumed to be itinerant in occupation in a *farman* of Aurangzeb, preserved in the *Mirat*, I, p. 260. The similar economic position of the *dhunya* and the *teli* is probably responsible for the tradition that the former sprang from the latter (*Tashrih-al Aqwam*, *op.cit.*; the *teli* is portrayed and described on ff. 299b-301a).

8. Finch, *Early Travels*, 153-4; *Lett. Recd.*, IV, p. 241; Pelsaert 10-11, 15; Mundy 221-3; Tavernier, II, pp. 8-9. The process consisted, to put it briefly, in putting the stalks into one large vat and running off the water, when it had absorbed the dye, into another, where the dye was first fully dissolved by stirring the water continuously and then allowed to settle to the bottom. It was then collected and spread on cloth to dry.

9. The practice of the Anglo-Indian planters, as described, for example, in N. G. Mukerji's *Handbook of Indian Agriculture*, 301, shows no basic change from the process followed by the peasants of the 17th century. Voelcker's *Report*, 261-5, contains a detailed criticism of the manufacturing methods of these planters. The indigo planters' place in Indian history rests not on their inventive genius but their record of robbery, torture and murder, those pretty methods of what Marx called 'primitive accumulation'. (Cf. L. Natarajan, *Peasant Uprisings in India (1850-1900)*, Bombay, 1953, pp. 33-47).

10. *Factories, 1634-36*, p. 292. The English at Ahmadabad attempted to buy the leaf themselves and manufacture the dye with the aid of hired labour, but the experiment proved uneconomical. (*Ibid, 1646-50*, pp. 77-78, 189, 202-3.)

the most important needs of the peasant's family. When a village—or a group of villages—spun its own yarn and obtained its own sugar and oil,[11] and when the rural weaver, carpenter, blacksmith and potter sufficed for practically everything that a peasant's household required, the clothing, the plough and the few farming tools and earthen pots,[12] there would have been little left that a village would need from outside.

11. It might be best to remember here that the cultivation of cotton and sugarcane was, in geographical terms, far more widespread than now.

12. "In each aldea (village) they have all the occupations and their menials, to wash clothes, to remove refuse, a blacksmith, etc." (Monserrate, *Informacion*, tr. Hosten, *JASB, N.S.*, XVIII, p. 352). This, written in 1579, refers to the Salsette Island and the Konkan. See also Chapter III, Section 1, for the few material possessions of the peasant of Mughal India.

CHAPTER II

TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

1. LONG DISTANCE TRADE

It is perhaps axiomatic to say that a consideration of the extent and organisation of the market for agricultural produce is essential to any serious study of agrarian economy. The available evidence relating to the commercial conditions of the period is by no means small. It tends, however, to emphasise the trade in high value goods, with which we are not directly concerned. Besides, the day is still awaited when the whole of it is subjected to a detailed and adequate analysis.[1] At the moment, while avoiding details, which will take us too far outside our sphere, a short description is offered of the main features and pattern of the trade carried on in agricultural products.

The closely knit national market of today is clearly the creation of the railways. The most obvious limitations besetting long distance trade in our period were those of the means of transport. Bullock-carts, camels and pack-oxen carried the goods of commerce on land-routes that were little more than tracks, though distinguished in the case of the major highways, at any rate, by a system of *sarā'is,* or walled lodging and store-houses, for passing the nights.[2] But the ordinary caravans

1. This is in no way meant to reflect upon Moreland's studies embodied in his *India &c. of Akbar* and *Akbar to Aurangzeb.* His main purpose, however, was to delineate the most general features only and his attention in the latter work especially is riveted mostly upon foreign trade.

2. The systematic construction of *sarais* on the routes is generally attributed to Sher Shah ('Abbās Khān, ff. 108b-109a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari,* II, p. 106; Badauni, I, pp. 363, 384; Aḥmad Yādgār, 227-8.) The *sarais* are described frequently by European travellers, e.g. Steel & Crowther, *Purchas,* IV, p. 268; Manrique, II, 99-101; Bernier, 233; Tavernier, I, p. 45; Bowrey, 117; Manucci, I, pp. 68, 69, 116—Bernier is alone in his sneers. There is no contemporary complaint about the charges paid for lodging in the *sarais,* and from Marshall, 117-8, these would appear to have been nearly nominal. Some of the routes were marked by avenues of trees, wells at short distances and minarets set up at intervals of *kurohs.* (See, besides the Persian authorities above cited, *A.N.,* III, p. 111; Finch, *Early Travels,* 160, 185-6; Steel & Crowther, *op.cit.;* Coryat, *Early Travels,* 244; *T.J.,* 277; Roe, 493; Mundy, 82-84, 86, 92; Bernier 284; Thevenot, 57, 85; Tavernier, I, p. 78).

or *qāfilas* of merchants were able to carry only articles of higher value The transport on land of goods of bulk, like foodgrains, sugar, butter and salt, was organised on peculiar lines by the famous caste of *banjāras*, who held a practical monopoly of this trade.[3] Their method consisted of driving enormous herds of pack-laden bullocks, feeding on lands along the routes.[4] The *banjaras* were themselves nomads and lived with their families in camps or *ṭāndas*. A large *tanda* might contain as many as 600 or 700 souls and up to 12,000 or 15,000 or even 20,000 bullocks,[5] which would have carried something like 1,600 to 2,700 tons.[6] On occasions such as when a large army had to be supplied, the *banjaras* might collect a hundred thousand bullocks or more.[7] On the whole, the volume

Local officials were asked to build bridges over *nālas* or streams and channels, wherever these presented difficulties to the traffic passing on the routes (*Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 128a. Bodl. 98b-99a, Ed. 98-99). There is evidence that the great imperial highway running across the plains was carried over such rivers as the Degh, the Karnal stream, the Sengar, Rind, Gomati and Kudra by stone or brick bridges (Monserrate 98; Mundy 89,91; Tavernier, I, p. 98; Sujan Rai, 73). Similarly, the route leading from Agra to the Dakhin, crossed the Utangan and Kuwari on such bridges (Mundy 64-5; Tavernier, I, p. 53), and later on the Sindh (Manucci, II, p. 322). But the larger rivers were almost all unbridged (Bernier 380), except for the boat-bridges such as the ones thrown across the Jamuna at Agra and Dehli (*A. N.*, III, p. 151; Bernier 241). Most of the smaller rivers and streams were also probably crossed at fords. As a result, during the rains, while some routes, like the Agra-Patna route, became difficult or unsuitable for wheeled traffic (*Factories, 1618-21*, pp. 258, 263; Mundy 143-4), flooded rivers closed the Agra-Burhanpur route altogether for the season (Tavernier, I, p. 31).

3. Cf. *T.J.*, 345; *Factories 1624-29*, p. 270; Mundy 55, 95; Tavernier, I, 33-34. The classification of the *banjaras* by Tavernier into four distinct castes, each exclusively carrying corn, rice, pulse and salt is entirely fanciful. They took to any region such goods as it was in need of and returned with those of which it had a surplus (Mundy, 96, 98-9; cf. also *Aḥkām-i 'Ālamgīrī*, f. 83a). They traded largely on their own account, but were ready on occasions to carry goods for others (Mundy 95-6).

4. Mundy 96. Among the exactions declared illegal by Aurangzeb are listed the fees levied on the *banjaras* for grazing their animals (*Mirat*, I, 287; Fraser 86, f. 93a; Khafi Khan, I, p. 87).

5. Roe 67; Mundy 95-6; Tavernier, I, pp. 32-3.

6. A bullock seems to have normally carried about 4½ *man-i Shāhjahānī*, or 310 lb. av. (*Factories, 1655-60*, p. 63). Mundy, 95, puts the load at 4 *man-i-Jahāngīrī*, i.e. 265·5 lb. only and Marshall, 425, at 4 *man-i Shāhjahānī* (or 295 lb.). Tavernier, I, 32, on the other hand, thought it to be as much as 300 or 350 *livres*, i.e. 327 to 380·5 lb.

7. *T.J.*, 345, *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 83a.

of goods transported annually by them must have been very considerable, large enough, probably, to be expressed in terms of hundreds of thousands of tons. The costs of transport under this system were obviously much lower than those of the other methods of land transit,[8] but the pace was also much the slowest[9] and the necessity of finding grazing lands along the routes must have severely limited the *banjaras*' operations during the summer and in the drier tracts.

As might be imagined it was the rivers which in fact offered the cheapest means of transport.[10] In Bengal,[11] Sind[12] and Kashmir[13] goods were mostly conveyed on boats. From Agra barges of great "burthen"—of 300 to 500 'tonns'—sailed to Patna and Bengal down the Jamuna and the Ganges, performing the downward journey during the rains and taking the rest of the year to come up again.[14] Similarly, Lahor and

8. This may be deduced, for instance, from *Factories 1618-21*, p. 102 and *1655-60*, p. 63. The low costs were not primarily due to the use of bullocks. Pack-oxen hired in the ordinary way were more expensive in terms of weight carried than carts (Marshall, 117-118), which in turn were distinctly more expensive than camels (*Lett. Recd.*, IV, 237-8). The real savings affected by the *banjaras* arose from the fact that in their *tanda* fifty to hundred bullocks might be looked after by just one family, while by allowing time to their animals to graze along the route they did not have normally to spend anything on fodder.

9. "Not above 6 or 7 miles a daye att most" (Mundy 96). Otherwise pack-oxen provided the quickest transport (Tavernier, I, p. 33). It may be of interest to note that a laden cart normally took 35 days to reach Agra from Patna in the dry season (*Factories, 1618-21*, pp. 191, 199) and both carts and camels 50 days to perform the journey between Agra and Surat (*Lett. Recd.*, IV, pp. 237-8).

10. This may be illustrated by the transport charges quoted in 1639: "Freight or cartage of goods" from Agra to Multan was Rs. 2½ per 'maen'; but from Multan to Thatta, a slightly longer distance, the freight by boat amounted only to R. ¾ 'per maen' (*Factories, 1637-41*, 135-6).

11. *Ain*, I, p. 389.

12. *Ibid*, 555. It is stated that there were some 40,000 boats "small and big" plying in the *sarkar* of Thatta, or Sind below Bhakkar. See also *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, Or. 1685, f. 58a-b.

13. *Ibid*, 563; *T.J.*, 298. Abu-l Fazl says there were 30,000 boats in the country of Kashmir (*A.N.*, III, 550), while Jahangir, *op.cit.*, gives the number as 5,700 for "the city (the later Srinagar) and the *parganas*."

14. Jourdain 162; Mundy 87-88. Moreland puts the 'tun' of the English authorities of the time at 6/10 to 9/10 of the *net* registered ton of modern shipping (*India &c. of Akbar*, pp. 310-12). Bowrey, 225, speaks of "great flat bottomed Vessels of an Exceeding Strength... called Patellas", plying between Patna and Hugli, each of which brought down 4,000 to 6,000 'Bengala maunds', or about 130 to nearly 200 tons in weight.

Multan were river-ports from which rather smaller craft went down to Thatta.[15] To judge from the fact that 10,000 'tonns' of salt alone were annually transported on boats from Agra to Bengal,[16] the rivers must have really borne a very great volume of traffic. The capacity of the coasting fleet also, considering the circumstances of the time, was impressive,[17] and it was extensively used for the transport of goods of bulk, including foodgrains.[18] It was very vulnerable, however, to piratical attacks, exactions and restrictions from the European ships which now dominated the Indian seas.[19]

The broad effects imposed upon trade by contemporary conditions of transport may best be appreciated by a study of transport costs in the context of the prices then prevailing. For example, the cost of a *man*-load carried on camel's back from Agra to Surat in the early years of the 17th century amounted,[20] in terms of the *Ain's* prices, to no less than four times the price of the same weight in wheat, but only half that of

15. Steel & Crowther, *Purchas*, IV, p. 268; *Factories, 1634-36*, p.244; *1637-41* pp. 135-7. The burthen of these boats is put variously at 40 to 50 'tunnes' '100 tonns and upwards' and 500 to 2000 'maens' (i.e. up to 65 tons in weight) (Salbancke, *Purchas*, III, p. 85; *Factories, op.cit.*).

16. Jourdain, 162.

17. The English factors at Surat, for example, speak in 1648, of "the greate quantity of shipping these country merchants are already possessed of" and "consequently" of their own fear that if they offered the Company's ships for sale "though serviceable and good ships, how exceedingly they would be undervallued" (*Factories, 1646-50*, p. 190). Cf. also Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, pp. 227ff. and *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 81ff.

18. In October 1705 the Diwan of Gujarat received an order to despatch 200,000 *mans* of foodgrains by sea for Aurangzeb's army operating on the western coast (*Akhbarat A* 182). If the quantity is expressed in terms of *man-i Shāhjahānī*, it would have been equivalent to 6,600 tons, but, if the *man* of Gujarat is meant to 3,300 tons. A similar order for despatching 100,000 *mans* by sea had been received a year or two earlier (*Mirat*, I, p. 354).

19. It was not only that the 'licensing' system instituted by the Portuguese and later the Dutch and the English, imposed great financial burden on Indian shipping but it was also used to debar Indian ships from certain lines of trade. Thus the Dutch forcibly prevented them from carrying cotton or opium to Malabar or bringing pepper from there (see below). In 1677 they blocked all sea-borne exports of rice from the Gingelly or Kalinga coast (T. Raychaudhuri, *The Dutch in Coromandel*).

20. The rates quoted per *man-i Jahāngīrī* in three consecutive years are as follows: Rs. 1½ (Rs. 1·3 *Jahangiri*) in 1617; Rs. 1⅝ in 1618; and Rs. 1⅝ and 1⅜ in 1619 (*Lett. Recd.*, VI, p. 238; *Factories, 1618-21*, pp. 47, 51, 73-4).

white sugar.[21] Unfortunately the costs incurred by the *banjaras* are nowhere stated,[22] but we can still form some idea of the charges of river-transport. The cost of transit by boat from Multan to Thatta in 1639 was nearly twice the *Ain's* price of wheat but only about one-sixth of its price of white sugar.[23] These illustrations lend emphasis to the point that, taking into account the means of conveyance only, the proportional divergence in prices between distant markets had to be very great before movement in foodgrains and similar goods of bulk could take place, while in articles of higher value the necessary margin would have been much smaller. Moreover, price-differences should have tended to be far less along rivers than across land.

But there were other factors, besides the physical means of transport, which must also have greatly influenced carrying trade. Of these, transit dues may be assigned cardinal importance. A series of imperial orders issued by Akbar and his successors declare all such imposts—known indiscriminately as *bāj*, *tamghā* or *zakāt*—abolished, either entirely or with some exceptions.[24] It is possible that they resulted in the elimi-

21. *Ain*, I, pp. 60, 65.

22. As has been said above the transport organised by the *banjaras* was undoubtedly the cheapest on land. Nevertheless it may be a mistake to overrate this. In 1656 saltpetre was despatched from Agra to Surat, apparently, through the agency of the *banjaras* and the saving resulting therefrom is particularly emphasised. The amount paid was Rs. 2·7 per *man-i Shāhjahānī*. This included transit dues, so that an exact comparison is not possible. But it was not certainly inexpensive. (*Factories, 1655-60*, p. 63).

23. *Factories, 1637-41*, pp. 135, 136. The cost of transit amounted to one-ninth and one-thirteenth, respectively, of the current prices of white sugar at Lahor and Multan, quoted in the same document. The current price of wheat is not given, but it came to about two-thirds of the price given for Lahor at the end of the century. (*Khulāṣatu-s Siyāq*, f. 90b; Or. 2026, f. 57a).

24. Akbar issued a *farman* to this effect in the early years of his reign ('Arif Qandahari, 30-32). The text of the *farman* issued in the 37th year of his reign is preserved in the *Inshā-i Abū-l Faẓl*, 67-8 and *Mirat*, I, pp. 171-3. (See also *A.N.*, III, pp. 295-6; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 347; *Ain*, I, p. 284). Jahangir refers to his order on his accession in *T.J.*, 4. (Cf. Asad Beg, f. 30a). Shahjahan's *farman* is given in Ṣāliḥ Kambū's *Bahār-ī Sukhan*, Add. 5557, ff. 23b-24a; Or. 178, ff. 51a-53a. (Cf. also *Chār Chaman-i Barhaman*, A: f. 25a; B: f. 16a-b). Aurangzeb's *farman*, issued in the year of his accession, is reproduced in *Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 37b-38b, and is described in *Mir'at-al 'Ālam*, Aligarh MS., ff. 138b-139a; *'Ālamgīrnāma*, 435-9; *Mirat*, I, pp. 249, 251-2; *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, 530-31; Khafi Khan, II, pp. 87-90. For another order enumerating the forbidden dues, see *Mirat*, I, pp. 286-7.

nation of a number of tolls and taxes, many of them probably inherited from the annexed kingdoms.[25] Nevertheless despite the comprehensive phraseology of the texts of the orders, they do not seem ever to have had more than a partial effect. Duties of all types continued to be collected: Either this was done illegally, for the benefit of the *jāgīrdārs* or other officials, or what had been abolished on the one hand, was authorised on the other.[26] One ought apparently to distinguish between two categories of such taxes. In the big marts, frontier towns and ports all goods sent out or in transit had to pay a duty of 2½ per cent *ad valorem*,[27]

25. For some success in enforcing these orders see Monserrate, 79-80 and *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, p. 36. It is probable that the Mughal Empire represented in this respect a great improvement on conditions under the provincial kingdoms. Thevenot, 131, by implication, favourably compares the Mughal toll system with that of Golkunda. It similarly comes out in a better light when the imposts in territories under the imperial administration are compared with the exactions levied by the tributary chiefs. Thus transit dues between Agra and Patna are said to have amounted to Rs. 14 and, at most, to Rs. 20 per cart in 1621 (*Factories, 1618-21*, pp. 269-70). Twelve years later the duties on the Agra-Ahmadabad route, which represented no greater distance, could only be compounded for Rs 45 per cart (Mundy 278). This route passed through the territories of the Rajput chiefs. Elsewhere, in an English document of 1616, the "customes and extortions" on this route are described as "intollerable" and the alternative route from Surat, *via* Burhanpur, to Agra, which passed almost entirely through imperial lands, is preferred as 'safer, speedier and cheaper'. (Foster, *Supp. Cal.*, 89). For other complaints of imposts levied in the chiefs' territories, see Tavernier, I, p. 31; *Factories, 1646-50*, pp. 192-3 & *Waqā'i'-i Ajmir*, 12-13, 196 &c.

26. According to *A.N.*, III, 670, it was reported in the 40th year that despite the *tamgha* having been abolished, money was still being collected on the routes under the pretence that it was for the *tamgha* and officers had to be deputed to suppress this practice. They could not have been very successful because upon his accession Jahangir noted that such dues were being exacted in "every province and every *sarkar*." (*T.J.*, 4). Jahangir's own order, more sweeping than that of his father, proved to be little more than mere rhetoric, for we find Nur Jahan's agents collecting transit dues right opposite Agra (Pelsaert 4). Khafi Khan's remarks about why Aurangzeb's order forbidding the collection of these duties remained a dead letter, would seem to have been true in the case of his predecessors as well. First, says Khafi Khan, no one found guilty of levying illegal cesses was ever seriously punished; and secondly, the banned imposts were often included in the *jama'* of the assigned *jagirs*, so that the *jagirdars* had no option but to collect them. (Khafi Khan, II, pp. 88-9).

27. This rate is given for the ports in *Ain*, I, p. 204. A similar duty was levied at Multan for goods conveyed to Qandahar or Thatta in the reign of Shahjahan (*Factories 1637-41*, p. 81); it was also imposed on goods purchased in Upper

though in some places it was more, in others less.[28] Aurangzeb raised the rate to 5 per cent for the Hindus, but kept it at the old percentage for the Muslims, except for a period of fifteen years when they were exempted altogther.[29] Foodgrains, like other commodities, were definitely subject to this duty,[30] though they might be exempted in times of scarcity.[31] More burdensome, perhaps, were the various tolls and cesses—generally called *rāhdārī* in the 17th century—which were exacted by the various authorities controlling the routes. These were apparently mostly proportionate to the value of goods carried,[32] though in such cases as river-crossings a uniform rate might be levied.[33] Imperial edicts emphasise particularly that foodgrains and articles of mass consumption should be exempt from all these imposts.[34] The burden on these goods might not have been heavy in normal circumstances, but, paradoxically, it became very severe in conditions of scarcity or famine. In such cases not only did the amount of dues rise proportionally, but it is probable that under the pretence of collecting them, the officials held up the trade till they had obtained a share in the merchants' profits expected from the high prices.[35] Moreover, it is almost certain that

Sind (*ibid, 1655-60*, p. 81). Aurangzeb in his *farman* abolishing transit dues, specifically excludes from its terms, "the established *zakat*, which on frontiers and in particular towns is fixed and instituted in accordance with imperial orders". (*Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff-37b-38b). The goods paid duty upon an estimate of their value based upon the official report of the retail prices prevailing in the local market (Pelsaert 43; *Factories 1637-41*, p. 136; *Mirat*, I, pp. 318-19, 339-40; *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 90a-92b, Or. 2026, ff. 57a-59a).

28. 3½ per cent. "inwards and outwards" at Surat and 1¼ or 1½ per cent. at Baroch. (Foster, *Supp. Cal.*, 47, 86; Pelsaert, 42, 43; Commissariat, *Mandelslo*, p. 9). Only ¼ per cent was paid at Thatta for clearance from the *ghāṭ* or channel, it being supposed, presumably, that the main duty had been paid on up-country goods at Multan. (*Factories 1637-41*, p. 136).

29. See *Mirat*, I, pp. 258-9, 265, 298-9; *Factories 1655-67*, p. 266; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 59b-60a.

30. Cf. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, *op.cit.;* Fraser 86, f. 74a-b.

31. Khafi Khan, II, p. 88, Or. 6574, f. 33b; *Mirat*, I, pp. 309, 315.

32 Thus the English factors at Surat, writing to their colleague in Burhanpur, 1616, declare that as regards "the customes etc. aryseing on cartes on the way, wee conceave that severall comodities pay different customes." (Foster, *Supp. Cal.*, 66).

33. *Ain*, I, p. 204; Tavernier, I, p. 96.

34. See the texts of the *farmans* of Akbar, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, *op. cit.*

35. The famine in Dacca in Bengal in 1662-3 was attributed to "the heavy burden of the *zakat*, the oppression of the *rāhdārs* (officers in charge of the routes) and the exactions of the *chaukīdārs* (men posted at *chaukīs* or toll and

with the relaxation of central authority towards the close of our period, the incidence of these cesses rose enormously.[36]

As for the general state of law and order in which the trade was carried on, it is worth noticing, in the first place, that the organisation of the caravans and *sarais*, of the *tandas* of *banjaras*, who went armed,[37] and, possibly, of flotillas in the rivers[38] was in each case designed to meet the threat of robbery on the routes.[39] The protection of the routes was moreover regarded as one of the foremost duties of the administration and it was a well-established law of the Mughal Empire that the officer in whose jurisdiction a robbery or theft occurred was bound either to recover the goods or himself pay compensation to the victims.[40] The officers met this obligation by pursuing a policy of fero-

guard stations)", and the consequent inability of the merchants to bring grain to the city. Ultimately Dāūd Khān, the acting governor of Bengal, was constrained to exempt foodgrains from all such duties on his own authority, and his action was later upheld at the Court. (*Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, ff. 79b-80a, 110b-111a). Although the text of the general *farman* of Aurangzeb (as given in the *Durr-ul 'Ulum*) is silent on the point, all chroniclers commenting upon it, agree that it was meant to give relief especially in view of the scarcity conditions prevailing over large parts of the Empire. It is interesting to note that in Sind traffic used to be held up in normal times, nominally for the collection of dues, but really to extort bribes (*Factories 1637-41*, p. 137, *1655-60*, p. 81). One may assume that such a profitable system could not have been confined to Sind alone. In Aurangzeb's later years, when high prices were prevailing in his camp in the Dakhin, the *mutaṣaddī* of Surat extorted Rs. 2 per bullock and his agent, R. 1, from the *banjaras*, before allowing them to take grain to the imperial army (*Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 148b).

36. Khafi Khan, II, 87-90, though a later writer, portrays the situation in detail and says that the imposts and cesses levied in Aurangzeb's reign surpassed those of the past, and the *zamindars* also became bold enough to collect tolls everywhere. A commodity taken inland from the ports might have to pay as much duty as it had been bought for. Aurangzeb himself writes of the exactions of the *amin* and *faujdar* of Seoni (Khandesh): "This is not *rahdārī*, but *rahzanī* (highway robbery)" (*Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, Kanpur, p. 14). Cf. also Manucci, IV, p. 16.

37. Mundy 262. For their readiness to fight, see Tavernier, I, p. 33.

38. Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, pp. 167-8.

39. This may be the reason why *thagī* or organised strangling became such a menace to trade and travel only in the late 18th and early 19th century, when the old organisation of transport had been very greatly disrupted. Of the European travellers of our period only Thevenot, 58, and Fryer, I, 244-5, refer to this crime. Cf. also *Waqā'i'-i Ajmīr* 405 for reference to "highway robbers known in Hindi as *thags*" in Rajputana.

40. "Owing to the justice and management of this Great Government, such peace is maintained on the routes and halting places that merchants and traders

cious reprisals and sacking the suspected villages, methods by no means unprofitable to themselves.[41] This, however, was true only of the plains and the territories closely controlled by the imperial government. In or near the hills, ravines and desolate country, such a policy could not be successfully carried out; and here robbers and rebels often became indistinct, levying what might be regarded either as ransom or tribute upon the merchants passing through their territories.[42] In general, however, one gains the impression, especially from the experience of European commerce in India, that whatever dangers a lonely traveller might have to face, caravan trade was normally a pretty safe proposition over the larger portion of the Mughal Empire.[43]

It may, finally, be worthwhile to note that the long distance trade of the period was backed by an exceptionally well-developed system of finance and credit.[44] The use of *hundīs* or bankers' drafts and bills of exchange was widespread, and the rates, considering the times, were

and travellers journey forth to (distant?) parts in tranquillity of heart and joy. If at any place anything is lost, the officers who have jurisdiction (*'amal-dārān*, MS. var. *'ummāl*, revenue officials) there are obliged to pay compensation as well as a fine for their negligence". (*Char Chaman-i Barhaman*, A: f. 25a-b; B: 16b). The *Ain*, I, 284, imposes such an obligation on the *kotwāl* (police official of the town) only, but since the revenue collector (*amalguzār*) was expected to perform all the duties of the *kotwal*, where that official was not separately appointed (*ibid*, 288), this must apply to him as well. Manucci, II, p. 421, says that "should any merchant or traveller be robbed in daylight" on the roads, the *faujdār* (commandant of the area) is "obliged to pay compensation". See also *Akhbarat A*, 193. A similar responsibility seems to have devolved upon the *jagirdars* as well. (See *Factories 1646-1650*, pp. 300-302). Cf. also *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 64b-65a.

41. For the wide employment of these methods see Chapter IX, Section 2.

42. "He (Jahangir) can be regarded as King of the plains or open roads only, for in many places you can travel only with a strong body of men, or on payment of heavy tolls to rebels." (Pelsaert, 58-59). The routes were perpetually threatened by the Meos and Jats between Agra and Dehli, the Rajputs of Baghelkhand and the Kolis in Gujarat. For details of encounters with the last two see Mundy, 110-11, 117-20, 259, 263-4, 269-70. For Gujarat see also Geleynssen, *JIH*, IV, 73, 74, 79, 81.

43. The impressions of individual travellers vary. It is possible to set against the unfavourable account of Finch the experiences of such travellers as Manrique and Tavernier. Moreover some routes might be safer than others. Thus the Agra-Patna route was "not very daingerous for robbers" (*Factories, 1618-21*, p. 269) and Mundy would not have met any had he proceeded *via* Jaunpur. (Mundy, p. 110). For a favourable view of the law and order situation under the Mughals see P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 399-403.

44. Sujan Rai, 25 describes it enthusiastically, regarding it as one of the wonders of India.

certainly moderate.[45] There was besides an organised system of insurance, accepted not only against risks of loss in transit,[46] but also against the incidence of taxes.[47]

It is not easy to assess with precision the effects on trade of each of the factors described above. It would seem, however, that none of these modified to any extent the relative possibilities of trade set by the means of transport, which, to repeat, were more favourable to the transit of goods of higher value than of goods of bulk and to the transit of those carried along rivers than over land. Perhaps, the transport of foodgrains was sometimes encouraged by the administration, but we have also seen that it was quite often retarded. And though transport across land was itself costlier, it was still more vulnerable to the exactions of chiefs and rebels, as was particularly the case with the Rajputana route.[48] These facts should be borne in mind while studying the normal pattern of trade between the various regions. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to set out such particulars as relate to

45. The *hundi* was often drawn by the *ṣarrāfs* or bankers on their agents or correspondents at other places in return for cash deposited with them. In such cases, it was simply an instrument for despatching money from one place to another. (*A.N.*, III, p. 762; Sujan Rai, 25; *Mirat*, I, p. 411). But it was also drawn by merchants in need of credit in which case it was identical with the modern accommodation bill. (Tavernier, I. p. 30; cf. also Foster, *Supp. Cal.*, 112, &c.) In considering the rates of 'exchange' it should be noted that they covered the difference in value between the *chalani* (current) and *sikka* (newly coined) rupees in which the final payment on the *hundi* was made. (See Appendix C; also Foster, *Supp. Cal.*, 64, 80.) The English generally found the rates for despatching money by *hundi* reasonable (e.g. *Factories 1618-21*, p. 155, for Surat to Agra). Between Agra and Dehli, the rate amounted to one per cent. (*Ibid, 1655-60*, pp. 18-19). The rates given by Tavernier, I, pp. 30-31, are really rates at which the accommodation bills were discounted. These were rather high, he says, but this was because the holder of the bill shared the risk of the loss of the drawer's goods in transit. Moreover, apart from considerations of distance, the discount varied with the credit of the drawer. (*Factories, 1655-60*, pp. 18-19).

The English records leave us in no doubt as to the extensive use made of *hundis* in commerce. The administration itself employed them for transferring even very large amounts. (*A.N.*, III, p. 762; *Waqa'i' Dakhin*, 17; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 50a; *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 109a; *Akhbarat* 40/31.) The market for *hundis* was so well developed that often very little cash was employed in the actual transactions. (*Mirat*, I, p. 411.)

46. Sujan Rai, 25, who says this was known as *bīma*.

47. Cf. Mundy 278, 291: the men who specialised in it were known as *adaviyas*.

48. See note 25 of this Section.

the more important agricultural products. These should show not only the crops subject to the influence of the distant markets but also, if we apply the inferences we have just outlined, the relative levels of prices current in the different provinces.

There is no doubt, to begin with, that Bengal stood out in our period for low prices[49] and had a large surplus in provisions available for export. There was a regular coastal trade in rice, sugar and butter, carried to Coromandel[50] and round the Cape Comorin, to Kerala.[51] Sugar was shipped to Gujarat[52] and even to Persia,[53] while opium was chiefly exported to Kerala.[54] Sometimes wheat was also sent down from its ports to Southern India[55] and the Portuguese possessions.[56] Orissa also exported by sea over 40,000 tons of grain (rice) together with butter and lac to the Coromandel ports.[57] The imports into Bengal from the Eastern Coast included cotton yarn and tobacco.[58]

In the course of the 17th century an important seaborne trade was developed in Bengal silk by the Dutch, who exported it to Japan and Holland. They are said to have taken 6,- or 7,000 bales of the 22,000 bales

49. Linschoten, I, pp. 94-5; *Ain*, I, p. 389; Bowrey, 193-4; *Kalimāt-i Ṭaiyabāt*, f. 50a. An English factor declares in 1650: "At Hugli may be procured beeswax, pepper, civet, rice, butter, oil and wheat; all at about half the price of other places." (*Factories 1646-50*, p. 338).

50. *Relations*, 40, 60; *Factories 1634-36*, p. 41; Bernier 437. Other exports included gingili (sweet oil) seeds, long pepper, gum-lac, wax, silk, etc. (cf. also Caesar Frederick, Purchas, X, p. 114). The export of rice to Coromandel, a rich rice-growing area itself, is remarkable. Methwold (*Relations* 40) observes that it looked like "coales carried to New-castle, yet here they sell them to contented profit."

51. Fitch, Ryley 185, *Early Travels*, 44; *Relations* 60. And also to the Portuguese possessions on the western coast, for which see Fitch, Ryley, 110, *Early Travels*, 24, 28 and *Lett. Recd.*, IV, p. 327 (Here the editor seems to be mistaken in suggesting that "Indya" means Hindustan; to the English of the period it usually meant Portuguese India).

52. Pelsaert 19; *Factories, N.S.*, III, p. 256.

53. Bernier 437; *Factories 1668-9*, p. 179; T. Raychaudhuri *The Dutch in Coromandel*, p. 240; *Bengal Past and Present*, LXXVI, Pt. i, p. 37.

54. *Factories, 1661-64*, p. 355. The Dutch forcibly imposed a monopoly of this trade.

55. The Mughal army operating in Karnatik obtained its wheat from Bengal (*Dilkusha*, ff. 113b-114a).

56. *Lett. Recd.* IV, 327.

57. Bowrey, 121-2; cf. also Caesar Frederick, Purchas, X. pp. 112-13, *Relations* 54.

58. *Relations* 60.

yearly put on the Qasimbazar market; they would have taken even more if the merchants from other parts of the Mughal Empire and Central Asia had allowed them to do so.[59] In the latter part of the century, cotton yarn and sugar also began to be exported to Europe.[60]

Up the Ganges, Bengal exported rice and silk to Patna,[61] receiving wheat, sugar and opium in return.[62]

There was a brisk trade on and along the Ganges and Jamuna up to Agra. Agra not only imported raw silk and sugar from Bengal and Patna, but also obtained such provisions as rice, wheat and butter from the eastern provinces, without which, it was said, it could not have fed itself.[63] In return, salt was carried down to Bengal, where it was very scarce, together with cotton and opium.[64]

From Agra again, sugar and wheat and Bengal silk were carried to Gujarat.[65] As a mart, however, Agra owed much of its prominence to the indigo trade. The best indigo in the world grew in its neighbourhood and, besides being sent to all parts of India, it had an international market. Formerly it used to be taken to Lahor for sale to merchants from the Middle East,[66] but with the opening of the sea-borne commerce with Europe, Agra became the chief, if not the sole, emporium.[67] The

59. Tavernier, II, p. 2. He says their rivals took as much as the Dutch, the balance remaining for local consumption in Bengal.

60. *Factories 1655-60*, pp. 179, 297; *Factories, N.S.*, II, p. 331; Hedges, I, p. 75.

61. *Factories 1618-21*, pp. 193-4; Mundy 153; Bernier 437. Patna seems to have been an important mart for Bengal silk probably owing to its convenient position in relation to Agra (cf. Pelsaert 7).

62. Fitch, Ryley 110, *Early Travels* 24; Bowrey 225.

63. Pelsaert 4-5, 9; Mundy 95-6, 98-9. The imperial court obtained its supply of *sukhdās* rice from Bahraich (*Ain*, I, p. 53).

64. Jourdain 162; Pelsaert 9. For the dearness of salt in Bengal see *Ain*, I, p. 390. It was scarcer still in Assam (*Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 32b.)

65. *Factories 1618-21*, p. 102, *1624-29*, pp.235-6; Pelsaert 19; Tavernier II, p. 2. As Pelsaert and Tavernier tell us, there was a large silk-weaving industry at Ahmadabad which was wholly dependent upon Bengal silk.

66. Pelsaert 30. Owing to this, the Bayana indigo was known in Europe by the name of Lahor.

67. The best or Bayana indigo was largely bought by the Dutch and the English, as well as the Armenian, 'Mughal' and Persian merchants, who also took much of the indigo grown in the Doab near Khurja and Koil. The variety grown in Mewat was meant mainly for local consumption and for markets in India (Pelsaert 15, 18; *Factories 1642-5*, p. 136).

European trade became very important in the earlier part of the 17th century, after which it experienced a sharp decline.[68]

Apparently, wheat could be taken to the Lahor market from as far as Muradabad and high quality rice from Sirhind.[69] From Lahor and Multan sugar and ginger were sent down on boats to Thatta, whence they returned laden with pepper and dates.[70] Butter for export was brought down by the river to Thatta from Bhakkar.[71] Indigo was carried in the same way from Sehwan for shipment to Basra[72] and, occasionally, *via* Surat to Europe.[73] For some reason, however, the Basra trade decayed[74] and the English did not succeed in replacing it.[75]

Kashmir exported saffron to Agra[76] and other parts of India, entering into competition at Patna with the saffron brought from Nepal.[77] In return, it imported salt, pepper, opium, cotton, yarn, etc.[78]

The most important feature of trade in Western India was the position of Gujarat as a great importer of foodstuffs. It obtained wheat and other foodgrains from Malawa and Ajmer and rice from the Dakhin.[79] Indeed, it provided a market for the produce of so distant a region as Gondwana,[80] while rice was also brought by sea from

68. This was largely due to the rise in the price of Agra indigo and the competition from the slave-worked plantations established in the West Indies (*Factories 1646-50*, pp. 32, 76-7; *1655-60*, pp. 322, 336; *Factories, N.S.*, III, 245. Cf. also Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 112-113). There was some recovery in the trade later on, because in 1684-5, the English company ordered 500 bales from Agra though only 212 could be procured (*Factories N.S.* III, p. 285).

69. See the account of dues levied at Shahdara-Lahor in *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 90a-92b, Or. 2026, ff. 57a-59a.

70. Pelsaert 31-2; *Factories 1637-41*, p. 136.

71. *Factories 1637-41*, p. 136. The butter produced in Sind is praised by Linschoten, I, p. 56 and *Ain*, I, p. 556. Manucci, II, p. 427, says it was exported to Musqat.

72. *Factories, 1637-41*, pp. 136-7.

73. For the Portuguese, see Roe, 75; for the English, *Factories 1637-41*, p. 274; *1642-5*, p. 203 &c.

74. *Ibid*, *1642-5*, p. 136.

75. *Ibid*, 203; *1646-50*, pp. 12-13, 29, 33.

76. Pelsaert 35.

77. Marshall 413. Cf. also Fitch, Ryley 116, *Early Travels* 27, for "saffron like the saffron of Persia" produced in Bhutan.

78. *T.J.* 300, 315; Pelsaert 36.

79. *Ain*, I, 485. And also from Agra, as we have seen.

80. Speaking of Garh, formally included in the province of Malawa, Abu-l Fazl says: "By its cultivation, the Dakhin and Gujarat obtain relief". (*Ain*, I, p. 456).

Malabar.[81] On the other hand, its major exports consisted of cash crops. Of these cotton was by far the most important. The crop raised between Surat and Burhanpur (Khandesh) "supported an extensive trade to Agra".[82] Cotton and cotton yarn were sent by sea to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea ports[83] and down the coast to Kerala.[84] It was also occasionally exported to Europe.[85] The indigo produced in Gujarat, especially the Sarkhej variety, was exported both to Europe and the Middle East.[86] A large quantity of opium was shipped to Kerala[87] and tobacco to Thattá,[88] Persia[89] and the Red Sea ports.[90] Among re-exports, sugar was frequently sent to Europe,[91] silk to the Middle East[92] and saffron to Malabar.[93]

Along the western coast, pepper was probably the most important article of commerce. From certain areas in Maharashtra and Upper Kannada there was a brisk overland trade to Agra,[94] but the traditional

81. Twist, tr. Moreland, *JIH*, XVI (1937), p. 76. And this despite the fact that Kerala itself does not seem to have had a superfluity of rice (cf. Fitch, Ryley 185. *Early Travels* 44). Other goods imported from Kerala were coconuts, coir, palm-sugar, betel-nuts, etc., besides pepper (Pelsaert 19; Twist, *op.cit.*; Fryer I, p. 136).

82. Pelsart 9.

83. Fryer, I, p. 282.

84. Twist, *op.cit.*; *Factories 1665-67*, p. 101.

85. Cf. *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 137-8, concerning exports of yarn. On cotton wool, see *Factories 1624-29*, p. 212; *1665-67*, p. 174. We are not, of course, speaking here of textiles, which accounted for a very large part of the trade to Europe.

86 *Ain*, I, p. 486; *Factories 1630-33*, pp. 19-20; Fryer, I, p. 282. Most of the Sarkhej indigo was exported. Even when its output was low, being estimated at 6,000 (Gujarat) *mans* only, the proportion locally required was no more than one-sixth. (*Factories, 1642-45*, pp. 163-4).

87. Linschoten, II. p. 113; Twist, *op.cit.*; *Factories 1661-64*, p. 355; *1665-67*, pp. 99-101. It is possible that much of the opium that Gujarat exported came from Malwa. The Dutch purchased it at Burhanpur for conducting their pepper trade (Tavernier, I, p. 19).

88. *Factories, 1646-50*, p. 60.

89. *Ibid, 1637-41*, p. 126.

90. *Ibid, 1618-21*, p. 63.

91. Although sugar was grown in Gujarat, it was not sufficient for local consumption, let alone for export. The English often contracted for its supplies with *banjaras* from Agra. (*Lett. Recd.* V, p. 115; VI, p. 280; *Factories 1618-21*, p. 102; *1624-29*, pp. 235-6, 270. Cf. also *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 138-9.

92. Fryer, I, p. 282.

93. Twist, *op.cit.*

94. *Factories 1646-50*, p. 255; *1661-64*, p. 344.

trade of Malabar had been with Gujarat, pepper sent by sea changing for opium and cotton. This was however, completely disrupted by the Dutch in the sixties of the 17th century: they monopolised the trade in all the three commodities, raising opium in Malabar and pepper at Surat to almost impossible prices.[95]

It will be noticed that in the foregoing survey we have hardly ever been able to speak in terms of the actual volume of goods transported. Nevertheless, it suggests clearly that production for distant markets was an important aspect of Indian agriculture of the period. Over large regions—as is indicated particularly by the exports from Bengal and the imports into Gujarat—even food crops were greatly affected by the demands of long-distance trade. This was naturally truer still of the cash crops and in certain tracts specialising in the cultivation of high-grade varieties, such as Bayana and Sarkhej, in indigo, and Kashmir, in saffron, the ordinary peasant's dependence on trade must undoubtedly have been very great.

2. Local Trade; the Peasant and the Market

It is obvious, however, that although the volume of agricultural produce carried from one region to another must in the aggregate have been substantial, it could never have accounted—under the existing conditions of transport—for more than a very small portion of the total production. For the mass of the peasantry, the local market must have been of incomparably greater significance. And local trade largely meant the trade between town and country.

It is impossible to read the sources of the period without gaining the impression that there was a very large urban population: the multitudes of artisans, 'peons' and servants found in the towns provide a frequent topic of comment to foreign observers.[1] In Akbar's empire, we are told, there were 120 big cities and 3,200 townships (*qaṣba*), each having under it from a hundred to a thousand villages.[2] The largest city in the 17th century was Agra, with a population estimated

95. *Ibid*, p. 261; *1665-67*, pp. 99-101, 151, 174.

1. "Another good thing in Hindustan is that it has unnumbered and endless workmen of every sort". (*Baburnama*, tr. S. Beveridge, II, p. 520). Among European authorities see, for example, P.d. Valle, I, p. 42 and Pelsaert 61.

2. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, pp. 545-6.

at 500,000 and 660,000 in the days when it contained the court.[3] It still remained larger than Dehli, when the court shifted to the latter,[4] though Dehli was now held to be as populous as Paris,[5] then the biggest city of Europe. Lahor in its days of glory had been described as "second to none either in Asia, or in Europe".[6] Patna had an estimated population of 200,000;[7] and Ahmadabad in the early years of the 17th century was stated to be as big as London, with its suburbs.[8] For the other large cities like Dhaka (Dacca), Rajmahal, Multan and Burhanpur no such indications are available.[9] But the few data that we have, suggest a very high ratio of urban to the total population of the country; and from what we know of the great depopulation of the towns in the 19th century, it is unlikely that this ratio was exceeded till very recent times.[10]

3. The former estimate is given in a letter of 1609 from Agra by J. Xavier (tr. Hosten, *JASB*, N. S., XXIII, 1927, p. 121); and the latter by Manrique, II, p. 152, who says that it excludes strangers. In 1583-6, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri were each judged to be larger than London (Fitch, Ryley 97-8; *Early Travels*, 17-18; cf. also Salbancke, Purchas, III, p. 84, for Fatehpur Sikri). This was before Agra had finally wrested supremacy from Lahor. In Aurangzeb's early years when the court was held at Dehli, Thevenot, 49, contended on hearsay that though "a great Town", Agra was not such "as to be able to send out Two hundred thousand men into the Field". But this gives little positive indication of its population.

4. Bernier 284; Tavernier, I, p. 86.

5. Bernier 281-2.

6. Thus Monserrate, 159-60, who visited Lahor in 1581. In 1615 Coryat (*Early Travels*, p. 243) declared that it was "one of the largest cities of the whole universe" and "exceedeth Constantinople" (which he had seen) "in greatnesse". He adds that it was then larger than Agra. See also *Ain*, *I*, p. 538. It declined subsequently (Pelsaert 30; Tavernier, I, pp. 74, 77).

7. Manrique, II, p. 140. On the basis of a detailed report from the Kotwal of the number of Muslims buried at the Governor's expense in the Patna famine of 1671, Marshall estimates that in all 90,720 inhabitants of the town perished in it. Earlier, but apparently less reliable reports from the Kotwal's *chabutra* put the number of the dead at 135,400 and later on 103,000 (Marshall, pp. 152, 153). These numbers go to confirm Manrique's estimate.

8. *Lett. Recd.*, II, p. 28; Withington, *Early Travels*, p. 206.

9. Masulipatam, which lies outside the geographical limits of our study, is said to have contained 200,000 souls (Fryer, I, p. 90).

10. The terrible devastation of Indian towns in the first century of British rule—resulting in misery "hardly to be paralleled in the history of commerce" (Bentinck)—is a well-known story the full details of which are perhaps yet to assembled (cf. R. P. Dutt, *India Today*, London, 1940, pp. 124ff). Only in 1891 did the population of Calcutta, the largest city of British India, exceed that of

The towns had not only to be fed by the countryside but to be supplied also with raw materials for their manufactures. It may be noted, however, that since there is no evidence that the villages depended in any way upon urban industry, the raw materials brought into the towns were probably confined only to those required for the luxury trades or for the ultimate use of the urban population. All the same, these together with the provisions needed for such large numbers could not but have comprised a fairly large proportion of the total agricultural production, and few villages could have been left unaffected by the pull of the urban market.

It is also certain that there was some amount of what may be called purely rural commerce. Villages or tracts, largely producing cash crops would have been in need of foodgrains and trade must also have been necessary in such commodities as salt, *gur*, oil or even butter in which all villages were not likely to be self-sufficient. This kind of trade was customarily carried on by an itinerant—and rather lowly—caste of traders known, generally, as 'Bedehak', but also by other names.[11]

If, then, a large portion of the peasant's produce was ultimately put on the market, his own relations with it are naturally well worth investigating. Sometimes he parted with this portion in lieu of land revenue and in such cases it was the potentates—the *jagirdars* or their agents—who must have arranged for its sale. But in most provinces the peasant was as a rule obliged to pay the revenue in cash[12] and there he

Agra, as estimated by Manrique. But since the population of India had increased tremendously in the intervening period, Calcutta was, relatively speaking, still a long way behind the Mughal capital. The smaller towns continued to decline right into the present century and between 1901 and 1931 the increase in the ratio of urban to total population was insignificant.

11. See *Tashrih-al Aqwam*, ff. 166b-168a. The other names recorded in this work are *sārth-būhak* and *banjī-wāla*. Abu-l Fazl remarks contemptuously of Himu that "he belonged to a low caste of grain-merchants of Rewari, a township of Mewat, and was born in the caste of *Dhūsars* who are the lowliest among the grain-merchants of Hindustan. Afterwards with much trickery (*be namakī*) he sold brackish salt (*namak-i shor*) in the streets" (*A.N.* I, p. 337). There is a pun on the Persian words within brackets. Salt was an important article of rural trade. It was brought from the Salt Range in the Panjab and from Sambhar (*Ain*, I, p. 539; Mundy 241; Sujan Rai, 55, 75), but it was also widely extracted from nitrous soils by a special caste of people known as Nūnia (*Tashrih-al Aqwam*, ff. 354b-356a).

12. See Ch. VI, Sec. 5.

must have had to sell it himself. This he might have often done by carting his produce to the local market or the town.[13] Or, in the case, at any rate, of a high-grade crop like indigo, he might be approached in the village by merchants interested in the trade.[14] But it is possible that a very large number of peasants were not able to reach the open market at all, being compelled to sell on contracted terms, to their creditors. Whether the creditors were merchants or the village money-lenders, the result was always to depress the price received by the peasant.[15] However, it was not as if the peasants not bound in this manner, were able to obtain anything like a fair return. Their urgent need for cash to pay the revenue and keep themselves alive, forced them to sell as soon as the harvest came into their hands, while the merchants could usually afford to wait.[16] On the way to and in the market, again, the peasants might be obliged to pay various dues and perquisites.[17] In the process of sale, they were probably commonly

13. "The peasants of the *pargana* of Patlad &c. come to Ahmadabad to sell cartloads of foodgrains". (*Akhbarat A* 77). In 1630 we find a headman (*paṭel*) negotiating with the English at Surat for the sale of 1000 (Gujarat) *mans*, half belonging to him and half to others of a (or his?) village near Broach; the proposed place of delivery is not stated. (*Factories 1630-33*, p. 91).

14. *Lett. Recd.* VI, pp. 220, 234-5, 248-9; Pelsaert 15-16. All these refer to the Bayana tract.

15. *Lett. Recd.* II, p. 106; Pelsaert 16. In 1628 the English were able to obtain indigo from villages near Bayana "by mony advanced beforehand" at Rs 24½ per *man* when the prevailing market rate was Rs 36½—a substantial difference even if the country indigo was 'green', i.e. more wet and more liable to lose in weight from drying than the indigo supplied by the local merchants. (*Factories 1625-9*, p. 208). In the cotton-producing villages near Surat merchants in league with the brokers of the English used to give "out old worme eaten decayed corn in the severall neighbouring villadges; which they take out in yearne and in parcells bring it to [Surat]". (*Ibid, 1661-65*, p. 112).

16. This point is made by Roe in explaining the advantages the local merchants enjoyed over the English in buying indigo from the cultivators. (*Lett. Recd.*, VI, p. 220).

17. For example, in *Akhbarat A* 77, already cited, the complaint is made that the peasants bringing grain from Patlad had to pay Rs 2 per cart as *rāh-dārī* to the *nākadars* and *chaukīdārs* stationed by the *faujdar* of the environs (*gird*) of Ahmadabad. *Mirat*, I, pp. 260-64, contains a *farman* of the 8th year of Aurangzeb which lists a number of such exactions reported from Gujarat and duly forbidden: e.g. a fee of one *ṭanka* for feeding bullocks, whether drawing carts or carrying loads, when brought from outside into the city; on carts bringing grass and straw one copper coin, on those bringing firewood, five *sers* of the same and on each ox-load, four almonds were exacted at various places *en route* to the town. Again,

auded in the weighing of their produce[18] and in the cash paid out iem.[19]

Finally, there was the scourge of monopoly and engrossing—*:ār*—, alike denounced by moralists[20] and prohibited officially.[21] n it was a case only of a few persons cornering the stocks it was the peasant, but the townsman, who suffered from it.[22] But often rder to establish a monopoly, local authorities prevented the peasant ı selling his produce to anyone except one buyer or group of buyers, ıat he too was victimised. Such local monopolisation seems to have ı a common phenomenon, though it is possible that, being dis-roved of at the Court, it could not ordinarily have been carried

r people and peasants bring all sorts of cattle to sell in the city and its suburbs; thing is exacted from them twice: first, in the name of 'Entry' and then at ime of sale; and if no sale is effected and they wish to take it (the cattle) something has to be paid on account of 'Departure'". In Pattan, on each oad of bananas and sugar cane they levied Rs 4 or 5. And so on.

. Pelsaert 16-17 describes how in the indigo trade the peasants were by means made to part with 47 *sers* or more instead of 40. He says, however, with the rise in the demand for their produce, the peasants were becoming vigilant against this abuse. In Indian markets it is customary to have a party for weighing the goods when changing hands. The weighman is known *ıyā* or *kayāl*. (Cf. Elliot, *Memoirs &c.*, I. p. 236.) This person receives iisites from both sides, but as often as not he is to be found in league with nerchant, whether purchaser or seller. (Cf. Royal Agricultural Commission, rt, 388-9). A *parwana* of 1646 shows, by its contents, the importance attaching s position. The *bayā'ī* of the *mandvī* or grain market at Gokul was till then e hands of the agents of Gosain Bithaldas. One Natha offered to pay as much : 175 annually to the authorities if this function was transferred to him. This refused on representations that Natha was seeking this privilege as a means onopolising the market and driving away other merchants. (Jhaveri, Doc. IX). *īī* appears among the forbidden cesses in the *Ain*, I, p. 301. Probably, by s meant not the perquisites of the weighman, but the amount he was obliged y to the authorities for the exercise of his privilege.

. Tavernier, I, pp. 24-25.

. *Ain*, I, p. 291, where it is declared to be the meanest of all occupations.

. *Insha-i Abu-l Fazl*, p. 65 (*Mirat*, I, pp. 169-70); *Ain*, I, p. 284.

. Such unofficial or purely commercial monopolies were the more readily lished in conditions of scarcity. Thus in 1657 when an abundant harvest was oectedly obtained in the Agra region, it was stated that "many sheroffs and s, who, allured with the sweetness of former yeares gaines, have ingrossed quantity of sugar, corne and cotton are like to bee (see?) scarce one third of the mony they disbarced..." (*Factories 1655-60*, p. 118).

beyond certain limits.[23] In 1633, however, an indigo monopoly was established with imperial aid and sanction, covering the whole empire and due to run for three years. But it was abandoned in the second year, not the least, perhaps, because "many of the cultivators (being in general a resolute harebrained folk)" "rooted up their plants" in protest.[24]

The peasant's indebtedness, the various cesses, the malpractices in the market and the imposition of monopolies must all have worked to enlarge the margin between the price obtaining in the secondary market and that paid to the peasant. Nevertheless the two prices must generally have maintained a certain proportion. If the margin of diff-

23. A *farman* issued in his 8th regnal year by Aurangzeb and addressed to the Diwan of Gujarat lists the following among the forbidden practices: "13. Officers and *seths* (merchants) and *desā'īs* (headmen) of most *parganas* of the said province do not allow others to buy the newly harvested grain. They first buy it themselves and whatever be rotten or spoilt they pass on to the tradesmen (*byūpāris*) by force and compel them to pay them the price at the full rates for (good) grain....23. In Ahmadabad and its suburbs and the *parganas* of the said province some people have monopolised the sale and purchase of rice. No one can sell or buy without their sanction. Owing to this rice bears a high price in Gujarat". (*Mirat*, I, pp. 260-262). In 1647 we find the English factors at Ahmadabad apprehensive of the governor, Shā'ista Khān's ambitions for becoming "the sole merchant of this place" and declare that if he succeeded in engrossing the indigo "wee may then expect shortly to fetch our butter and rice from him". (*Factories 1646-50*, p. 130). This shows that till then these commodities had not been monopolised and it is possible that the tendency became more marked under the scarcity conditions prevailing during the early years of Aurangzeb. Shaista Khan carried his commercial ambitions later on to Bengal. His panegyrist declares that before his arrival there "the officers of this province monopolised (the trade in) most articles of food and clothing and all merchandise and goods and sold them at whatever rates they wished....This glorious commander, the founder of the foundation of justice and generosity, did not follow this ignoble practice and ordered that whosoever so wishes may buy and sell". (*Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 127b). How far this order was seriously meant may be judged from the account of another contemporary witness. "The Nabobs (Shaista Khan's) Officers oppress the people, monopolize most Commodityes, even as low as grass for Beasts, canes, firewood, thatch, etc., nor doe they want wayes to oppress those people of all sorts who trade, whether natives or Strangers...." (Master, II, p. 80).

24. *Factories 1630-33*, pp. 324-5. The peasants referred to are those of the Agra province. The Dutch and English also banded together to oppose the monopoly but climbed down very soon (*ibid, 1630-33*, pp. 327-8; *1634-36*, pp. 1, 12). The monopoly also extended to Gujarat; the re-introduction of 'free trade' there is referred to in *ibid, 1634-36*, pp. 70, 142.

:e became too large, merchants and buyers from the secondary ets would try to buy from the peasants direct[25] and it was noticed :h cases that the latter were shrewd enough to raise their prices ·diately.[26] In fact we find cultivation responding closely, almost ·rately, to market demand. The peasants of Gujarat, for instance, ced cotton with food crops under the incentive of high food prices ving the great famine of 1630-32.[27] Similarly, in Sind in the forties . in the indigo trade caused a corresponding decline in its cultiva-[28] The most remarkable example of the peasant's readiness to rate anything which could sell better is offered by the rapid ısion of tobacco cultivation, where it appeared to a contemporary :he peasants, in fact, anticipated the market.[29]

3. Movements of Agricultural Prices

'he importance, then, of the trends of market prices to the peasants d need no emphasis. Before proceeding to study the relevant nce, however, some words of caution may not be out of place. .ultural prices varied sharply in accordance with the seasons and ıality of the harvests. Moreover, there were enormous differences e prices prevailing in the different regions. These facts greatly ciate the value of much of the small amount of evidence that we ss. Nevertheless, where the prices quoted belonged to years when ırvest was normal, it should be permissible to draw comparisons

This is clear from the facts of the indigo trade at Agra, where foreign ınts had the option of buying either from the local merchants or the ts. See specially Pelsaert, 15-16. When grain became very scarce in Dehli early years of Aurangzeb's reign, "the people of the city flocked to the : where grain was sold". (*'Alamgirnama*, p. 611).

As in the indigo tract near Agra. Cf. *Lett. Recd.*, VI, pp. 235, 249; Pelsaert, 16.

"Which ['great price' yielded by 'graine'] hath undoubtedly disposed of untry people to those courses which hath been most profitable for them discontinued the planting of cotton which could not have vented in propor-' former tymes, because the artificers and mechaniques of all sorts were so bly dead or fledd...." (*Factories 1634-36*, p. 64).

The fall in the demand for Sehwan indigo in the Middle East "hath soe ıbly declined its vallue where it is made that the planters are almost beggered y, and therefore doe annually more or lesse reduce the wonted quantities by them". (*Factories, 1642-45*, p. 136).

Sujan Rai, 454. See also Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 190-192, on neral tendency of the peasants 'to follow the markets'.

Similarly from our study of the pattern of long-distance trade we have obtained a little insight into the relative levels of prices in some of the provinces for a few important commodities; and with the help of this knowledge inter-regional comparisons can also have their value as rough indicators.

The most detailed list of prices coming down from our period is to be found in the *Ain*. From the words used by Abu-l Fazl it seems clear that these are prices regarded as normal at the imperial court.[1] When the *Ain* was written, Lahor had been the seat of the court for some years, but it may be a mistake to regard the prices as those ordinarily current in that city, for we are definitely told elsewhere that the arrival there of the court had greatly raised the prices of agricultural produce in the Panjab.[2] The *Ain's* prices are therefore likely to be higher than those generally obtaining in Lahor. How far these are an index of those of the other capital, Agra, is difficult to say, since we have no information about the relative price-levels of the two cities. There was apparently no established grain-trade between them, but one would suppose that Agra, with its ability to obtain cheap supplies of provisions up the river from the eastern provinces, should have enjoyed generally lower prices than Lahor. For both Agra and Lahor we have some price-data relating to foodgrains from the later years of our period and it is interesting to compare these with the prices of the *Ain*. The *rabi'* crop of 1670 had obviously been very good and the prices from Agra in or about March 1670 were specially reported to the Court to be recorded by a chronicler in terms of great satisfaction.[3] The

1. Abu-l Fazl prefaces his price-lists with the following explanation: "*Ain* of the Prices of Provisions: Although during marches and the rains &c. they vary greatly, yet the (lit. some) mean prices are tabulated below so that enquirers may find the means to be enlightened therein". (*Ain*, I, p. 60). Moreland (*JRAS*, 1917, pp. 815ff.) thought the prices given are those which the Mīr Bakāwal (Superintendent of the Imperial Kitchen) deemed reasonable and adopted for buying provisions. This is unlikely because the Mir Bakawal seems to have made his purchases from distant areas, apparently wherever the best was available (*Ain*, I, p. 53). The prices paid by him in such transactions would not have been affected by the journeys of the court, while this would naturally have been the case with the market of the camp from where the soldiers and others accompanying the court made their purchases.

2. *A.N.*, III, p. 747.

3. *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, p. 98 (Add. 19,495, f. 54b). Its words show that the prices reported were regarded as exceptionally cheap. "The household officers (*bayūtāt*) reported the grain prices of the capital, Akbarabad (Agra), to the

information relating to Lahor is less satisfactory. The prices are given in a document professedly abstracted from the register of market-dues at Shahdara-Lahor and is dated January 1702.[4] We have, however, no means of knowing what the harvests had been like that year. In the following table the comparable prices from all the three sources are given side by side, the necessary conversions having been made to state them in terms of Rupees per *man-i Shahjahani.*[5]

	Ain	1670 : Agra	1702 : Lahor
Wheat	0·40	1·14	1·14
Sukhdās Rice	3·33	2·86	2·00
Gram	0·27	0·95	..
Ghī	3·50	10·00	..
Mūng	0·60	..	1·00
Moṭh	0·40	..	1·00

Thus in spite of a good harvest, the prices at Agra in 1670 were generally three times as high as those of Akbar's court; and the same is practically true of the prices prevailing at Lahor in 1702. The price of the *sukhdas* variety of rice offers an exception. But apart from the fact that this was high quality rice with a limited market, it is also possible that the name came to be applied in later times to varieties inferior to the *sukhdas* of the *Ain.*[6]

There are moreover certain other indications which go to confirm the rise in the price of at least two of the items listed above. We know that Gujarat was deficient in wheat and that some of the deficit was met with supplies from Agra; wheat must therefore have been dearer in Gujarat than at Agra. Now we are told that before the 1630-32 famine wheat ordinarily sold in Gujarat at a rate equivalent to R. 0·79 per *man-i Shahjahani.*[7] This price is nearly twice the one given in the *Ain,*

Emperor, by whom joyous the Appearance and the Heart, happy the Faith and the World!.... (Prices quoted). People sang their paeans of thanks on the harps of prayer...."

4. In *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 90a-b; Or. 2026, ff. 57a-59a.

5. These assume the findings arrived at in Appendices B and C.

6. The *sukhdas* variety cannot now be identified, the name having apparently been superseded. For its praise see Sujan Rai, 11.

7. Twist, tr. Moreland, *JIH*, XVI, p. 68. In October 1611 the English purchased wheat at Surat at a rate corresponding to Rs. 1·36 per *man-i Shahjahani*

but what is more noteworthy, it is a third less than the price wheat fetched at Agra in 1670. On the other hand, in Bihar, a province noted for the cheapness of its provisions,[8] which were exported to Agra, wheat was priced at R. 0·50 in 1659,[9] a rate one-fourth above that of the *Ain*. These comparisons become explicable only if we admit that a substantial rise in the price of wheat took place between the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb. We can adduce a similar proof also for a general rise in the price of *ghi*. Bhakkar enjoyed a reputation for its pastoral products and exported *ghi* to other parts, so that its price here should have been much lower than elsewhere. It is put at Rs. 5·33 in 1639,[10] and although this is the lowest among the prices given subsequently for other regions except Bihar,[11] it may be compared with the rate of 3·50 in the *Ain* and 5·83 at Surat in 1611.[12]

The price of sugar is not infrequently quoted in the English commercial records of the period and it may be worthwhile to trace its progress in some detail. Apart from a very highly refined product,

(*Lett. Recd.*, I, p. 141). As Moreland points out, this was bought for a ship at a bargaining disadvantage and at a time of the year when wheat must have been at its peak price (*Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 171). In February 1619 'corn' put aboard a Bantam bound vessel was invoiced at the equivalent of R. 0·91 (*Factories 1618-21*, p. 63).

8. Cf. *Kalimat-i Taiyabat*, f. 50a, where it appears coupled with Bengal.

9. *D. 'Alamgiri*, ff. 57a-b., 59b.

10. *Factories 1637-41*. p 136.

11. *D. 'Alamgiri*, f. 59b. The milk of Bihar is praised in the *Ain*, I, p. 416, for both its quality and cheapness.

12. *Lett. Recd.*, I, p. 141. Bhimsen recalled in his old age that in 1658—some fifty years before he wrote his memoirs—"foodgrains such as wheat and gram were selling at 2½ *man* per Rupee and *juwār* and *bājrī* at 3½ *man*." He adds that in the second regnal year of Aurangzeb (1659-60) in the Dakhin generally wheat and gram sold at 2 *mans* per rupee. (*Dilkusha*, ff. 15b, 20b). But either his memory was playing him false or the low prices did not prevail for long. We are fortunate in possessing an official report of prices prevailing in the Aurangabad market in May 1661. This shows that wheat was then selling at ¾ *man* per R. and gram at just under one *man*. *Juwārī* was priced at a little above one *man* per rupee and *bājrī* at a little less than one *man*. The report, however, agrees with Bhimsen in rating *gur* at 20 sers per R. and *ghi* at 4 sers, although it gives these prices for the lowest grades only. (*Waqa'i' Dakhin*, 37-44). Cf. also the price-report from the *sarkar* of Ramgir, 1662, *Daftar-i Diwani*, &c., 171-5; *Waqa'i' Dakhin*, 75-77.)

Grain prices are also quoted in *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, pp. 14, 148, 343, 599, 703 (21st-24th regnal years of Aurangzeb). But in the absence of earlier data relating to the same province the information is hardly of any use for our present purpose.

called *nabāt,* and the red sugar, the *Ain* gives the rates for two other varieties, white sugar candy (*qand-i safed*) and white (powdered) sugar (*shakkar-i safed*), *viz.,* 7·33 and 4·27, respectively, in terms of Rs. per *man-i Shahjahani.*[13] In 1615 the latter variety seems to have fetched but Rs. 2·75 to 3·00 in the region "betwixt Agra and Lahore."[14] Yet in 1639 the price of 'candy' at Lahor was no less than Rs. 11·00 and the best (powdered) 'sugar' was quoted at 7·00, lower varieties being obtained for 5·75 and 6·00.[15] In 1646 a 'super-fine' variety of the latter sold at Agra for 6·00[16] and in 1651 the price is said 'not to exceed' Rs 6·00.[17] Thus within the earlier part of the 17th century, sugar had risen by about 40 per cent., or more, in the central regions of the empire. The same process is even more clearly discernible in Gujarat. This province imported large quantities of sugar from Agra, so that the prices here ought to have been much higher. Yet in 1613 'powder sugar' sold at only 4·44 at Ahmadabad[18] and Terry, whose experience was confined to Gujarat and Malawa (1616-19), calculates on the basis of its being usually priced at 4·93.[19] In 1622, however, sugar was declared to be 'very dear' at Ahmadabad and the price quoted was equivalent to 9·11;[20] subsequently, in 1628 and 1630 the rates kept to between Rs. 8 and 9.[21] The price at Surat was 7·11 or 8·00 in 1619,[22] but in 1635, after the famine, it stood at 11·77.[23] The English seem, thereupon, to have increased their purchases direct from Agra, but ultimately decided that the best course lay in obtaining

13. *Ain,* I, p. 65.

14. Steel & Crowther, *Purchas,* IV, p. 268. I take it that the "great Maund of fortie" in terms of which the price is quoted, is the *man-i Jahangiri* and not *man-i Akbari.* In case the latter unit was still used in the sugar trade, the rates, when stated in terms of *man-i Shahjahani,* would amount to Rs. 3·33 to 3·66 per *man.*

15. *Factories 1637-41,* p. 135.

16. *Ibid, 1646-50,* p. 62.

17. *Ibid, 1651-54,* p. 52.

18. *Lett. Recd.,* I, pp. 305-6.

19. Terry, *Early Travels,* pp. 296-97 : (Sugar) "after it is well refined may be brought for two pence the pound or under." He usually reckons 1 R. equal to 2s. 6d. (*Ibid,* 284, 302).

20. *Factories 1622-23,* p. 109.

21. *Ibid, 1624-29,* p. 221; *1630-33,* p. 61.

22. *Factories 1618-21,* p. 102. Unless the reference is to candied sugar the price given in *Lett. Recd.,* VI, p. 280, for Surat is impossible. It works out at Rs. 14·00 to 15·00 for some period before 1617. Sugar candy was fetching Rs. 12·44 in 1616 at Surat. (*Ibid,* IV, p. 299).

23. *Factories 1634-36,* p. 177.

it from Bengal,[24] where it was the cheapest and most abundant and whence Agra itself imported. Quotations for Bengal sugar relate to 1650, 1659 and 1683 and the rates range from Rs. 4 to 5.[25] The price in Bengal, therefore, had also by now risen to the level of that of the central regions and Gujarat at the beginning of the century.

Finally, a word about the price of indigo, for which our information is by far the fullest. Moreland has made a detailed examination of the evidence relating to the price of the Sarkhej indigo and he contends that there is no particular indication of an increase in it.[26] The Sarkhej product was, however, very heavily dependent upon European trade and it is possible that the tendency towards an increase in price was countered by the drastic curtailment of this demand, increasingly satisfied from the West Indian plantations. This was a much less important factor in the case of the Bayana indigo and it is surprising that Moreland did not extend his enquiry to the price-history of this variety. The details of it gleaned largely from English commercial literature may be relegated to a footnote,[27] and, indeed, so self-revealing is this evidence that

24. Cf. Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 139.

25. *Factories 1646-50*, pp. 137-8; *1655-60*, p. 297; Hedges, I, p. 75. The minimum price reported in 1650 may be 3·75 if the bale then consisted not of 2 *man-i Jahangiri*, but of 2 *man-i Shahjahani*. (See Appendix B). We are also told that during the period of the monsoons the price used to jump to Rs. 11 or 12 per bale. In the London Committees' despatches to Madras of 1658, reference is made to sugar being invoiced at Hugli for 11s. per bale but at Madras for 28s., it being suspected that the Company had been 'grossly abused' by the Madras factors. (*Factories 1655-60*, p. 179). But there must be some mistake about the former figure and suspicion has probably got the better of accuracy.

26. *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 160-64.

27. Before setting out the information in tabulated form it may be noted that the *man-i Akbari* remained in use for indigo at Agra throughout our period, and the prices are usually expressed in it. Where some other unit is used the rate is converted into that of Rs. per *man-i Akbari* for convenience of comparison. If the indigo is of the growth of some other place than the Bayana tract proper, or the price given is the price on delivery at Surat or Swally, this is indicated.

Year	*Rs. per man*	*Description*	*Source*
1595-96	10 to 16	Usual	*Ain*, MSS (Add. 7652, 6552, 5645, &c.) Blochmann, I, 442 reads 10 to 12 per *man*.
1609	16 to 24	Usual	*Lett. Recd.* I, 28
"	25	Paid	"

it should not be necessary to enter more than a few comments. Admittedly, the price-curve is full of troughs and crests, but this is hardly

1614	31	Paid, Surat (?)	*Ibid*, II, p. 194
1614-15	34 & 36	Quoted	„ III, pp. 69-70
1615	27 & 28	„	„ IV, p. 327
1616	35	„	„ IV, pp. 239, 327
„	29 to 33	Paid	„ IV, p. 239
„	36 & 38	Price always at Agra	„ „
„	36 & 37	Paid. Surat	„ V, p. 110
1617	28 to 36; average 33¼	Paid	„ VI, pp. 234-5, 245, 249
1618	35	Assumed	*Factories, 1662-5*, pp. 284-5
1624-5	28 to 32	Quoted	*F. 1624-29*, p. 63
1626	30	Usual	Pelsaert 15
1627	33¾ to 35	Paid	*F. 1624-29*, p. 189
„	35 to 36½ & 30.	„	„ p. 208
1627-28	32½ to 35	„	„ p. 228
1628-29	36 & 37	„	„ p. 335
1630	38	„	*F. 1630-33*, p. 131
1633	61	Paid. Monopolist's price	*F. 1634-36*, pp. 1, 2
1633-34	62 *plus* 2	„	„ p. 12
1635-36	45 to 56	Paid	„ p. 206
1639	45	Estimate. Swally	*F. 1637-41*, p. 192
1640	40 & above	Paid	„ p. 278
1643	33 & below.	„	*F. 1642-5*, p. 136
1643-44	26 to 31½	„	„ p. 202
1644-45	37 to 40		„ p. 254
1645	33	Koria. Quoted	„ p. 304
1645-46	40	Paid	*F. 1646-50*, p. 33
1646	42	Expected	„ p. 62
1646-47	43 & above	Quoted	„ p. 114
1647-48	40¾ to 43¾	Paid	„ p. 202
1648	42	Half dry. Quoted	„ p. 219
„	43⅝	Hindaun. Quoted	„ „
„	36 & 37	Doab. Paid	„ „
1648-49	40 to 46	Quoted	„ p. 276
1649	35 & 36	„	„ „
1650	47 & above	Hindaun. Quoted	*F. 1651-54*, p. 9
„	46	„ „	„ p. 51
1651	45¾	Khurja. Quoted	„ p. 302
1655	33 & 38	Khurja. Paid	*F. 1655-60*, p. 18
1655-56	33	Hindaun. Quoted	„ p. 63
1658	38	Paid	„ p. 153
1663-64	100½	Quoted. Surat	*F. 1661-64*, p. 320

surprising for a crop which was very vulnerable to natural disasters[28] and was raised predominantly for distant markets. Nevertheless, through all these fluctuations a steady, and often rapid, rise is unmistakable. It is noteworthy that this continued even when the European demand began to fall off in the sixth decade of the century. 1669-70 was a year of plentiful harvests, as we have seen, and the Bayana indigo was then stated to be 'indifferent cheap', but the anticipated price was about three times the one regarded as the maximum by Abu-l Fazl, and twice the normal highest limit for the price set in 1609.

It cannot, therefore, be open to doubt that our period witnessed a substantial rise in agricultural prices. It is not strictly within the sphere of our enquiry to examine whether this rise can be inferred from the relative values of the precious metals during the period. But the point is so important and the study made of it as yet so inadequate[29] that room has been found in Appendix C for a detailed analysis of the gold and copper prices of the silver rupee, the standard coin of Mughal currency. It will be seen that the evidence for a general fall in the

1665	97⅝	Paid. Surat	*F. 1665-67*, p. 5
1667	52	Quoted. Surat	*F. 1668-69*, p, 3
1668	51	Paid	*F. 1668-69*, pp. 6-7
1669-70	55	Expected. Surat (prob.)	„ p. 194

If the 1669-70 price is as per delivery at Surat, the Agra price could not have been less than Rs. 47 per *man*. Judging from the fact that in 1651 the transport charges of a camel load from Agra to Ahmadabad amounted to Rs. 15, annas 3, or about Rs. 1·7 per *man-i Akbari* (*Factories 1651-54*, p. 52), it may be assumed that the cost of transit between Agra and Surat could not have exceeded 2·5 Rs. per *man*. Moreover goods carried on behalf of the English were exempt from all transit dues on this route (*ibid*, *1666-67*, p. 266). but they had to pay a brokerage of ten per cent to their own agents. (*Ibid*. *1668-9*, p. 7).

Travernier, II, p. 78, says that "one generally pays" 36 to 40 Rs. per *man* for the Bayana indigo. His experience of India ranged from 1640 to 1667, but he visited Agra only twice, in 1640-43 and in 1665-67. We can see that his statement could not have applied to the latter years and he is probably recollecting the prices current at the time of his earlier visit.

It is unfortunately not possible to trace the prices after 1669-70 from the published English records.

28. Cf. Pelsaert, 13.

29. Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 183-185, notices the rise in the silver-price of copper and he is uncertain about that of gold (pp 182-3). Hodivala (*Mughal Numismatics*, pp. 245-52) brings together some evidence to show that gold also rose considerably. Neither study, however, is detailed enough for our purposes.

value of the rupee relative to both metals is almost overwhelming, and it is possible to work out this decline in some detail. We find, for example, that if the price-level expressed in silver was 100 at the time of the *Ain*, it should have risen to over 150 in the twenties of the century; another ascent in the fifties and sixties put it somewhere between 178 and 276. Thereafter it fell a little and stood between 145 and 200 by the end of the century. It may be observed that, though the data of agricultural prices are not sufficient to confirm this later recovery in silver, the agreement between the earlier trends in agricultural and silver prices is remarkable. The fall in the price of the rupee in the twenties may be discerned, for example, in the rise of that of sugar in the same decade. The second great fall in the value of the rupee is similarly attested to by the prices recorded for foodgrains and indigo in 1669-70.

In our study of agrarian trade we have emphasised the fact that while the villages did not depend on the produce of the towns, the towns absorbed a large portion of the produce of the villages. This was only made possible because of the heavy land-revenue demand. Land-revenue pumped back into the towns the money that had gone out to buy food and raw-materials from the countryside, or, when it was received in kind, simply carted these necessary supplies to the towns. When an increase in agricultural prices took place, the balance could not be restored merely by an increase in the prices of urban manufactures, since they had no market in the villages. It could be restored only by an increase in the land-revenue collections. In Chapter VI, Section 1, and Chapter IX, Section 2, we shall see how this actual increase in land-revenue took place. Since the land-revenue accounted for by far the larger portion of the peasant's surplus produce, it is obvious that this increase must have wiped out any possible advantage that the peasantry might have obtained through a rise in the prices.

CHAPTER III

MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF THE LIFE OF THE PEASANTRY

1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

"The common people", declares a Dutch observer during the reign of Jahangir, live in "poverty so great and miserable that the life of the people can be depicted or accurately described only as the home of stark want and the dwelling place of bitter woe."[1] To attempt a description of the normal articles of consumption and use of the peasant in our period is really tantamount to outlining the lowest possible level of subsistence—a dictum with which contemporaries would probably have readily agreed.[2]

It is a pity that on the very important subject of the quantity of food consumed by the peasants our authorities are not very helpful. We are, however, slightly better placed with regard to the kinds of food which entered into popular diet. It is naturally to be expected that in Bengal, Orissa, Sind and Kashmir, rice, being the major crop, should have formed the staple diet of the masses;[3] while a similar position was enjoyed by *juwari* and *bajra* in Gujarat.[4] But, generally speaking, it

1. Pelsaert 60.

2. To what, asks Bhīmsen, did Southern India owe its innumerable temples, some of them without a peer in the world? To the fact, says he, that the soil is immensely productive while the subsistence needs of the inhabitants are so few. The *rajas* devoted the huge surplus which thus resulted to the construction of temples, for want of anything better as much as from their own religious bent (*Dilkusha*, ff. 112b-113b). He thus assumes as a matter of course that the possession of everything produced in excess of the barest amount necessary for survival should have vested in the hands of the rulers. Shivaji is reputed to have said concerning "the Common People": "Money is inconvenient for them: give them Victuals and an Arse-Clout, it is enough." (Fryer, II, p. 66).

3. For Bengal: *Ain*, I, p. 389; Fitch, Ryley 119, *Early Travels*, 28; Bernier 438. For Orissa, *Ain*, I, 391; for Sind, *ibid*, 556; and for Kashmir, *ibid*, 564.

4. *Ain*, I, 485. Fryer, II, p. 119, says in general of India, but probably thereby meaning only Gujarat and the Western Coast, that "Boil'd Rice, Nichany (the raggy millet), Millet and (in great scarcity) Grass-Roots are the food of the ordinary People."

was the lowest varieties, out of his produce, which the peasant was able to retain for his own family. We know that in Kashmir the rice eaten by the masses was very coarse[5] and in Bihar, the 'indigent' were compelled to eat the 'pea-like grain', *kisārī*, which used to cause sickness.[6] Despite the fact that wheat flourished best in the Agra-Dehli region, it did not form part of the "food of the common people", which here consisted of rice, millets and pulses.[7] Similarly, though Malawa, as we have seen, had wheat enough for export, Terry, whose experience was mainly gained there, says that "the ordinary sort of people" did not eat wheat, but used the flour of "a coarser grain" (probably *juwar*).[8]

Foodgrains were generally supplemented by a few vegetables or pot-herbs.[9] Fish entered into mass diet in such provinces as Bengal, Orissa, Sind and Kashmir.[10] From both, religious scruples (against cow-slaugher and pig-farming) and indigence, meat was but rarely consumed by the peasant.[11]

5. *T.J.* 300.

6. *Ain*, I, p. 416.

7. J. Xavier, tr. Hosten, *JASB*, N.S. XXIII, 1927, p. 121; Bernier 283. Pelsaert, 60-61, speaking specifically of the workmen of Agra, says: "For their monotonous daily food they have nothing but a little *khichri* ('kitchery' in the text), made of green pulse (*moth*) mixed with rice...eaten with butter in the evening; in the day time they munch a little parched pulse or other grain, which they say suffices for their lean stomachs". It is very probable that the peasants' diet was also very similar. It is curious that none of our authorities should mention barley, which must also have been commonly eaten. Its price in the *Ain*, I, p. 60, is the same as that of ordinary gram.

8. "Both (sic!) toothsome, wholesome and hearty" and "made up in round broad and thick cakes" [*chapātis*] (Terry, *Voyage to East India*, Reprint, London, 1777, pp. 87, 199. This statement does not occur in the first version of Terry's journal, reprinted in the *Early Travels*.)

9. Beans and other vegetables were usually on sale in the smallest of villages, according to Tavernier, pp. 38,238. In Bengal "three or four sorts of vegetables" were included among "the chief (articles of) food of the common people." (Bernier, 438). In Orissa the brinjal was commonly eaten (*Ain*, I, p. 391). "Vegetables of different kinds" were eaten in Kashmir (*ibid*, 564; *T.J.*, 300).

10. *Ain*, I, pp. 389, 391, 556, 564.

11. "In the large villages there is generally a Musalman governor and there you find sheep, fowl and pigeons for sale," but not "in the places where there are only Banians (Hindus)." (Tavernier, I p. 38). Roe, journeying from Surat to Burhanpur complains that despite the country being "plentifull, especially of cattle," the Banians "that will kyll nothing inhabiting all over, yet by the same reason they would sell us none." (Roe 67). In Agra the workmen "know little of the taste of meat" (Pelsaert 60). In Bengal "they will eate no flesh, nor kill

It has been suggested earlier that the output of *ghi* per capita, was higher in Mughal times than now. This is shown among other things by the fact that it was a constant part of the staple diet in the Agra region,[12] Bengal,[13] and Western India.[14] The people of Assam were, however, utterly unfamiliar with it and regarded it with the greatest abhorrence.[15] In Kashmir too, the common people cooked their food in water; and walnut-oil and *ghi* were regarded as delicacies.[16]

Tavernier declares that "even in the smallest villages....sugar and other sweetmeats, dry and liquid, can be procured in abundance."[17] And one may assume from this that *gur*, at any rate, was commonly consumed in the villages. As for salt, Moreland has shown that its price in terms of wheat at the time of the *Ain* was double that in modern times.[18] It would seem, therefore, that the amount of salt consumption per capita was at a much lower level than now. It was, for example, exceptional-

no beast." (Fitch, Ryley, 119; *Early Travels*, 28). Manrique was held at a distance by the villagers in Orissa as belonging to a people "who eat fowls as well as cows' and pigs' flesh"; the slaughter of peacocks by members of his party aroused the greatest indignation (Manrique, II, pp. 105-113). The people of Assam, however, had no such inhibitions and ate almost everything (*'Alamgirnama*, p. 726; *Fathiya 'Ibriya*, f. 36a).

12. Xavier, *op. cit.*; Pelsaert 61.

13. Bernier 438. Cf. Fitch, Ryley 119, *Early Travels* 28: he speaks of 'milke' not butter.

14. Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 296; 1777 reprint, pp. 198-9.

15. *'Alamgirnama*, p. 726; *Fathiya 'Ibriya*, f. 36a.

16. *T.J.* 300-301.

17. Tavernier, I, p. 238. Cf. also Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 325, who says the vegetarian 'Gentiles' live upon "herbs and milke and butter and cheese and sweetmeates, of which they make divers kindes." In view of these statements it is surprising that Moreland should believe "the large consumption of sweetmeats" to be "a comparatively modern feature of Indian life" (*India &c. of Akbar*, p. 272).

18. *JRAS*, 1918, p. 379. For the modern price he takes the rates current in the Lucknow market. It is curious, however, that the price of salt current in the Kanpur market in 1890s (*vide* Crooke, *North-Western Provinces*, p. 272) was practically double the rate quoted by Moreland and therefore in relative terms nearly equal to the price given in the *Ain*. The fall in the price of salt is due apparently to the reductions in costs of transport rather than any changes in the methods of production. The best contemporary description of the methods used in the Sambhar Lake and the Salt Range is to be found in Sujan Rai, 55, 75. The disappearance now of the caste and industry of the *nunias*, who obtained salt from nitrous soils is obviously due to the decline in its price.

ly scarce and dear in Bengal;[19] and in parts of it and in Assam, people were driven to use a bitter substance containing salt, extracted from the ashes of banana stalks.[20] The use of capsicums or chillies, today a necessary ingredient in every meal, howsoever humble, was not then known.[21] Spices such as cuminseed, corianderseed and ginger were probably within the peasant's reach,[22] but cloves, cardamoms and pepper were obviously too expensive, at least, in the central regions.[23] When cloves were cheapest—i.e. before the Dutch imposed their monopoly on sea-born trade with the East Indies—they were looked upon by the villager, not, apparently, as an article of food, but as ornaments fit enough to adorn the necks of his wife and children.[24]

During certain seasons the peasants were presumably able to enjoy fruits of the more common kind as well as those growing wild.[25]

There is practically no information as to the prevalence of *pān*-eating in the countryside and one may doubt if the habit could have

19. *Ain*, I, p. 39.
20. *Haft Iqlim*, 95; *Fathiya 'Ibriya*, f. 32b.
21. See Ch. I, Sec. 3.
22. As may be judged from the prices given in the *Ain*, I, pp. 65-66. Cuminseed (*zīra*), corianderseed (*siyāhdāna*, or *kalaunjī*) and aniseed (*ajwā'in*) appear in the *dastūrs* as well. For ginger see also Terry, *Early Travels*, 324, and the 1777 reprint, p. 198.
23. Prices given in the *Ain*, *op. cit.* Terry, however, declares in his second version (1777 reprint, p. 198) that "the meaner sort of the people there eat rice with green ginger and *a little pepper*."
24. Pelsaert, 24-25. He is speaking of the early years of the 17th cenury when, according to him, cloves fetched Rs. 60 to 80 per 'maund' at Agra. Allowing for the difference between the *Akbari* and *Jahangiri* weights, this accords with the rate given in the *Ain*, viz. Rs. 60 per *man-i Akbari*. As Moreland has shown, the *Ain's* price works out, in terms of wheat, at about 15 times the modern price for cloves (*JRAS*, 1918, p. 379).
25. Thus in the Mewar hills cultivation was rare, but mangoes plentiful. Not so sweet and tasty as elsewhere, they formed (in the season, obviously) the staple diet of the 'humble masses', who got sick thereby. (Badauni, II, pp. 234-5). Fruits were more commonly eaten in Bengal (Fitch, Ryley, 119; *Early Travels*, 28); and in Assam oranges were so common as to sell at the rate of 10 for one copper coin (*Fathiya 'Ibriya*, f. 26a-b). Coco-nut was, of course, on a different plane altogether, but the areas (e.g. Malabar—cf. Tavernier, I, p. 197) where it formed part of the staple diet, largely lay outside the limits of the Mughal Empire. A modern writer says of the poorer strata in the villages of Uttar Pradesh that "the many jungle fruits and roots in addition to the village mango crop ... innutritious as they are" help to keep them alive in the critical period before the standing crop is harvested. (Crooke, *North-Western Provinces*, p. 274).

been indulged in by the mass of the people. The intoxicant, *tāṛī* or toddy, was frequently noticed—and drunk—by European travellers, but it is obvious that its consumption was less widespread inland than in the coastal province of Gujarat.[26] The extent of the use of opium is difficult to judge. Abu-l Fazl speaks of the practice of the doping of small children by "the high and low" as if it was a peculiar custom confined to Malawa,[27] whereas in more recent days it spread throughout India. Tobacco smoking had already become a mass-habit by the end of our period. Speaking ostensibly of India in general, but really of Gujarat and the western coast, Fryer refers to "the ordinary People" smoking "a Pipe of Tobacco",[28] while we know that by this time the "poore sort" had taken to smoking the cheroot in Coromandel.[29] From Sujan Rai's rhetoric one may assume that the masses of Northern India were also rapidly learning to smoke.[30]

The facts we have adduced above do not easily lend themselves to the purposes of an exact comparison. But, speaking generally, if we take only the middle and poorer strata of the Indian peasantry today, the change in diet would seem to have been inconsiderable. The peasant of Mughal times was more fortunate with *ghi*, while his modern descendant has more salt and three entirely new articles of food, maize, potatoes and chillies. But this is, perhaps, all.

In regard to clothing, the statements of our authorities are generally short and precise. Of Hindustan, the country 'from Bhera to Bihar', Babur observes: "Peasants and the lowly go about completely bare-footed. They tie on a thing called *langūta*, a decency-clout which hangs two spans below the navel. From the tie of this pendant, another clout, beneath it, is passed between the thighs and made fast behind. Women also tie on a cloth (*lung*), one-half of which goes round the

26. For Gujarat see Finch, *Early Travels*, 175; Mundy 32-33; Ovington 142-3, &c. Babur noticed villagers collecting date-liquor in the Chambal valley between Bayana and Dholpur and he describes both the method of extracting this as well as the *tari* proper. (*Baburnama*, tr. Beveridge, II, pp. 508-9). Mundy, when passing near Banaras, but to the south of the Ganga, came across "aboundance of Tarree trees" which he had not seen for the previous twenty days of his journey from Agra. He was told, however, that the trees were grown for their leaves, used for mats, and not for the liquor (Mundy 124-5).

27. *Ain*, I, p. 455.

28. Fryer, II, p. 119.

29. Bowrey 97.

30. Sujan Rai, 454.

waist, the other is thrown over the head."[31] In other words, just the shortest *dhotī* sufficed for men and a *sārī* for women; and they wore nothing else. Similarly, in the following century an English factor at Agra declares that "the plebeian sort is so poor that the greatest part of them go naked in their whole body (save) their privities, which they cover with a linen (*sic*! cotton) coverture."[32] Finch, saying the same thing, while speaking of Banaras, adds that in winter, in lieu of wool "the men wear quilted gowns of cotton like to our mattraces and quilted caps."[33]

The clothing of the ordinary people was even more brief in Bengal. "Large numbers of men and women," says Abu-l Fazl, "go naked and do not wear anything except for the loin-cloth (*lung*)."[34] Furthermore, in Orissa "women do not cover anything except for the privy parts and a large number make their coverings from leaves of trees."[35]

On the other side, in Sind, "the people of the countrye (I meane those which inhabitt out of the citties) are for moste part verye rude,

31. *Baburnama*, tr. S. Beveridge, II, p. 519. Mrs. Beveridge's translation has not seemed convincing to me on one or two points; I have altered the wording of the first sentence and added a clause further on. These alterations follow Abdu-r Rahim Khan-i Khanan's standard Persian translation, Or. 3714, ff. 411b-412a.

32. *Lett. Recd.*, VI, p. 187.

33. Ryley, 107; *Early Travels*, 22. Salbank from Agra says: "... indeed woollen cloth is so rare a matter to be seen worn by the people of this country, by reason of the dearness of it and the cheapness of their own cotton." (*Lett. Recd.* VI, p. 200). This is substantially true today and the lowest price of a woollen blanket as given in the *Ain*, I, p. 111, was only slightly higher in terms of wheat than that obtaining at the beginning of this century (*JRAS*, 1918, p. 381; Crooke, *op. cit.*, p. 273).

Pelsaert, 61, speaking of the domestic possessions of the workmen of Agra says, "their bed-clothes are scanty, merely a sheet or perhaps two, serving both as an under- and over-sheet; this is sufficient in the hot weather but the bitter cold nights are miserable indeed and they try to keep warm over little cowdung fires which are lit outside the doors." This is still true of millions in India, in village and in town.

34. *Ain*, I, p. 389. Cf. Fitch, Ryley, 118-9, *Early Travels*, 28.

35. *Ain*, I, p. 391. Cf. Bowrey 208: "The Ourias...are very poore, weare no better habit than a Lungee, or a white cloth made fast about their waste."

In Assam, we are told, "it is not the custom to wear the turban, gown, drawers or shoes or to sleep on beds; they tie a piece of *kirpāsī* (calico?) on the head and *lungi* on the waist and put a scarf round their shoulders. In winter some of the wealthy people wear a *nīm-jāma* (waist-coat) of the fashion of *Ya'qūb-khānī* (*Fathiya 'Ibriya*, f. 37a. Cf. *'Alamgirnama*, p. 727; Tavernier, II, p. 223).

and goe naked from the waste upwards, with turbants on their hedds ....''[36] In Kashmir cotton was not worn at all; both men and women put on just a single woollen garment, called *pattu*, which came down to the ankles. They kept it unwashed on their bodies for three or four years till it was completely tattered.[37]

In Gujarat the women's attire was described as comprising "a *Lungy* being tied loose over their shoulders Belt wise and tucked between their Legs in nature of short Breeches", and a short bodice, these two "being all their Garb, going constantly without Shooes and Stockins".[38] Though we have no direct evidence bearing upon the point, conditions were probably similar in the Mughal Dakhin, a large cotton-growing area. On the other hand, the scantiness of clothing became very marked as one went more to the south, into Golkunda and Southern India.[39]

There can, therefore, be little doubt that the change in respect of clothing has been substantial, pitiful as the conditions still are. Babur's description, for example, may yet hold true of parts of eastern Uttar Pradesh, but is completely alien to the situation in the Doab or Panjab. Similarly, despite the great poverty of the Bengal villages, the *sari* worn by women, at any rate, is long enough to rule out a statement from being made today in the strain of Abu-l Fazl.

36. Withington, *Early Travels*, 218.

37. *Ain*, I, p. 564; *T.J.* 301; Pelsaert 35.

38. Fryer, II, 1.6-117. Though he purports here to be giving a description of "East-India", his knowledge is patently restricted to Gujarat and [illegible]e western coast.

39. Bhimsen was a native of Burhanpur and lived for a large [illegible] his life at Aurangabad. The contrast between the ordinary clothing seen [illegible]ghal Dakhin and that in Southern India is reflected in the disdain w[illegible] which he describes the latter. Speaking of the 'Karnatik of Bijapur and [illegible]kunda' (i.e. Kanara proper and Tamilnad), he says: "Men tie up a dirty s[illegible] on their head and a small piece of cloth for hiding (the privy parts) and one sheet of calico (*kirpās*) (thrown over their shoulders) suffices for years [illegible] and women wear a cloth three or four cubits long round the waist, like a [illegible]ng, leaving the head and breasts bare ..." (*Dilkusha*, f. 113a). In this description Bhimsen is supported by other contemporary authorities, e.g. Fitch, Ryley 94, *Early Travels* 16; *Relations* 76-77; Bowrey 97—for Golkunda and Coromandel; Linschoten, I, pp. 260-61—for Kanara; Fitch, Ryley 186, *Early Travels* 47; Tavernier, I, p. 97 and Fryer, I, pp. 137-8—for Kerala; and Manucci, III, pp. 39-41 for Southern India generally. In the Salsette Island "They go Naked, both Men and Women covering their Privities with a Clout, and their Breasts with another ... leaving the Arms, Thighs and Legs bare." (Careri 179). We may presume this was the general condition in the Konkan.

The available information concerning the dwelling places of the peasants may be rapidly surveyed. In Bengal the ordinary hut is said to be as "in the most part of India" "very little and covered with strawe";[40] it was made by roping bamboos together[41] upon "walls" or rather plinths of mud excavated at the site.[42] In Orissa the walls were made of reeds.[43] In Bihar 'most houses' had roofs of tiles.[44] The huts of the peasants of the Doab are described as "badd mud walled ill thatched covered howses".[45] The villages on the banks of the Indus consisted, we are told, of "houses of wood and straw", which could always be shifted.[46] In the Ajmer province "the common people live in tent-shaped bamboo huts".[47] Round about Sironj (Malawa) the peasants lived "in small round huts," "miserable hovels".[48] The houses in Gujarat were roofed with tiles (*khaprail*) and often built of brick and lime.[49] In Khandesh and Bidar, however, the huts were again mud-walled and thatched.[50] All this sounds familiar and it is obvious that there has been practically no change in the housing conditions of the peasant, for better or worse, during the last three hundred years. Now, as then, the huts are built out of materials that are most easily procurable and without the use of any architectural skill, so that the kind of material used, together with the climate and soil, bears almost the entire responsibility for such regional variations as have existed.

There was little within the hovel of the peasant to attract the attention of contemporary observers. "Furniture there is little or

40. Fitch, Ryley 119, *Early Travels*, 28.
41. *Ain*, I, p. 389.
42. Master, II, pp. 92-3. Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, 1908, p. 241. The method of construction is exactly the same today. In Assam "rich and poor make their habitations and houses out of wood, bamboo and straw." (*'Alamgirnama*, p. 727).
43. *Ain*, I. p. 391.
44. *Ibid*, 416.
45. Mundy 73. He is speaking specifically of the country around Koil; he calls the peasants 'Gauares' (*ganwārs*) and 'Labourers'. (For his use of the latter word see also *ibid*, p. 90). The Agra workmen too lived in houses "built of mud with thatched roofs." (Pelsaert, 61).
46. *Ain*, I, p. 550; Sujan Rai, 64.
47. *Ain*, I, p. 505. In a 'Towne', i.e. village, of Marwar, Mundy (p. 249) notices "every howse standinge by itselfe, in form like our round Corne Stacks in the feild though not so bigg nor soe high."
48. Monserrate 21.
49. *Ain*, I, p. 485. As Mundy left the Abu hills behind on his way to Ahmadabad, he noted, "the howses begin to be covered with Tiles." (p. 258).
50. Fitch, Ryley 94-5, *Early Travels*, 16; Roe 68.

none, except for some earthenware pots to hold water and for cooking and two beds (i.e. cots) one for the man, the other for the wife...."[51] This is said of the workmen in Agra and there is no reason to expect that the peasants' possessions were on any better scale. From Terry's testimony we may add to this brief list of domestic articles "the small iron hearths" used by "the common people" for baking their cakes of bread.[52] We are also told that in Southern India "their plate is a leaf....or a small plate of copper, out of which the whole family eats".[53] Linschoten says the peasants in Kanara "commonly drinke out of a Copper Canne with a spout....which is all the metell they have within their houses."[54] Presumably, from the fact that the great copper mines lay in Northern India the peasants within the Empire were a little better served with this metal. But the *Ain*'s price for copper has been computed to be five times higher, in terms of wheat, than its price in 1914.[55] This explains why Pelsaert refers only to earthen vessels even for cooking. The earthen vessels were in fact "almost universal" among the peasants of the central regions till the earlier part of the last century and it is only since then that they "have entirely been replaced by (utensils of) brass or other metal."[56] Apart from the cots there was probably little other wooden furniture, except, perhaps, for the low stool, called *chaukī*, the use of which is a traditional part of village etiquette.[57] Tin boxes and a few little trinkets[58] are indeed all that are needed to complete the picture of the peasant's domestic possessions today.[59]

51. Pelsaert 61.

52. *Early Travels* 296. He means the round iron plate, the *tawa*, on which the *chapati* is baked.

53. Manucci, III, p. 43.

54. Linschoten, I, pp. 261-2, also 226.

55. In the Lucknow market. *JRAS*, 1918, pp. 381-2. It may be added that Indian copper production probably declined in the course of the 17th century.

56. Moens, *Settlement Report for the Bareilly District*, p. 55, cited by Crooke, *North-Western Provinces*, p. 276. Cf. also Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, pp. 273-4.

57. Telling a story about a gardener of Bhander (in Iraj *sarkar*, Agra province) Mushtāqī, f. 21a, says: "It is the custom of a class of villagers (*dihqān*) that when a guest comes to their house, the wife of the host gives him water to wash his hands and feet and puts the *chauki* before him."

58. Cf. Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, 277-8.

59. Cf. Crooke, *op. cit.*, p. 268: "The small peasant's furniture consists of a few foul rickety cots, some brass cooking utensils, a store of red earthen pottery, a stool or two for the children, a box for clothes or other petty valuables, a mud granary in which the grain supply of the household is stored."

As for jewellery the custom of converting savings into women's ornaments was apparently universal and foreign travellers note almost everywhere the extraordinary amount of ornaments which women might wear.[60] Their descriptions of these are very general as a rule, but from them and from a specific statement by Fryer,[61] it would appear that for the poorer masses the ornaments consisted of copper, glass or conch shells[62] or even, as we have seen, at one time, of cloves.

To judge from the frequent accounts of rites, festivals and pilgrimages preserved for us in contemporary accounts, it is obvious that these played as noticeable a part in the peasant's life as they do today. Such occasions, the marriage of his children, the funeral rites for the dead, and the visits to riverside festivals, must have consumed a part of his meagre resources or increased his debt.[63] Indeed, a contemporary Dutch observer castigates the people of Gujarat, who in years of good harvests "spent and squandered" their "surplus" "on their devilish festivals"—for which God, in His usual way, chastised them with the great famine of 1630-32.[64]

60. Cf. Fitch, Ryley 107, 109, 118-9, *Early Travels,* 22-3, 28; Fryer, II, p. 117; Ovington, 188-9, &c.

61. "The Rich (women) have their Arms and Feet Fettered with Gold and Silver, the meaner with Brass and Glass and Tuthinag, besides Rings at their Noses, Ears, Toes and Fingers." (Fryer, II, p. 117).

62. As in Orissa (Bowrey, 208-9). Here men wore ornaments in the same way as women (*Ain,* I, p. 391).

63. The authorities saw in these pilgrimages yet another means of extortion. Akbar had abolished the pilgrim levy, called *kar* (*A.N.,* II, p. 190; *Ain,* I, p. 301), but it had silently been re-imposed. The *Nigarnama-i Munshi,* f. 97a-b, Bodl., f. 73a, Ed. 76 (defective), contains a *parwāna* to Muhammad Momin, *Amīn,* reminding him of the impending "season of the gathering of Hindus in multitudes on the banks of the river Gang, which in the Hindwi language is called Ganga, and which they cross after every few years;" and that "at such a time considerable revenue is obtained from the *mahal* of *sā'ir* (taxes other than land-revenue)." The *parwana* therefore impresses upon him the necessity of obtaining exact information as to the routes and places of worship so that none might evade payment. And yet the "revenue from bathing in the Ganga" is included in the list of the forbidden cesses under Aurangzeb (*Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri,* Ethe 415, f. 181b, Or. 1641, f. 136b; Add. 6598, f. 189b).

64. Twist, tr. Moreland, *JIH,* XVI, p. 66.

2. Famines

We have so far seen the Mughal peasant only in the poverty and squalor that were his lot in a period of normal years. But the monsoons upon which his harvest depended were not always constant in showering their bounty; All might be lost if the rains failed at the crucial time or poured down in such excess as to drown the crops. The great railway network today offers the means whereby foodgrains can be rapidly transported from the surplus to the 'affected' areas. This benefit conferred by the railways added in due course another item to the well-publicised list of achievements of the British administration, viz., the conversion of 'food famines' into 'work famines'. With this claim we have of course no concern and in so far as attempts have been made to contrast the terrible conditions of the famines under the Mughals with the acclaimed contentment and plenty enjoyed under British rule, a few facts are provided in a footnote to throw light on the propriety of this comparison.[1]

An idea of the frequency and violence of these calamities in our period may be gained from the following chronicle of famines and scarci-

1. The "horrible picture" of the Gujarat famine of 1630-32 provided Vincent Smith, once the *doyen* of Anglo-Indian historians, with an opportunity to underline "the immensity of the difference in the conditions of life as existing under the rule of the Mogul dynasty when at the height of its glory and those prevailing under the modern British government." (*Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1923, p. 394). This 'modern' government opened its regime in India with a famine which swept off one-third of the population of Bengal into the other world. On a misreading of the original authorities, Smith is all indignation that only "one-eleventh of the assessment of land revenue" was remitted by Shahjahan in 1630-2. Contrast this (imagined) heartless measure with the benevolence shown by the English in 1769-70: "In a year when thirty-five per cent. of the cultivators perished, not five per cent of the land tax was remitted, and ten per cent was added to it for the ensuing year (1770-71)." (Hunter, *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, London, 1897, p. 39). Moreland, who is generally cautious in making such statements, cannot restrain himself from boasting that under British rule "the very idea of a food-famine has been banished from all but the few tracts still inaccessible." (*Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 210). Twenty years after this was written—in 1943-4—nearly three and a half million people died of starvation in Bengal and all the medieval horrors were re-enacted on a scale truly befitting 'modern' times.

All this should not, however, lead us to play down the harrowing effects of the famines in Mughal India and Dr. Saran is not very convincing when he picks out a few pieces of rhetoric in a *single* passage to condemn all accounts of these calamities as exaggerated and mere literary exercises (*Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 427 ff.)

ties, compiled from contemporary sources. We must, however, remember that this can have no pretensions to completeness and the list will probably extend as more evidence becomes available.[2]

Our period began at the tail-end of a terrible famine which, for two successive years, 1554-5 and 1555-6, had ravaged "all the eastern parts of Hind" or Hindustan (i.e., excluding Bengal and probably Bihar), paricularly the territories around Agra, Bayana and Dehli. People died in groups of tens and twenties and more, and the dead got "neither graves nor coffins." "The common people lived on the seeds of Egyptian thorn, wild dry grass and cowhides." Badauni was himself an eye-witness to acts of cannibalism. Most of the affected country "was rendered desolate, cultivators and peasants disappeared and rebels plundered the towns of the Muslims."[3] Abu-l Fazl claims that the scarcity was over by the time of Akbar's accession,[4] probably owing to a successful *rabi'* crop.

A severe scarcity seems to have affected Gujarat some time during the mid-sixties; it became common, during its visitation, for parents to sell their children for trifles.[5] In the next decade, there is an allusion to a very acute famine around Sirhind in or about 1572-3.[6] In 1574-5 there was again a serious famine in Gujarat, this time accompanied by pestilence; and large numbers of people, both "lowly and respectable" migrated from the province.[7] There was also a general apprehension of drought this year in Northern India, but the danger was averted by timely showers.[8] Some parts of Hindustan, however,

2. It may be mentioned that Coromandel which was specially prone to famines is not included in this survey, being outside the limits of our study.

3. Badauni, I, pp. 428-9; *A.N.*, II, p. 35. The latter also refers to cannibalism. See also Abu-l Fazl's autobiography in the *Ain*, III (reproduced in *Insha'-i Abu-l Fazl*, III, pp. 326-7) for an account of this famine.

4. *A.N.*, II, 35.

5. Caesar Frederick, *Purchas*, X, p. 90. This Italian traveller visited Khambayat (Cambay), where he witnessed this scarcity, between 1563 and 1567.

6. A family in this area took to cannibalism and when finally apprehended explained that they had acquired the habit in this famine (Faizi Sirhindi, f. 121a-122a).

7. 'Ārif Qandahārī, 177-79; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, p. 301; Badauni, II, 186; Faizi Sirhindi, f. 122a-b. The last two obviously derive their information from the *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, but while the *Tabaqat-i Akbari* is silent about the scale of mortality, Badauni adds that countless people died. But this is probably a mere assumption.

8. *A.N.*, III, pp. 106-7.

seem to have experienced scarcity in 1578-9.[9] In 1587 and 1588 locusts destroyed the crops in the Bhakkar territory: "most people migrated and the Samija and Baluch, plundering both sides of the river, did not let a single place of habitation escape them."[10] In 1589-90 drought caused a famine, again, in the same locality.[11]

There was a general insufficiency of rain in 1596: "High prices plunged a world into suffering" and Akbar ordered free kitchens to be opened in every city.[12] Next year there was an acute scarcity from drought in Kashmir, where destitute people "having no means of nourishing their children exposed them for sale in the public places of the city."[13]

Writing in 1615-16, Jahangir refers to the spread of bubonic plague in this and the preceding year from the Panjab to Sirhind, the Doab and Dehli. He cites a learned opinion that this was due to the excessive drought which had been experienced for two years (1613-14 and 1614-5?), but no particulars about the scarcity are supplied.[14]

The great famine of 1630-32 was probably the most destructive of all the recorded calamities in our period and certainly one which left the deepest impression on contemporary minds. It affected Gujarat and most of the Dakhin.[15] There was first a complete failure of

9. *A.N.*, III, p. 224.
10. Ma'sum, *Tārīkh-i Sind*, ed. Daudpota, p. 249.
11. *Ibid*, p. 250.
12. *A.N.*, III, p. 714. In the *Zubdatu-t Tawārīkh* of Nūrul Ḥaqq Dihlawī, this famine is represented as very acute and prolonged. The drought occurred, we are told, in 1595-6 and a 'fearful famine' raged in Hindustan 'continuously for three or four years'. 'Men ate their own kind. The roads and streets were blocked up with dead bodies.' (Elliot & Dowson, VI, p. 193). This work was written late in Jahangir's reign and it is probable that its account is very much exaggerated. (Cf. Saran, *op. cit.*, p. 424*n.*) Nurul Haqq generally follows Faizi Sirhindi for events before 1601 and Faizi says nothing of this sort. The Jesuit missionaries who reached Lahor in May 1595 and remained with the Court from then onwards noticed only the famine in Kashmir in 1597 and, if du Jarric (tr. Payne, *Akbar & the Jesuits*) represents them correctly, make not the slightest mention of the scarcity in the plains, an omission which would be inexplicable had it been as serious as Nurul Haqq makes it out to be.
13. *Akbar and the Jesuits*, pp. 77-8. Cf. *A.N.* III, p. 727.
14. *T.J.*, 161-2.
15. This famine is described by Qazwīnī (Add. 20,734, pp. 442-444; Or. 173, ff. 220b-221a) and Sadiq Khan (Or. 174, ff. 29a-32a; Or. 1671, ff. 17a-18b), both of whom claim to be eye-witnesses, being apparently present at the Court, which

the rains in these areas in 1630; the next year the crops were promising in Gujarat, but were first attacked by mice and locusts and then destroyed by excessive rain,[16] while in the Dakhin the drought seems to have continued.[17] Pestilence followed close in the wake of the famine to carry away those who had escaped starvation. The most harrowing scenes were witnessed. Parents sold their children so that they might live. There was a wholesale migration in the direction of the less affected lands, but few could even complete the first stages of the journey before death overtook them; and the dead blocked the roads. In the first year the poor largely perished but in the second the turn of some of the rich also came.[18] Hides of cattle and the flesh of dogs were eaten; the crushed bones of the dead were sold with flour and ultimately cases of cannibalism became common.[19] The transport of

had its seat then at Burhanpur. Lahori, I, pp. 362-3 merely summarises Qazwīnī, so that the acceptance of his account as the only contemporary description in Persian and then the criticism of its contents as pure rhetoric are both undeserved (Saran, op. cit., pp. 427ff.). K͟hafi K͟han, I, pp. 444-9, copies Sadiq K͟han verbatim, omitting or altering only the personal references. The principal European sources for the famine are Mundy, *Factories 1630-33* (*passim*) and Twist (*JIH*, XVI, pp. 65-69). Their statements apply mostly to Gujarat.

16. Here the European authorities have been followed: *Factories, 1630-33*, pp. 134-5, 158, 165, 181, 193; Mundy 38; Twist, *JIH*, XVI, pp. 66, 68, all of which agree closely.

17. Qazwīnī says that though there was a deficiency of rain in 1630 in "most of the *mahals* of Balaghat, especially, the region around Daulatābad", the drought was much more widespread in 1631. Sadiq K͟han, on the other hand, says, probably inverting the true order, that there were excessive rains in 1630, which spoilt the crops and that this was followed by a complete drought in 1631. In the third year, he adds, mice and locusts caused great damage to the crops. As has been mentioned above, both these writers had personal experience only of the conditions in the Dakhin and it is possible that the famine continued there in 1631 owing to a cause directly opposite to that in Gujarat. Nature behaved differently again in Coromandel. Here the famine began, as elsewhere, in 1630 (*Factories 1630-33*, pp. 73, 268). The drought continued into 1631, but "abundance of raigne" fell at last in August, 1632. (*Ibid*, pp. 203-4, 228). However, in 1633 "here fell such aboundance of rain as rotted...a great part of the corne in the fields ere twas halfe ripe." (*Factories 1634-36*, p. 40).

18. It is curious that this point should be emphasised by both Sadiq K͟han and Twist.

19. Dr. Saran seems to suggest that the references to cannibalism in Lahori and Twist are products of literary flourish and hearsay. (Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 429-31). Both speak of cases where parents ate their own children. Mundy, p. 276, returning to Gujarat on the very morrow of the famine makes a similar statement. Sadiq K͟han refers to an actual report made to the Court of a woman,

grain by the *banjaras* to Gujarat from Malawa and beyond was hampered in 1630 by the task of feeding Shahjahan's army encamped at Burhanpur.[20] But though the army was dispersed and the *banjaras* were reaching Surat with large supplies in the following year,[21] the prices were still almost prohibitive.[22] As was the usual practice of the administration, *langars* or free kitchens were opened in the major cities[23] more as a gesture of charity, however, than with any ambition of providing substantial relief. The land revenue remission, of necessity, was considerable.[23a]

Of all the provinces affected Gujarat suffered the most heavily.[24] Three million of its inhabitants are said to have died during the ten months preceding October 1631; while a million reputedly perished in the country of Ahmadnagar.[25] The cities of Gujarat were, by death or flight, reduced to almost one-tenth of their former state.[26] The villages could hardly have fared much better. Ṣādiq Khān declares that "the *parganas* of Sultanpur, Bidar, Mandu, Ahmadabad and indeed the province of Khandesh and some *parganas* of Balaghat were rendered utterly desolate", and peasants had to be brought in from other areas to settle there. Late in 1634, after three good seasons, it was reported from Gujarat that although the towns were recovering in population

who had brought a complaint before the *Qāẓī* of Ahmadabad, against a neighbour, who after killing her son with her consent, had denied her a share in his flesh. That such cases, as well as murders for cannibalistic purposes, were suspected shows how general the practice of feeding on dead corpses had become; and the unanimous testimony is too overwhelming to be brushed away.

20. Mundy, 56; *Factories*, *1630-33*, p. 165.

21. *Factories 1630-33*, p. 196; *1634-6*, pp. 224-25.

22. In January 1632 "graine" at Surat was selling at 6¼ and 6½ *mahmudis* per 'maun', said to be a lower rate than formerly owing to the supplies brought by the *banjaras* as well as by sea. (*Factories 1630-33*, p. 196). In September 1631 the rate had been no less than 16 *mahmudis* per *man* (*Ibid*, p. 165). The normal price of wheat before the famine had been only 1 *mahmudi* for 1⅛ *mans*. (Twist, *JIH*, XVI, p. 68).

23. Qazwīnī, Add. 20734, p. 444, Or. 173, f. 221a; Lahori, I, p. 363; Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 31b, Or. 1671, f. 18b; Khafi Khan, I, pp. 448-9.

23a. See Chapter VI, Section 8.

24. Lahori, I, p. 363.

25. As reported by the Portuguese viceroy to his sovereign (*Factories 1630-33*, p. xxi).

26. Cf. Mundy 276, instancing the case of the weavers; also *Factories 1630-33*, p. 180: in December 1631 only "10 or 11 famillyes" were left out of 260 formerly inhabiting the town of "Swalley".

"the villages fill but slowly."[27] In 1638-9 the "marks" of the famine could yet "be seen everywhere"[28] and cultivation had obviously not recovered fully till even the end of the second decade of Shahjahan's reign.[29]

In 1636-7, the Panjab was reported to be suffering from famine and scarcity.[30] In 1640 excessive rain and the resultant inundations destroyed the *kharif* crop in Kashmir;[31] and in 1642 famine conditions prevailed there again from the same cause, forcing about thirty thousand people to flee in distress to Lahor.[32] The latter year also witnessed a prolonged drought in Orissa which disrupted its customary exports of grain to Coromandel.[33]

During the forties the rains failed repeatedly in parts of Northern India. In 1644 the Agra province was thus affected though famine conditions are not reported.[34] In February 1646 it was represented at the Court that the "indigent" were being forced to sell their children owing to the high prices of foodgrains in the Panjab; but the distress was apparently limited.[35] In 1646 drought was experienced both at Agra and

27. *Factories, 1634-36*, p. 65.

28. Commissariat, *Mandelslo*, p. 7.

29. Lahori, II, pp. 711-12, writing under the 20th year of Shahjahan (1646-7) declares that Gujarat and the Dakhin provinces were so adversely affected by the famine that their *jama'* (or assessed revenue) had shown no increase and was, as a matter of fact, at a lower pitch than formerly.

30. Lahori, II, p. 29.

31. *Ibid*, 204-5; Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 96a, Or. 167, f. 52b.

32. Lahori, II, pp. 382-3; Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 99b, Or. 167, f. 54a-b; Khafi Khan, I, p. 587.

33. Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 208; Raychaudhuri, *Dutch in Coromandel*, p. 142.

34. *Factories 1642-45*, p. 202. An *'arzdāsht* of Khānjahān Bārha (Add. 16,859, ff. 1b-2b), sent to the Court in the month of Jumada I, refers to the collection of revenue from the *rabi'* harvest in his *jagir* in Gwaliar and adds that during the current year "the calamity of drought was so heavy that the yield (*hāsil*) was very much lower than in the previous years." Though this 'petition' does not give the year it was written, from its contents it can be assigned to the 18th regnal year of Shahjahan, and accordingly, since the month is given, to June-July 1645. The harvests affected by drought would therefore be the *kharif* of 1644 and *rabi'* of 1645.

35. Lahori, II, p. 489. The limited extent of this scarcity is shown by the fact that Shahjahan ordered all children sold by their parents to be repurchased at the original price at the cost of the exchequer and to be restored to their families, a measure hardly to be thought of had large numbers been involved. Probably the prices rose only temporarily, pending the gathering of the *rabi'* harvest.

Ahmadabad.[36] In 1647 the rains failed utterly in Marwar, which "hath occasioned a famine, insoemuch that those parts are, either (by) mortallity or peoples flight, become wholly depopulate and impassable."[37] In 1648 there was again a 'partial failure of the rains' in the Agra region.[38] Bengal, on the other hand, was visited with an excess of rain in 1644-5 and 1648, spoiling its sugar-cane crops.[39]

In 1650 there was a failure of rain "in all parts of India".[40] The "dearth of corne" was reported from Awadh;[41] and it affected the country between Agra and Ahmadabad.[42] In the Panjab the crops were harmed first by drought and then by excessive rain, so that the grain prices rose very high and the peasants were unable to pay the full revenue.[43] In the Multan province the *rabi'* crop of 1650 had been spoilt by locusts and the *kharif*, as elsewhere, by drought, while the *rabi'* of 1651 also suffered from inundations.[44]

In 1655 the *kharif* crop in parts of the Balaghat province of Mughal Dakhin was damaged by delayed and heavy showers.[45]

A prolonged period of scarcity in Northern India began in 1658. Caused initially by the ravages of the War of Succession, it was sustained for the first four or five years of Aurangzeb's reign by the faults and failures of the monsoons. The scarcity was felt particularly in the regions around Agra, Dehli and Lahor and in or before the 4th regnal year *langars* (free kitchens) had to be established by the administration on a large scale in these cities.[46] The worst sufferer, however, was

36. *Factories 1646-50*, pp. 62, 99.
37. *Ibid*, pp. 192-3.
38. *Ibid*, p. 219.
39. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
40. *Factories 1646-50*, p. 322; *1651-54*, p. 29.
41. *Ibid*, *1651-54*, pp. 9-10.
42. *Ibid*, p. 26.
43 Waris, a: f. 445a, b: f. 76a-b; Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, ff. 168a-169a, Or. 1671, f. 84b; Salih, III, p. 125. Perhaps, a letter in Balkrishan Brahman's collection (ff. 39a-b, 37a—folios misplaced) about drought in Hisar is to be assigned to this year.
44. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 202a-b; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, ed. Nadvi, pp. 227-28. The letter is addressed to Jahanara and is datable only from inference.
45. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 54b, 55b; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, ed. Nadvi, pp. 140-41, 166-7.
46. *'Alamgirnama*, 609-11; Khafi Khan, II, pp. 87, 124 (cf. var. Or. 6574, f. 33a); Bernier 433.

Sind, where famine and plague raged in 1659-60 and "swept away most part of the people."[47] Gujarat suffered from drought in 1659, 1660 and again in 1663,[48] raising corn prices so greatly that in 1664 it was thought another failure of the rains would "utterly dispeople all these parts"[49]—a fear which happily did not materialise.[50] Even Malawa—the land of perpetual plenty—was affected, for owing to the War, the *kharif* crop of 1658 was largely destroyed.[51] Eastward, in Bengal, a local famine developed in 1662-3 in Dhaka, the distress from which was intensified owing to the interference with the transport of foodgrains by official exactions and obstructions on the routes.[52] But generally speaking, except for Sind, there is no suggestion that the large-scale mortality or the usual scenes of horror marking a serious famine were observed anywhere.

In 1670 the *kharif* crop failed completely in Bihar from want of rain and during the succeeding year an acute famine ravaged the territory extending from the west of Banaras to Rajmahal. We have an eye-witness account of how multitudes perished on the routes and in the city of Patna and how parents sold their children. Ninety thousand were estimated to have died in Patna alone, and of "the townes near Pattana, some (were) quite depopulated, having not any persons in them."[53]

Late in 1678 grain prices were reported to have risen very greatly at Lahor,[54] but no account of the distress is available. In 1682 "famine and scarcity" prevailed in the province of Gujarat and there was a 'bread riot' against the governor at Ahmadabad.[55] Drought was also experienced in the Dakhin, where plague began to rage in the towns from this year.[56] The crops failed again in 1684 in the peninsula and prices are stated to have risen greatly.[57]

47. *Factories, 1655-60*, pp. 210 & *n.*, 307.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 306-7, 320; *1661-64*, pp. 25, 200, 257, 329; cf. *Mirat*, I, 251.
49. *Factories*, 1661-64, pp. 320-21.
50. *Ibid*, p. 323.
51. *'Arẓdāsht* of Ja'far Khan in *Jāmi'-al Inshā*, f. 10b, & *Faiyāẓ-al Qawānīn*, Or. 9617, Vol. I, f. 130b.
52. *Fathiya 'Ibriya*, ff. 79b-80a, 110b-111a.
53. Marshall, pp. 125-27, 138, 149-53. Cf. also Bowrey 226-227.
54. *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, p. 169.
55. *Mirat*, I, pp. 300-301; *Factories*, N.S., III, p. 277.
56. Ma'muri, f. 155b-156a; Khafi Khan, Add. 6574, f. 105a-b.
57. Khafi Khan, II, p. 317.

Gujarat too continued to be subject to scarcity conditions. In 1685 prices of foodgrains rose so that all duties on them had to be remitted, and there was a riot in Ahmadabad against the *qāẓī*, who was thought to be in league with the engrossers.[58] The high prices continued in the following year owing to drought.[59] In 1691 famine and pestilence visited the province together;[60] and scarcity was experienced again in 1694-5.[61] The region around Dehli also felt the scarcity of 1694-5, but the worst affected was the Bāgar tract on the north-eastern edge of the Thar Desert. Its inhabitants migrated to other parts, eating carrion, selling their children and dying in thousands.[62] In 1696-7 drought affected parts of Gujarat and Marwar and not a trace of grass or water could be found between Pattan and Jodhpur.[63]

A great famine began in the Dakhin in 1702. In February it was reported to the Court from Sangamner (Aurangabad province) that owing to drought "most of the villages" had been rendered desolate."[64] In the course of the year "in the whole of the Dakhin no rain fell that was in keeping with the interests of cultivation;"[65] in fact the rains were so prodigious as to devastate the *kharif* harvest.[66] Great scarcity prevailed everywhere south of the Narbada and people were compelled to migrate from their ancestral homes.[67] The next year (1703) brought no relief, for owing to the excessive winter rains the *rabi'* crop was also damaged, wheat suffering particularly from blight.[68] Then drought came. A historian speaks of it as the year, for Maharashtra, of "famine and scarcity owing to drought, the mortality of the poor and the wail of the weak."[69] Drought, with its close companion, plague, continued

58. *Mirat*, I, p. 309.
59. *Ibid*, 315.
60. *Ibid*, 325
61. *Ibid*, 329-30.
62. Yahyā Khān, *Tazkirat-al Mulūk*, Ethe 409, f. 108a-b. He says that they first came to Dehli and then moved on towards Ujjain. Are the present settlements of Bagaris in eastern Malawa the result of this migration? See Elliot, *Memoirs*, &c., i, pp. 9, 10.
63. *Mirat*, I, 335-6.
64. *Akhbarat* 46/12.
65. *Dilkusha*, f. 146a.
66. Manucci, III, p. 423; Ma'muri, f. 202b; Khafi Khan, II, p. 510.
67. *Dilkusha*, f. 146a.
68. Ma'muri, f. 202b; Khafi Khan, II, pp. 510-11.
69. *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, 477.

into 1704.[70] "In these two years"—i.e. 1702-3 and 1703-4—in the Dakhin "there expired over two millions of souls; fathers, compelled by hunger, offering to sell their children for a quarter to a half of a rupee, and yet forced to go without food, finding no one to buy them."[71]

It will be observed that the evidence in our possession shows considerable variations in the frequency of the visits of famines to various regions. In part this may be due to the fact that we are better informed about some provinces than others. But this will not, for example, explain why Bengal, for which our information, throughout the 17th century, is considerable, has practically no serious famine on record: Indeed, the 1662-3 scarcity at Dhaka was described as an unprecedented phenomenon for that province.[72] Similarly Malawa seems to have lived up to its reputation for being perennially free from scarcity.[73] The Upper Gangetic region was not so fortunate, but the one great famine involving large scale mortality took place just before the beginning of our period. Only one famine of similar dimensions is recorded for Bihar. On the other hand, the provinces in the Indus Valley, Gujarat and the Mughal Dakhin seem to have been much more vulnerable to natural calamities and suffered repeatedly.

It is, perhaps, needless to emphasise the extent of distress a famine imposed upon the mass of the people. Years of large scale mortality might have been few, but when they did come round, the amount of depopulation could have been frightful. Not only did people die of starvation, but they also fell victim to all kinds of pestilence, particularly the dreaded plague, which followed in the wake of even the lesser scarcities.[74] It is not possible to estimate exactly the degree to which these calamities counteracted the natural growth of population. It is possible to exaggerate their effects in this respect. The famine

70. See *Akhbarat A* 245 (July 22, 1704) for reference to "scarcity of grain and lack of rain" throughout the Dakhin.

71. Manucci, IV, p. 97.

72. *Fathiya 'Ibriya*, f. 80a.

73. Mundy 57.

74. Jahangir's reference to the association of plague with drought has already been mentioned. The belief, based upon experience, was commonly held. Thus in 1664 the English factors at Surat write: "The passed yeare('s) dearth these people affirme to be the cause of the intemperature of the aire so what alwayes faollowes a scarcity of raine and corne. All the townes and villages hereabouts are full of sickness, scarce a house free." (*Factories 1661-64*, p. 329).

of 1630-32 might have denuded large portions of Gujarat of living beings, but for the next three generations, at any rate, nothing like this occurred. Similarly Hindustan had a full hundred and fifty years, within our period, to recover from the depopulation suffered in the 1554-6 famine. There were, however, other miseries besides death which the famines heaped upon the poor. Their consumption fell dangerously below the necessary level for subsistence and we have occasionally a glimpse of what they might be forced to eat during times of dearth. Fryer considered it an accepted fact that "(in great Scarcity) Grass Roots" became "the common Food of the ordinary people."[75] The wasted fields drove peasants from their homes to seek sustenance in distant regions and each scarcity was marked by a phenomenal glut in the slave market.[76] The famines thus, from time to time, introduced into the stolid isolation of agricultural production, a terrible element of fluidity and confusion. If there had been nothng else this alone would have sufficed to explain the migratory characteristics of the medieval peasantry, which will call for detailed notice further on.

75. Fryer, II, p. 119.

76. Apart from the instances specified above, the sale of children by their parents is recognised as a usual consequence of famine and distress in Akbar's orders cited by Badauni, II, p. 391. Cf. also Fitch, Ryley 57, *Early Travels*, 12; Manucci, II, p. 451; Raychaudhuri, *Dutch in Coromandel*, pp. 288, 222.

CHAPTER IV

THE PEASANT & THE LAND; AND THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

1. THE PEASANT & THE LAND

The search after the "owner of the soil" in India before the British conquest has exercised the ingenuity of many modern writers. No little influence on this debate has been commanded by the evidence of the European travellers of our period, who declare without a single voice of dissent, that the proprietorship of land vested with the King alone.[1] This conception has found favour with authoritative exponents of agrarian history,[2] but now seems no longer to be a part of the official doctrine as it once was.[3] It has been urged that the principle is quite alien to all the known precepts of either Hindu or Muslim law. Nor is there any reference to it in the pages of medieval Indian writers or in any of the extant administrative or private documents. When Abu-l Fazl sets himself to the task of justifying the imposition of taxes on "the peasant and the merchant," the only argument he puts forward is that the taxes are the "remuneration of sovereignty", paid in return for the protection and justice which the King secures for his subjects. Taxes are needed because the King must have resources with which to maintain those who help him in his task, i.e. the warriors. There is no suggestion anywhere that land-revenue was in the nature of rent that the peasant had to pay for making use of royal property.[4]

Moreover, in the urban areas there seems to have existed a definite notion of private property in land. We come across references to the King's subjects in the role of 'proprietors' (*māliks*), selling plots of

1. Thus J. Xavier, tr. Hosten, *JASB, NS*, XXIII, 1927, pp. 121-2; Roe, 105; *Relations*, 10-11; Bernier, 5, 204, 226, 232, 238; *Factories, 1668-69*, p. 184; Fryer, I, p. 137; Manucci, II, p. 46.

2. E.g. Grant, 'Analysis of the Finances of Bengal', *Fifth Report*, Madras, 1883, Vol. I, p. 232; Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, London, 1896, p. 223.

3. See, especially, U. P. Zamindari Abolition Committee, *Report*, Allahabad, 1948, pp. 63-65, 73.

4. *Ain*, I, pp. 290-91.

land to the King or even disputing their possession with him.[5] Outside the towns too, in numerous documents we are introduced to private persons as *māliks*, holding the '*milkiyat*' or ownership of the land of villages or portions thereof.[6] Whatever interpretation we might put on these terms with regard to their practical substance, it is, at any rate, established from such references that persons other than the King laid claim to a right upon land that in name was of ownership.

It is, however, legitimate to ask why the European travellers unanimously attributed a right to the King that he himself did not claim. True, many of the travellers had only a superficial knowledge of India and basing themselves on vulgar report or copying from others, perpetuated many erroneous ideas. Yet some of those who have made this particular statement, such as Manuchy, had spent years in India and were as familiar with its administrative institutions as any well-informed Indian of the time. There is probably considerable truth in one explanation that has been advanced. To European eyes the Mughal *jāgīrdārs* must have seemed the natural counterparts of the land-owning aristocracy of Europe. And since the Mughal emperor was able to transfer at will the *jāgīrs*, or territorial revenue-assignments, of these potentates, it appeared to the travellers as if he had deprived his nobility of the right of land-ownership that should have naturally belonged to them, and appropriated it for himself.[7] It was, perhaps, the easier to fall into this error, because over large areas of the country, containing the so-called *ra'iyatī* or 'peasant-held' villages,[8] the European

5. *Waqa'i'-i Dakhin*, 50-51; *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 430-32. It is surprising that such transactions, which could not all have been unknown to the European travellers, did not cause any of them to modify their standard assertion about exclusive royal ownership of the land. Only Bernier, 204, qualifies his general statement once by saying that there were "some houses and gardens which he ('the Great Mogol') sometimes permits his subjects to buy, sell and otherwise dispose of, among themselves." Roe, 105, was certain that apart from the King "no man hath a foote."

How developed the idea of property in land was in the towns is shown by a report in the *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 386-7, where it is assumed that the proprietor had the right to evict the occupant.

6. The persons designated *māliks* are, in some documents, peasants, but more usually *zamīndārs*. See this Section, further on, and Section 1 of Chapter V.

7. Cf. Saran, *Provincial Government*, &c., 330-31, 333.

8. For the division between *ra'iyatī* and *zamīndārī* villages, see Chapter V, Section I. To avoid misunderstanding it should be noted that the term *ra'iyatī* ought not to be confused with 'ryotwari', the name given to a particular kind of land-revenue settlements under British rule.

travellers could only discern two classes sharing the produce of the soil, the peasantry, on the one hand, and the King and his *jāgīrdārs* or assignees, on the other. Since they could apparently never think of the peasants as proprietors, the King alone would have seemed to possess this status.[9]

But were the European travellers correct in the assumption that the peasants could not be proprietors? The view that they were really the owners of the soil has in recent times been vigorously urged by some writers, though without adducing adequate contemporary evidence.[10] To some extent this deficiency in evidence can be supplied. We have Aurangzeb's *farmān* to Muḥammad Hāshim in which the terms *māliks* and *arbāb-i zamīn* (land-owners) are clearly used for ordinary cultivators or peasants. The testimony of this *farman* is suspect because it was expressly drafted to set out the laws of the Shari'at, which bore little relevance to the agrarian conditions in India.[11] But it is possible that in using the term *mālik* for the peasant, the *farman* has not done any violence to prevailing usage. Khāfī Khān protests against the practice, followed by the revenue officials of his day, of selling away "the proprietary (*milkī*) and hereditary lands" of

9. In the years preceding the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, the English circulated some questionnaires with a view to eliciting 'native' official opinion concerning various land rights. The question most often asked was "Who is the owner of the land—the ruler (*ḥākim*) or the *zamīndār?*" It will be noticed that the question as formulated excludes the peasants from consideration altogether. One answer was that that the *rājas* and *zamindars* were the owners of the soil in ancient times, but since the Mughal Emperors dispossessed them whenever they chose, the proprietary right must be supposed to have been transferred to the ruler (Add. 19,504, f. 100a &c.). Here, again, the same line of argument has been adopted as the one probably followed by European travellers: only, *zamindars* have been substituted for *jagirdars*.

10. E.g., Saran, *Provincial Government*, &c., 328-35.

11. Cf. *Agrarian System*, 133, 139-40. It is not necessary to suppose, as Moreland does, that this *farman* was related to the preparation of the work known as *Fatāwā-i 'Ālamgīrī*, which is a compilation covering the whole range of Muslim jurisprudence. The rules laid down in Aurangzeb's *farman* were already well known to those conversant with the Shari'at. See, for example, the *Dastūr-al Albāb fī 'Ilm-il Ḥisāb*, a manual of administration written in 1359 (transl. Prof. S. A. Rashid in *Medieval India Quarterly*, I, Nos. 3-4, pp. 66 ff.) What is really of interest is not the fact that the *farman* should have borrowed from the *Sharī'at* but that, as a comparison with the *Fatawa-i 'Alamgiri* would show, some principles alone have been selected for restatement. It is obvious that the desire was to bring to notice principles relating to such points only as were relevant to the particular agrarian problems existing in India.

the peasants.[12] In certain official documents too, the term is employed in contexts which suggest that the reference is to peasant-proprietors.[13]

The crux of the matter really is whether the substance, not merely the name, of the peasant's right was such as to deserve the application of the term 'proprietary' in its strict juridical sense. It is necessary, then, to gather from our sources all information relating to the actual rights and obligations of the peasants, before any judgment can be passed.

On the positive side there was a general recognition of the peasant's title to permanent and hereditary occupancy of the land he tilled. The *farman* addressed to Muhammad Hashim provides that if the *mālik* (and *mālik* here means the peasant) was found incapable of cultivating the land or had abandoned it altogether, it was to be given to another, who was prepared to cultivate it, so that there might not be any loss of land-revenue. But if at any time the *mālik* recovered his ability to cultivate it or came back to it, the land was to be restored to him.[14] That this was not a mere principle of abstract theory, is shown by its being adopted in an imperial *sanad* in a practical case concerning the rehabilitation of a village where cultivation had been abandoned. A person is said to have offered to repair its wells and cultivate the land. The *sanad* declares that this was to be refused wherever the *mālik* was present and in a position to undertake cultivation. Only failing this was the petitioner's request to be acceded to and even so, provided the consent of the *mālik* was first obtained.[15] The inviolability of occupancy rights of the peasants is also recognised in two regulations of the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. The first appears in the *Ain*, where it cautions revenue officials against entering 'peasant holdings' (*ra'iyat-kāshta*) as 'personally cultivated lands' (*khud-kāshta*) of *madad-i ma'āsh* holders, in their records.[16] The second is one of the twelve

12. Khafi Khan, I, pp. 157-8; Add. 6573, ff. 69b-70a.

13. See, e.g., *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 187a-188a; Bodl. ff. 148b-149a, Ed. 143-4; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 46b-47a.

14. This is the burden of Art. 3. It concerns land paying *kharāj-i muwazzaf* or a fixed rate of revenue. But Art. 17 declares that if the *mālik* of land paying *kharāj-i muqāsima*, or revenue varying with the produce, was able to cultivate it no longer (*Mirat*, I, p. 272) or, by another reading (*Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 142a; *JASB*, *NS*, II, 1906, p. 243) died without an heir, the land would be dealt with in the same way as that paying *kharaj-i muwazzaf*.

15. *Nigarnama-i-Munshi*, ff. 187a-188a, Bodl. ff. 148b-149a, Ed. 143-4.

16. *Ain*, I, p. 287.

decrees issued by Jahangir on his accession. It prohibits the revenue officials themselves from forcibly converting the land of the peasants (*zamīn-i ri'āyā*) into their own holdings (*khud-kāshta*).[17]

The fact that the peasant's right was hereditary is shown by a reference in the *Ain* to the King's protecting peasants "who hold cultivated lands for generations."[18] Khāfī Khān too, as we have already noticed, refers to the "hereditary" (*maurūsī*) lands of the peasants. The *farman* to Muhammad Hashim might not be raising an irrelevant issue when it discusses how the revenue was to be realised from the heirs on the death of a *mālik*.[19] Moreover, the *farman* shows that the peasant's right was salable though on occasion none might think it worth buying.[20]

But there was no question of really free alienation—the right to abandon or dispose of the land as its holder might choose—which is an essential feature of modern proprietary right. If in one sense the land belonged to the peasant, in another the peasant belonged to the land. He could not (unless, perhaps, he found a successor) leave it or refuse to cultivate it. A European observer declared that there was "little difference between them [the peasants in India] and serfs such as are found in Poland, for here [too] the peasants must all sow...."[21] The *farman* to Muhammad Hashim (Art. 2) lays down flatly that "if after investigation it appears that despite their capacity to undertake cultivation and (the availability of) irrigation, they (the peasants) have withdrawn their hands from cultivation", the revenue officials should "coerce and threaten them and visit them with imprisonment and corporal punishment". If even despite these compulsive

17. *T.J.*, 4.
18. *Ain*, I, p. 290.
19. Art. 11.
20. See Art. 13 which deals with the collection of land-revenue from the purchaser or buyer in case of a sale during the year. The commentator of this *farman*, whom Sarkar introduces to us, doubts the whole assumption of peasant-proprietorship manifest in its terminology and provisions. He argues that were it so, none of the peasants would have fled without first selling the land, and then the problem of land simply abandoned by the peasants (cf. Art. 3) would not have arisen (*JASB*, *NS*, 1906, p. 244). One can counter this by saying that although land could theoretically have been sold, yet because there was no scarcity of land and the revenue burden was so heavy, the peasant might not often succeed in finding buyers.
21. Geleynssen, *JIH*, IV, p. 78.

methods, a peasant was found incapable of cultivating the soil, his right to the land lapsed at least temporarily and could be transferred to another. The draft of a bond from village officials, given by a manual on revenue administration (1731-2), offers an exact confirmation of the principles set forth in Aurangzeb's *farman*. The village officials bound themselves "not to allow any cultivator to leave his place". And if some cultivators did abscond, they undertook to distribute the land of the fugitives among those who remained.[22]

It was a natural consequence of this outlook that a right was assumed to lie with the authorities to bring back fugitive peasants by force, especially if they happened to flee to the territories of a chief or *zamindar*. Thus in 1641 the Jam of Navanagar was compelled, after a successful expedition against him, "to expel the peasants belonging to the territory around Ahmadabad, who had migrated into his country, so that they might return to their homes and (native) places".[23] Late in Aurangzeb's reign, the *faujdar* of Talkokan is found justifying his military action against Portuguese possessions on the ground that the peasants whom he had brought back to their original lands from the territories of the *zamindars*, had been enticed afresh by the "Farangīs" to settle in their dominions.[24]

The readiness with which the authorities recognised the peasant's right of occupancy and the anxiety they showed to prevent him from leaving the land were both natural in an age when land was abundant and peasants scarce. We have seen in the opening Chapter that in Mughal times, the area of land under cultivation was in many regions probably only half, and in others two-thirds to three-quarters, of the area of such land fifty years ago. There were, therefore, always stret-

22. Bekas, f. 67b. This document is in the form of a *muchalka* (bond) given by *zamindars*, *muqaddams* (village headmen) and *paṭwārīs* (village accountants), acknowledging their obligations and duties. The documents found in Bekas are all drawn from the revenue records of the Sambhal *sarkar* (Dehli province).

23. Lahori, II, p. 232; *Mirat*, I, p. 214.

24. *Kārnāma*, ff. 238a-239a, 243b-244b. The Portuguese themselves went a step further and introduced full-fledged serfdom in their possessions. Describing conditions in the Selsette Island, Careri (A.D. 1695) says: "The Peasants are worse than Vassals to the Lords of the Villages; for they are bound to Till the Land, or to Farm as much as may put them in a Condition to Pay the Landlord; thus like Slaves, if they fly from one village to another, their Landlords bring them back by force." (Careri, 179: the original English translation has been amended according to the corrections indicated in the Editor's notes).

ches of virgin land beckoning to the peasant, while with his low level of subsistence and primitive huts he had no immovable possessions to tie him to his old place of habitation. "In Hindustan", observed Babur, "hamlets and villages—even towns—are depopulated and set up in a moment! If a people of a large town, who have lived there for years, flee from it, they do it in such a way that not a sign or trace of them remains in a day or a day and a half. On the other hand, if they fix their eyes on a place in which to settle, they need not dig water courses or construct dams because their crops are all rain-grown. The population of India is unlimited. A group collects together, they make a tank or dig a well; they need not build houses or set up walls—*khas* grass abounds, trees (are) innumerable, and straightway there is a village or town."[25] This general statement may be placed alongside a reference made incidentally in another source of the same period, to a Rathor peasant from Marwar who had settled in a region so far from his ancestral home as Bihar.[26] This capacity of mobility on the part of the peasants must be regarded as one of the most striking features of the social and economic life of the times. It was the peasant's first answer to famine or man's oppression. One can, therefore, understand why the oppressor should seek to possess the actual physical power to prevent any flight from the land.

The position of the peasant of Mughal India in relation to the land offers a sharp contrast to that of his descendant living under modern landlordism. The great weapon (apart from the liberal use of force) of the modern landlord has been the threat of evicting his tenantry. The abandonment of his land by any of his tenants holds no terrors for the landlord and he does not possess, nor need to possess, the power to restrain them. The landlord obtained his legal rights by the Permanent and other Settlements during British rule, but the favourable position in which he finds himself in relation to the peasantry derives from the economic stagnation of two centuries. The mounting pressure of numbers (in the absence of industrial growth) upon land, unaccompanied by any changes in methods of cultivation and social organisation, has at last made land scarce and human beings superfluous.

25. *Baburnama*, tr. Beveridge, II, pp. 487-88. I have considerably modified the translation after referring to Abdu-r Rahim's Persian version, Or. 3714, f. 377b.

26. Ḥasan 'Alī Khān, *Tārīkh-i Daulat-i Sher Shāhī*, *Medieval India Quarterly*, I, No. 1 (July 1950), Persian text, p. 8.

The peasant of Mughal times thus enjoyed a right which in British India was conferred on some sections of the peasants in some provinces, only by special tenancy legislation, viz. the permanent and hereditary right of occupancy. In certain circumstances this right could be considered proprietary in nature. But a proprietor must be a free agent and he must possess the right of free alienation. Since the peasant could not legally abandon his land, he was really a near-serf. If, therefore, the King was not the owner of the soil, neither was the peasant. This means in other words that in *ra'iyati* areas at least, a single owner cannot be located. There were different rights over the land and its produce, and not one exclusive right of property.

Hitherto we have confined our attention to the position in *ra'iyati* areas. We shall see in the next Chapter that in the *zamindari* areas, the *zamindars* sometimes possessed rights which were practically proprietary. The fact that the *zamindars* were called *māliks* is not decisive, because the term may not accurately indicate the substance of the right it designated. The admissible evidence consists of a single document in which the peasants of two villages in Awadh bind themselves to cultivate the land only with the permission of the *zamindar*. Leaving its detailed interpretation to the next chapter, it is necessary to stress that a situation known to be prevailing only in two villages cannot be deemed to have been universal even in *zamindari* areas. But it is possible that there were small tracts of land of exceptional fertility or favourable position, where there was no dearth of peasants willing to till the land. Such areas might be those where the soil was very fertile or the land was favoured by irrigation, or those which lay near the towns and could promise high returns owing to the urban market. Here the peasants would always be ready to accept whatever terms were imposed by their superiors, and the authorities or the *zamindars* would not have any fear that if they evicted a cultivator, no other would be forthcoming.

2. The Village Community

While discussing the economic environment of the village in Mughal India,[1] we noticed a significant feature of the rural economy of the time: Though a large share of the village produce was taken to the urban market, the villages hardly received anything in return from

1. Chapter I, Section 4, and Chapter II, Section 2.

the towns. Thus the village was deeply affected by the requirements of commodity production (i.e. production for the market) and yet had to provide all its own needs from within itself. Conditions of money economy and self-sufficiency, therefore, existed side by side. It was the presence of these two contradictory economic elements that probably accounted for the social contradiction manifest in the existence of an indivdualistic mode of production in agriculture, on the one hand, and the organisation of the Village Community, on the other.

The peasant together with his family always appears in our authorities as a single producer. Official documents insist on the separate assessment of the holdings of each peasant for revenue purposes.[2] Even if this was meant to be followed on paper only, the underlying assumption of individual peasant farming is unmistakable. In respect of Gujarat, we are expressly told of peasants' "setting their portions of the land apart" by raising fences of thorn-bush.[3] In the preceding Section we discussed at some length the nature of the peasant's right to the land, but did not come across the slightest suggestion anywhere in our sources that such a right was ever held in common.

Commodity production and its corollary, individual land-holding, must have necessarily ruled out any kind of equality in the village.[4] A very interesting piece of evidence is offered by a model statement of the *jiziya* (poll tax on non-Muslims) assessed on a Panjab village (A.D. 1697-8), which has been preserved for us in two accountancy manuals. This indicates the range of differences in the assessed value of the personal possessions of the villagers. Here out of a total of 280 males, 73 are shown as exempted, being children, men physically handicapped, absentees, etc. In addition, twenty-two are described as "absolutely indigent". Of the remaining 185 persons, 137 are counted in Class III, implying that their possessions were valued at less than

2. *Ain*, I, pp. 285-6, 288; Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas, Art. 3, &c. See also Chapter VI, Section 4.

3. *T.J.*, 205.

4. It may be argued that all would have had the same access to land, since land was not scarce, and therefore there should not have been any difference in the sizes of peasant holdings. But actually a man could take up only as much land as he could till and he who had a greater command of such resources as seeds, cattle, the money to dig wells, etc., would have been able to cultivate a far larger area than his penniless neighbour.

Rs. 52 per head; 35 in Class II, each with possessions of over Rs. 52 in value; and 13 in Class I, with possessions of over Rs. 2,500.[5]

This classification according to the value of the possessions of the villagers may represent an actual division of the rural population into various social classes. Class I of the assessees we may assume to be the small group consisting of *zamindars*, money-lenders and grain-merchants. Class II probably covered the rich peasants, while Class III was made up of the large majority of the peasants. According to the ruling given in a general imperial order "the small peasants (*reza ri'āyā*), who engage in cultivation, but depend wholly upon credit for their ability (to cultivate) and for their seeds and cattle," were to be classed among the 'indigent'.[6] In all likelihood, this last class included peasants of a still lower status. In Bengal, in mid-18th century there existed a category of cultivators known as *kaljana*, who tilled land belonging to other peasants.[7] And, finally, there were those who were absolutely indigent in the fullest sense, the landless labourers. Members of the depressed castes not only undertook work considered abhorrent by the caste peasants, such as tannery, scavengering, etc., but were also, in a large measure, agricultural workers. Thus the *chamārs*, or 'tanners', "worked for wages in the fields of cultivators and *zamindars*."[8] The *dhānuks*, constituting a still lower caste, were so called because they husked rice (*dhān*). while they also "laboured at cutting and carrying the crops of the cultivators".[9] They were known as *thoris* in

5. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, Aligarh MS., f. 41a-b; Or. 2026, f. 56a-b. The totals given in the *Khulasatus Siyaq* MS. do not accord with the detailed figures for the various categories; but they are given correctly in Or. 2026.

The values of the possessions of the three classes of assessees are stated in *dirhams* in Aurangzeb's *farman* proclaiming the imposition of the *jiziya*: Class I, over 10,000, Class II, over 200, and Class III, less than 200 *dirhams* (*Mirat*, 1, p. 296). I have converted the figures in *dirhams* into those in rupees on the basis of the equation of 12 *dirhams* with Rs. 3 as. 2. the sanctioned rate for Class III. Isardas, f. 74a-b, actually gives the scale in rupees but seems to have made a slip with regard to the values for Classes II & III. He has over Rs. 2,500 for Class I, over Rs. 250 for Class II and just Rs 52 for Class III.

6. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 180a-b, Bodl. MS., ff. 143b-144a, Ed., 139. See also *Ma'arif*, XL (1937), No. 4, p. 295 (but defective text, reading *zamīndār* for *zimmī-i yādār* and *farz* for *qarz*).

7. *Risālo-i Zira'at*, Edinburgh 144, f. 8a.

8. *Tashrih-al Aqwam*, Hansi, 1825, f. 182a.

9. *Tashrih-al Aqwam*, ff. 101b-102a. Wilson derives the name of this caste from Sanskrit *dhanushka*, a bowman (Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, p. 295).

the Ajmer province and *balāhars* elsewhere, their traditional work being to act as guides and carry baggage.[10] The name *balāhar* is significant because it takes us back to the 14th century when Ẓiā'uddīn Baranī used it to denote the lowliest of the peasants.[11]

This is not to suggest that the huge rural proletariat of the present day is entirely a heritage of Mughal times. Indeed, its phenomenal growth is a process that began only about a hundred and fifty years ago.[12] Moreover, so long as cultivable land remained available, the relative numbers of landless labourers could never have been large, because any peasants rendered landless could always have moved off and settled on virgin soil.[13] If despite this we find traces of a class of landless labourers in the Mughal period, this may be explained by two factors. In the first place, if we assume that land was not then scarce, it follows that on average, a peasant's holding was much larger than it is today. In a larger holding a peasant's family would have had greater need of temporary hands to supplement its own labour at such crucial times as the time of the harvest. These hands could come only from the non-peasant rural population, i.e., from amongst people living in villages who followed occupations other than agriculture. Thus Chamars and Dhanuks, who had their own prescribed occupations, worked as agricultural labourers. These two examples also suggest the second source of the class of landless labourers. They came from the depressed castes, which are still regarded as landless classes *par excellence*.[14]

10. The identification of *dhanuks* with *thoris* is made in *Tashrih-al Aqwam*, f. 188a, and that of *thoris* with *balahars* in a news-report of 1679 in *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 131. Same authorities for their traditional occupation; also Add. 6603, ff. 51b-52a and Elliot, *Memoirs, &c.*, ii, p. 249.

11. In contrast to *khūṭs*: *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz-shāhī*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1862, p. 287.

12. See S. J. Patel, *Agricultural Labourers in India and Pakistan,* Bombay, 1952, especially pp. 9-20.

13. The official stipulation that the peasants settled on new lands should be *ghair-jam'ī* (those against whom no revenue demand has been levied anywhere else), while it shows a fear that revenue-paying peasants might leave their old lands for the new, also implies that there were some reserves of landless peasants, not paying any revenue so far, who might be attracted to the new settlements. (*Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 103b-104a, 187a-188a; Bodl. ff. 79a-b, 148b-149a; Ed. 81, 144).

14. Cf. S. J. Patel, *Agricultural Labourers, &c.*, 63-65, where the actual basis of the belief in present day conditions is questioned and it is shown that there is hardly any correlation between the proportions of the depressed castes and agricultural labourers to the total population in different provinces.

(The Caste System seems to have worked in its inexorable way to create a fixed labour reserve force for agricultural production. Members of the low castes, assigned to the most menial and contemptible occupations, could never aspire to the status of peasants, holding or cultivating the land on their own. It would not, indeed, be surprising if the actual status of many of them was semi-servile, involving a kind of bondage to a particular community of caste peasants or *zamindars*.[15]

The hereditary distinction imposed by the Caste System between the peasant and the landless labourer, while it indicates a certain degree of class-differentiation in the countryside, is, at the same time, an example of the "unalterable division of labour" that Marx thought to be indispensable for the formation of the Indian Village Community. Almost every craft within the village, carpentry, pottery, etc., would be the business of a separate caste, possibly represented there by no more than one family. The need for self-sufficiency was the economic cause which made the presence of certain primary crafts imperative for each village. But even if "the separation of trades" was originally "spontaneously developed," it was "crystallised and finally made permanent by law," the law of the Caste System. Once this had been achieved, every village became a single economic and social unit apart, a single community, able, when any increase in its population occurred, to produce from itself another on the same pattern.[16]

Within this unit, the peasants must naturally have formed the largest portion of the population. Although any number of castes existed among the peasants in general, peasants of a village probably belonged most often to the same caste. This is true of many villages today. In Central Doab, for example, villages are often distinguished according as they contain Ṭhākurs, Jāṭs, Ahīrs, Gūjars or other castes

15. Cf. Crooke, *North-Western Provinces*, 208; Moreland, *Agrarian System*, 160. Marx has perhaps this kind of servitude in mind when he speaks of the Indian Village Communities as "contaminated" by "slavery", among other things. (*New York Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1853, reprinted in Karl Marx, *Articles on India*, Bombay, 1951, pp. 28-29.) There is no direct evidence in contemporary literature about the status of the depressed castes. It is noteworthy, however, that many divisions of these castes bear the names of higher castes (or clans or tribes), a fact which suggests that members of the lower castes so named were once the servants of the respective higher castes.

16. See the classic passage on the economy of the Indian Village Community, in Marx, *Capital*, I, ed. Dona Torr, pp. 350-52.

of peasants. One can conjecture that this was still more the case when the ties of castes were much stronger. A report made in 1679 by the News-writer of Ajmer forcefully brings to light this aspect of caste organisation. "The people of a village, who are Jats" laid a complaint before this official against some Rajputs, who surrounded their village at night and demanded whether there was any Rajput in the village. There was in it only one "indigent" Rajput, who "had settled in the village owing to his distressed circumstances." The besiegers caught hold of him and killed him in order to pass off his head as that of the murderer of two official messengers.[17] One can see from this incident that it was not usual for Rajputs and Jats to live side by side in the same village, so much so that a Rajput, compelled by circumstances to live in a Jat village, forfeited all sympathy or consideration from his peers.

The peasants of a village were most often members not only of the same caste, but also of the same division or sub-division of that caste: They claimed the same ancestry and so belonged to the same *bhaiyāchārā*, brotherhood or fraternity.[18] This fraternity by invoking ties of blood, bound the peasants in a unity far stronger than could have been expected among mere neighbours. Those who did not belong to the fraternity and did not live in the village, but cultivated land belonging to it, were put in a class apart, being known as *pā'ikāsht*.[19]

On the basis, then, of the needs of village self-sufficiency, realised through the hereditary division of labour and caste-cohesion among the peasants, arose the Village Community. When we use the term Village Community here it does not mean that there was a village commune that owned the land on behalf of all its members. No evidence exists for communal ownership of land or even a periodic distribution and redistribution of land among peasants. The peasant's right to the land, as we have seen, was always his individual right. What is suggested here is that there were some spheres outside that of production

17. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 132. The report covered the period, February-March, 1679, and the village was situated in Mirta territory.

18. See Moreland's examination of 18th-19th century evidence in *Agrarian System*, 160-68. Cf. also Baden-Powell, *Village Community*, pp. 274 ff. The word *bhaiyāchārā* is compounded from *bhāī*, brother, and *āchār*, usage. (Elliot, *Memoirs, &c.*, ii, p. 23.)

19. *Risala-i Zira'at*, Edinburgh 144, ff. 7b-8a; *Agrarian System*, 161 & *n.*; U.P. Zamindari Abolition Committee, *Report*, I, p. 32, quoting Holt Mackenzie's Minute of 1818.

where the peasants of a village, usually belonging to the same i nity, often acted collectively; and the Village Community is our for the corporate body which they formed for such collective act

In the conditions of the day there were, indeed, spheres in collective action was indispensable. We have seen that migratio a common feature of peasant life. We can hardly conceive of individuals moving to distant areas and cutting down forests. Th only possible when men worked, in Babur's words, in "a group." S ly, what was, perhaps, most important, the villagers had to co when they came face to face with the State.

This second aspect is very clearly brought out in a 16th ce account of the Village Communities in the Konkan. Speaking fically of the Island of Salsette, Monserrate tells us:

"It has 66 aldeas (villages), which are reduced to 12 whic their capitals and are called the General Chamber. It has this because they are the ones who alone govern the whole island ar whole of the Conchan (Konkan) in this manner: Two men from of these 12 aldeas assemble in a certain place with their scrivene there, as in a meeting, they settle what has to be done for the co weal and to obtain the quit-rent and revenue of His Highness King of Portugal). When they have settled what has to be don scrivener gives a shout, like a crier at an auction, (and they ca *nemo*), which is their common agreement. And if only one shoul and he should not approve of it, nothing can be done; and the scri alone testifies to what is settled, none of them affixing his sign even though it be in most important matters. His Highness' re is limited in such a way that that amount is always given him, wl the lands yield much or little. And if an aldea was lost and had n vest, the others pay for it; and if anything remains over, it is d among the same. The dominion and administration of this isl in the hands of these men who are called Gancares."[20]

This extremely interesting passage shows that the central f of the Konkan communities was a financial pool into which eve paid and from which the village representatives satisfied the re

20. Monserrate, *Informacion*, tr. Hosten, *JASB*, NS, XVIII, 1922, pp. He adds that villages were administered on similar lines in the Chovar an Islands near Goa (*ibid*, 365). He was writing in 1579.

demand, the balance being either distributed back or, perhaps, partly spent for the 'common weal'.

No similar contemporary description is available for the Village Communities of Northern India. But we catch glimpses of these here and there in official documents. We may assume their existence when we are told of "the peasants of villages" as either being collectively loyal and paying their revenue, or acting in concert to defy the authorities (Recommendations of Todar Mal, 27th Year of Akbar's Reign).[21] Or, we may recall the "scrivener" of Monserrate's communities, when we read in the *Ain* that the *paṭwārī* "is an accountant on behalf of the peasants.[22] He records the expenditure and income; and there is no village without him."[23] Here again we see the villagers in a collective capacity as employers of one whose successor today is unequivocally a government servant. The description of what the *patwari* recorded is also significant because it suggests that every village had its own 'expenditure and income', i.e., its common finances. There is, indeed, definite evidence to show that a kind of financial pool similar to that of the Konkan communities was also to be found in North Indian villages. Although the *patwari's* papers were not regarded as part of the administrative records of the Mughal government, they were drawn upon for purposes of audit (*barāmad*) of the accounts of the revenue officials.[24] Specimen summaries of the village accounts prepared by the auditors from the *patwari's* papers, are reproduced in three accountancy manuals of Aurangzeb's reign; and these give us a very valuable insight into the finances of the village.[25]

21. Art. 8 of the Recommendations. The text as given in Add. 27,247, f. 332a, which perhaps represents faithfully the original draft of the Recommendations, is more detailed than the final version in *Akbarnāma*, Bib. Ind., III, p. 382. While the latter speaks of the *ri'āyā'-i il* ("peasants of villages") with whom the revenue officials were to behave in such a way as to encourage them to pay the revenue in time, the text in Add. 27,247 refers to the *ri'āyā'-i mawāẓi'-i i'timādī*, "the peasants of trustworthy villages" and provides for the drawing up of a list, in each *pargana*, of villages containing loyal peasantry (*ra'iyat-i khāṣ*) as well as of those containing rebellious elements (*mutamarrid*).

22. *Az ṭarf-i barzgarān*, rather in the sense of 'on the side of (or 'employed by') the peasants'.

23. *Ain*, I, p. 300.

24. *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 457; *Ain*, I, pp. 288-9; *Farman* to Rasikdas, Art. 11; *Siyāqnāma*, 75-76; *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 91b, Or. 2026, f. 59a.

25. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 41b-42b; *Siyaqnama*, 77-79; and *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 92a-94a (Or. 2026, ff. 59b-64a). The first manual was written in Bihar, the second in the Ilahabad province and the third in the Panjab.

Here, first of all, is set out the income of the village, made up payments from individual peasants.[26] It is such payments, probab to which Aurangzeb's farman to Rasikdas refers, when in its Art. 8, requires the revenue officials to "discover, for auditing the Hind accounts in Persian, the real amounts of *bāchh* and *behrī-māl* and t fees and perquisites taken from each individual— everything, that which comes out of the house of the peasant on any account." *Bāchh* a term peculiar to the *bhaiyachara* organisation and has meant even recent times the rate paid by individual members of the fraternity ir the common pool. The term *behrī* is generally used for a subscription instalment of rent, but in *bhaiyachara* villages has the special sense of sub-division or fraction of the total land-holding, so that *behrī-māl* wou be revenue (*māl*) paid on their shares of the land by members of t fraternity.[27] The village income thus obtained was set off against number of items of expenditure entered in the village accounts. T amount paid into the treasury to meet the revenue demand appears the first and largest item.[28] This is followed by the fees and perqı sites of the various officials and their agents along with payments ma to cover certain special demands of the authorities. At the bottom have perhaps the most interesting item, the *k͟harj-i deh*, 'expenses of t village'.[29] These include allowances drawn by the headman and t

26. This is clearly indicated in the *K͟hulasatus Siyaq*. Cf. also *Ain*, I, p. 287

27. See for the significance of *bachh* and *behri*, Elliot, *Memoirs*, &c., ii, pp. 38; Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 42, 70-71. Add. 6603, f. 50a, defines *behri* as "an amoı apart from the revenue and cesses that is demanded from each individual pe sant". It adds that in Dehli this was known as *bachh*. This meaning of *bac* accords with the way this term is sometimes employed in Mug͟hal documer e.g., in *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 117a, Bodl., f. 91a, Ed. 91, where the *qānūngo* advised never to "go near oppression, violence and (the extortion of) *bachh*". E the language of the farman to Rasikdas quoted above implies clearly that *bac* and *behri-mal*, together with the 'fees and perquisites', comprised everything tl the peasant had to pay. In the same article, moreover, the farman prescrit the deduction of the amount paid to the treasury (*wāṣilāt-i fotahk͟hāna*) fr the total made up of the above four items. *Bachh* and *behri-mal*, therefore, mı between them, have provided the full amount of the revenue demand.

28. In the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, the payment to the treasury amour to Rs. 4,427 out of a total village expenditure of Rs. 4,655; in the *Siyaqnama*, Rs. 109 out of Rs. 218; and in the *K͟hulasatus Siyaq*, to Rs. 1,011 out of Rs. 1,28

29. The Hindi word for all payments from the village fund, apart from t land-revenue and so including the perquisites of the various officials and t 'village expenses', is *malba*. (See Wilson, *Glossary*, 324 & *Meerut District Gaz teer*, 1922, p. 108). This term frequently occurs in Mug͟hal documents, e.g., Toc Mal's Recommendations in *Akbarnāma*, Add. 27,247, ff. 331b, 332b; Fathull

patwari, the perquisites of the *qānūngo* and the watchman,[30] the amount spent on entertaining the *chaudhurī*, etc. In one manual a large figure is shown under this head as having been paid to the *mahājan* (money-lender) in repayment of a loan.[31] The whole village body could apparently contract debts on the security of its common pool. The amount involved in this particular case is three-fourths of the revenue paid that year and we may imagine that it had been borrowed in some previous year to pay part of the revenue demand or help tide over the effects of 'natural calamities'. The 'village expenses' also covered the cost of some productive enterprises, such as the amounts spent in damming water-channels (*nālas*) or in buying musk-melon seeds.[32] Some expenses too were incurred for providing general entertainment or towards meeting the 'moral' responsibilities of the village. So we find entries concerning payments made to jugglers and minstrels and expenditure on hospitality to strangers and charity to beggars.[33]

In these village accounts, therefore, we have the spectacle of every peasant paying his share into the common financial pool from which the land-revenue, the demands of officials, the repayment of any loan contracted, and expenses for the economic, social and even spiritual benefit of the village were met. There is no indication in our records that these finances were managed in North Indian communities by a 'General Chamber' of the kind described by Monserrate. Tradition, however, is strong that there used to be a village *Panchāyat*, literally, a Committee of Five, but really a 'committee of heads of houses' in which vested the management of the affairs of *bhaiyachara* communities. "The most frequently surviving occasion of the *panchayat's* action" still is, or rather was, till recently, the adjustment of accounts,

Shīrāzī's Memorandum, *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 458 (Add. 26,207, ff. 194b-195a); Farman to Rasikdas, Art. 10; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 175b, 189a, Bodl., ff. 140b, 150a, Ed., 136, 145, as signifying, in general, the exactions of officials from the villages. See also Chapter VI, Section 7.

30. *Mīrdeh*, lit. chief of the village. I take it that he is the same as *dehdār*, defined in Add. 6603, f. 62a, as a watchman appointed by the revenue authorities and posted within the village. In the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri* his perquisites are not included in the *kharj-i deh* but classed with those of the revenue officials and their agents.

31. See *Siyaqnama*, 79. The amount of loan repaid is put at Rs. 80 as against the total village income of Rs. 218.

32. These items are given in the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*.

33. See *Khulasatus Siyaq*. Cf. *Meerut District Gazetteer*, p. 108, and Baden-Powell, *Indian Village Community*, 25.

taking place in some villages annually or after each harvest, with the object of fixing the proportion of revenue-dues to be paid on each holding and of sanctioning the "common expenses" of the village.[34] In such a village the headman was merely the spokesman of the Community, always acting according to its will.[35] In some cases, it appears, there was not even a headman and the village was represented before the authorities by persons holding no office and presumably only designated for this specific task by the Community.[36]

It may well be a mistake to suppose that all Village Communities functioned rigidly according to the pattern we have outlined above. Nor should it be imagined that the peasants of every village were organised in a Community. While there were certain economic and social factors which tended, as we have seen, to weld the peasants into such Communities, there were still others which either helped to bring about their disintegration or made settlements of non-Community villages possible. Commodity production, or production for the market, led to economic stratification within the peasantry. As the distance between the richer sections and the rest grew, the ties created by the caste or fraternity were bound to be loosened. One might expect that at some stage the richer peasants would begin to dominate over others within the Community. Thus would arise headmen (*muqaddams*), 'big men' (*kalāntarān*) or 'the dominant ones' (*mutaghallibān*) whom our authorities accuse of doing what they pleased with the village finances, especially with the distribution of the revenue demand among individual peasants, to the detriment of the *reza ri'āyā*, the small peasants.[37] After

34. See Baden-Powell, *Indian Village Community*, 24-25. The absence of any reference to *panchayat* in our sources is surprising.

35. *Agrarian System*, 163-65; Baden-Powell, *Indian Village Community*, 24.

36. A *hasbu-l hukm* in the *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 65a-b, for example, reveals to us a village apparently without a headman. It takes cognizance of a petition by the peasants of a village, three of the petitioners being named but without any suggestion that they held any office in the village. The petition complained of the excessive exactions of a *chaudhuri* who had taken the village on farm (*ijāra*). This *chaudhuri* had taken a large sum from the villagers' fund (*fota*), while in order to conceal his exactions he had seized the village accounts (*kāghaz-i khām*). The existence of a Village Community might be inferred from the existence of the village fund.

37. See especially Art. VI of Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas. In the rather uninhibited language of the original text of Todar Mal's recommendations (*Akbarnāma*, Add. 27,247, f. 332b) we are told that "the bastards and the headstrong (of the village) keep their own share, transferring (the revenue-demand due on

a time in some cases the survivals of the Community might fade away altogether, leaving all its authority in the hands of its richer members, who would usually appear as village headmen.

3. Village Officials

The village headman figures in our records, under the name of *muqaddam* in Northern India and *paṭel* in the Dakhin, as the sole village official besides the *patwari* or accountant.[1] But a village could have more than one headman and we actually find one boasting as many as seven.[2] In accordance with the process of development of his office and powers that we have suggested at the close of the previous Section, it may be supposed that once the office came into the hands of the richer peasants and became an instrument for establishing their domination over the rest of their brethren, they would naturally wish to perpetuate their possession of it and convert it into an article of private property. It was therefore, not only hereditary,[3] but could also

them) to the *reza ri'aya*". The *Ain*, I, p. 286, also warns the revenue collector against "settling the *nasaq* (a kind of assessment on the village) with the *kalantaran* of the village" for "it gives strength to dominant men of oppressive bent".

1. *Muqaddam* is an Arabic word, meaning one who is placed first. It came to be used in the specific sense of a village headman very early in Medieval India. (Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi*, Bib. Ind., 288, 291, 430. Cf. *Agrarian System*, 19 & *n*.) For the identification of *muqaddam* with *paṭel* in the Dakhin, see *Ain*, I, p. 476. It is curious that these are the only two terms which won official recognition, for there seem to have been a number of names for the headman in local use. The author of Add. 6603, who was familiar with the nomenclature of Dehli and Bengal, mentions *manḍal*, *jeṭh-i ra'iyat*, and *mahtaun*, besides *muqaddam* (f. 81a-b). In Orissa in the 16th century he was styled *padhana* (*JASB*, NS, XII, 1916, p. 30). Abu-l Fazl also at one place employs the word *ra'is-i deh* for the same worthy (*Ain*, I, p, 285) and in this he is followed by a late 18th century work, the *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Khāliṣa Sharīfa*, Edinburgh 230, f. 33a, where it is used to explain the significance of the term *manḍal*.

2. See the sale-deed of the *muqaddamī* of a village in Awadh, A.D. 1653 (Allahabad 1183). Three petitioners jointly claim the office of *muqaddami* in a village in Awadh in *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 55b. For two *muqaddams* in one village, see Allahabad 329 & 1198; *Siyaqnama*, 29, &c.

3. The seven *muqaddams* of a village, referred to above, claim that they had received their office from their forefathers (Allahabad 1183). A petitioner praying for the restoration of his office from the hands of a usurper, speaks of "the *muqaddami* of that village which, from his ancestors, has belonged to the petitioner". (*Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 127b, Ed. 98). The hereditary nature of the office of *patel* is recognised in an 'Ādil Shāhī order of 1566 (*IHRC*, XXII, 1945, p. 11). The principle is also assumed in Khafi Khan, I, 733*n*., Add. 6573, f. 261, where it is indicated that a village might be left without a *muqaddam* in case of failure of heirs.

be bought and sold—a testimony to the growth of money economy.[4] The headman was normally a peasant himself, but sometimes, since the office could be purchased, an outsider, even a townsman.[5] He was never, properly speaking, a government servant. But the revenue authorities could at times depose a headman for failing in his obligations;[6] and they also exercised the power of nominating headmen for villages that were newly settled or were due to be settled, and for old villages where the office was vacant owing to failure of natural heirs.[7]

4. Allahabad 1183 is a deed of sale of "the profits of *muqaddami*" of a village in Awadh, dated 1653. See also *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 55a-b, for what is described as a voluntary transfer of the office by its previous incumbents, but was probably a sale.

5. In Allahabad 329 (A.D. 1677), two *muqaddams* expressly call themselves 'cultivators' (*muzāri'ān*). One may infer from the reference to the *muqaddam* of Palam and the conversion of his land into *madad-i ma'āsh* (revenue-grant) at the orders of Akbar, that he was otherwise an ordinary revenue-payer (*Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, p. 336). The *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, ff. 182a, 185a, shows land-revenue being assessed on the *muqaddam's* fields alongside those of other peasants (*asāmī*). Manucci, II. p. 450, also speaks of 'principal husbandmen' while obviously referring to the headmen.

On the other hand, it transpires from an order on a petition in the *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 55a-b, that the *muqaddami* of a village had been sold by a group of persons belonging to a *qasba* or township to three other persons of the same *qasba*. Similarly when we find seven *muqaddams* bearing non-Muslim names, selling the *muqaddami* of their village to a single person, a Muslim, for as much as Rs. 230 (Allahabad 1183), we are entitled to suppose that the latter was an outsider and, probably, a pure speculator.

6. A *parwana* issued on a petition claiming the *muqaddami* of a village for the petitioner on the basis of hereditary possession, orders it to be secured for him, provided that "it had not been transferred to anyone else by former officials (*hukkām*) owing to the refractoriness or incapacity of the complainant". (*Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 127b. Bodl. f. 98b, Ed. 98). It seems, however, that *jagirdars* were not free to depose *muqaddams* at will. See, for instance, the report of a quarrel between the *muqaddam* of Alhanpur and the son of the *jagirdar* of that place, in which the former secured imperial protection for himself (*Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 64-65). It is probable that the right to depose or nominate headmen lay only with the imperial administration.

7. Murshid Qulī Khān, *Dīwān* of the Dakhin during the last years of Shahjahan, "assigned the land, which had not come under the plough, to men who had the ability to settle and look after the peasants; having given them robes of honour and the title of *muqaddam*, he caused them to attend to (the business of) cultivation". (Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 185b, Or. 1671, f. 91a.). Khafi Khan, I, p. 733 *n.*, who otherwise follows Sadiq Khan in this passage, here reads differently. Murshid Quli Khan, he says, appointed new *muqaddams* in "villages which had no *muqaddams*, the heirs of the former *muqaddams* of these places having disappeared through the adversity of fate".

In those *ra'iyati* villages, where the Community had been weakened or did not exist at all, the *muqaddam* enjoyed a really crucial position. He was the man the authorities held primarily responsible for the payment of revenue assessed on the village.[8] It, therefore, became his duty to collect the revenue-share of each individual peasant.[9] For this service he was remunerated either through being assigned 2½ per cent. of the assessed land of the village, to be held by him revenue-free, or through a deduction of 2½ per cent. from the total revenue collected by him.[10] But the suspicion was always entertained that the *muqaddams*, if left to themselves, would make large unauthorised collections from the weaker peasants, under the pretence of realising money to meet the revenue demand or pay the revenue officials' perquisites.[11] When the authorities advanced *taqāvī*

8. Cf. *Ain*, I, p. 285, where he is designated *ra'īs-i deh*. *Qabūliyats* or papers accepting the revenue demand and affirming their duty to pay it, signed by the *muqaddams*, are reproduced in *Farhang-i Kārdānī*, f. 34a-b; *Siyaqnama*, 29; and *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 74a-75a, Or. 2026, ff. 23a-24b. Cf. also *Factories, 1622-23*, pp. 253-4.

9. *Ain*, I. p. 288 (under "*Ā'īn-i Bitikchī*"). Cf. Manucci, II, p. 405, who says that to collect the revenue "it is necessary to tie up the principal husbandmen", who "collect with equally severe measures from the peasants."

10. *Ain*, I, p. 285; *Mirat*, I, p. 173. The words of the *Ain* suggest that the former mode of remuneration was the more usual one. In the records of the Papal *pargana*, Berar, the *muqaddams* like other officials are shown as holding certain lands revenue-free (*IHRC*, 1929, pp. 85-86). It appears from *Mirat, op. cit.*, that there was a five per cent. charge on the revenue which was equally divided between the *muqaddam* and the *desāī* (*chaudhuri*) just as there was another charge known as *ṣad-doī*, or 'two per cent.', which was equally divided between the *patwari* and the *qanungo* (*Ain*, I, p. 300). In the *madad-i ma'ash* documents from the time of Akbar onwards, the list of cesses remitted to the grantees often includes besides *ṣad-doī-i qānūngoī*, a cess or cesses known as *dah-nīmī*, the word *dah-nīm* meaning 'a half out of ten' i.e. 5 per cent. (In Allahabad II, 23, which is a *farman* of Akbar issued in 1575, *dah-nimi* and *muqaddami* are put at a distance from each other, but from Jahangir's reign they invariably appear paired together). Add. 6603, f. 61b, defines *dah-nimi* as the share of the *muqaddam*, amounting to 5 per cent., out of what is collected from the village. In the specimen accounts given by the *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 40b, 44a, a deduction (*mujrā*) for the *muqaddam's* remuneration (*in'ām-i muqaddamī*) is allowed at the rate of Rs. 16, as. 14, for every thousand of Rupees collected in revenue (*ḥasbu-l ḥuṣūl*). It would seem that the rate of 5 per cent., of which the *muqaddam* got a half, was only nominal and the actual rate varied with the locality.

11. 'Abbas Khan, ff. 11b-12a, 106a; Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas, Art. VI. Remissions of revenue in lump sum for villages were discouraged for the similar [illegible]son that the headmen would not then pass the remissions on to the individual [illegible]ants. See Chapter VI, Section 4.

loans to encourage cultivation, these too were distributed amon peasants through the headmen, who doubtless took their commi before passing the money on to the peasants.[12] In addition tc financial advantages accruing from, or made possible by, these tions, the *muqaddams* exacted certain customary perquisites suc their *khurāk* or board from the village fund[13] and a rate know *muqaddamī* from the villagers individually.[14]

The *muqaddam's* jurisdiction over the village was not purely f cial. He was held answerable for any crime committed within or his village. In cases of robbery or murder of travellers, speciall was obliged to produce the culprits and the amounts stolen.[15] Pr this position the temptation must often have been irresistible for to "father yt uppon some poore man that hee (himself) may be clear Here was then another weapon which the *muqaddam* could use to down the poorer section of his fellow villagers.

12. See Chapter VI, Section 8.

13. *Khurāk-i muqaddamān* is entered as a charge under *Kharj-i deh* in a three village accounts studied in the previous Section. In two of them the c under this head is very small, amounting to less than a third of one per of the revenue paid. In the *Siyaqnama* it indeed exceeds 3 per cent., but i well include other charges, such as the allowance of the *patwari*, for whic provision has been made in its accounts. *Khurāk* means food or meal and it is sible that the charge under this name was supposed to meet the boarding exp of the headman, when he went outside the village on the village's business.

14. As mentioned in note 10, *muqaddami* is paired with *dah-nimi* formula being *dah-nimi o muqaddami*) in the list of cesses remitted to *ma ma'ash* holders, in 17th century *farmans*. *Dah-nimi* was a deduction from revenue collected and not really a cess; that *muqaddami* was a real cess imp on individual peasants is wholly based on conjecture.

15. Sher Shah's rough and ready system of maintaining law and order by means is well known and is described most fully in 'Abbas Khan, ff. 110-111 was continued in all its essentials by the Mughal administration. See, for exar the report in *Factories, 1622-23*, pp. 250-52, 253-54, of the pillage of the wrec of an English ship: The *muqaddam* of the village suspected was immediately s moned to find out the culprits and recover the plunder. A letter in Balkri Brahman, f. 33a-b, asks an undesignated officer to punish the *muqaddam* of a vi from which certain persons had trespassed into another village and assaulted rev guards posted there. Finally, the *Siyaqnama*, 69, gives the draft of the un taking (*muchalka*) taken from the *muqaddams* of villages situated on the high (*shāhrāh*). They declare that if any theft or robbery occurred within jurisdiction they should be held guilty thereof. They also pledge themselv either produce the stolen goods or pay compensation.

16. This is said of a *muqaddam* suspected of having had a hand in the pi of an English ship. (*Factories, 1622-23*, p. 254).

Finally, the *muqaddams* possessed the right of allotting the uncultivated land of the village to such as wished to till it.[17] This right was implicitly recognised by the authorities when they entrusted the task of settling new villages to *muqaddams*.[18] The headman could not probably interfere with the land already occupied, though in one case at least we find him arbitrating in a boundary dispute between two landholders.[19]

In any village not utterly ruined by the burden of land-revenue, the position of the *muqaddam* was a profitable one. There is evidence that moneyed persons were sometimes tempted to buy this office as a good investment for their money. Thus in one document (from Awadh) we find a person, an evident outsider, buying out the old hereditary *muqaddams* of a village for Rs. 230, a considerable sum for those times.[20] In another, three persons of a township declare that after obtaining the office of *muqaddam* of a ruined village, they spent a 'large amount' to resettle it and advanced Rs. 400 in *taqavi* loans to the cultivators out of their own resources.[21]

The distance that grew up between the headman and the ordinary peasants and the considerable power that he wielded over the village, seem sometimes to have led to his claiming or acquiring certain rights identical with those of the *zamindar*. In two documents from Aurangzeb's reign we find *muqaddamī* being coupled with *satārahī* and *biswī* or *biswa-hā*, which were the hallmarks of *zamindari* right.[22] It is not surprising, therefore, that a late 18th century glossary should define *muqaddam* as "the proprietor (*mālik*) of one village," different, per-

17. "Anyone who wants to cultivate any land goes to the headmen of the village, who are called *mukaddams* and asks for as much land as he wants at the place which suits him. This is rarely refused, but always granted," &c. (Geleynssen, *JIH*, IV, pp. 78-79. The sense of this passage is much distorted in De Laet, 95). Geleynssen's statement refers specifically to Gujarat.

18. See note 7 of this Section on Murshid Quli Khan's appointment of *muqaddams* for settling new villages.

19. Allahabad 1197. The *muqaddam* arbitrated not *ex-officio* but because he was nominated as *ṣāliṣ* (arbitrator) by both parties.

20. Allahabad 1183. The contents of this document have been commented upon in notes 2-4 of this Section.

21. *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 55a-b.

22. Allahabad 295; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 127b, Bodl. f. 98b; Ed. 98. (In the Bodl. MS. the document is introduced with the heading: "Complaint concerning *muqaddami* and *zamindari*").

haps, from the *zamindar* only in that the latter would usually have more than one village in his possession.[23]

Thus in *ra'iyati* areas, a *muqaddam* might in time acquire the substance of the right of *zamindar*. His position, however, was very different in such villages as lay in the absolute possession of *zamindars*. In a record of dispute over the *zamindari* of a village in 1662 one party accused the other of expelling the "old *muqaddam*" of the village, while the defendant styled the person so treated as his *kārinda* (agent) whom he, as the ancestral *zamindar* of the village, was fully entitled to remove.[24] The defendant's position was upheld by the revenue and judicial officials hearing the case and we may infer from this that the headman's position was regarded here as that of a servant of the *zamindar*, holding his office at the latter's pleasure. The extension of zamindari under British rule accordingly served to depress the position of the headman very greatly and he has shrunk in mary parts to a mere name.[25]

We have already referred more than once to the village accountant or *paṭwārī*.[26] His office was an old one and his name appears in the description of Alauddin Khalji's administrative measures.[27] As Abu-l Fazl tells us, the duty of the *patwari* was to keep an account of "the expenditure and income" of the village.[28] He was especially called upon to maintain records of the collection of the land-revenue from individual peasants and its payment to the authorities.[29] Indeed his name probably came from his concern with the *paṭṭas* or documents stating the revenue-den and assessed upon a village or individual cultivators.[30]

23. Add. 6003, f. 81a. On the same folio it also describes the *muqaddam* as "a leading man amongst the peasantry".

24. Allahabad 375. The village lay in *pargana* Sandila in Awadh.

25. Cf. W. C. Benett, *Chief Clans of the Roy Bareilly District*, Lucknow, 1870, pp. 66-7.

26. The term *patwari* was invariably employed in Northern India. The equivalent in the Dakhin was *kulkarni* (*Ain*, I, 476), and in Orissa, *bhoi* (*JASB*, NS, XII, 1916, p. 30).

27. Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi*, Bib. Ind., pp. 288-89.

28. *Ain*, I, p. 300.

29. *Akbarnāma*, III, pp. 282-3 (Add. 27,247, f. 332a-b) & p. 457; *Ain*, I, pp. 286-88.

30. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 73b, 75a, Or. 2026, ff. 22b-23a; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 62a; *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 35a; Allahabad 177, 897, 1206. See also the definition of *patta* in Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial & Revenue Terms, &c.*, p. 408. Wilson (*ibid*, 406) seeks to derive the term *patwari* from the Marathi *pat*, meaning 'a register

The *patwari* usually maintained his records, known as *bahī* or *kaghaz-i khām*, in 'Hindwi' or the local language.[31] Abu-l Fazl is again our authority for the statement that the *patwari* was an employee of the villagers[32] and we must assume that wherever the Village Community existed, he functioned as its servant. In the specimen village accounts available to us, the allowance given to him is made a charge on the village fund under the head of "village expenses."[33] But the administration also remunerated him for his services and under Akbar he was assigned a commission of one per cent on the revenues of his village.[34]

It is difficult to say how the *patwari* was affected by the weakening of the Village Community and the growth of the power of the *muqaddam* wherever this process took place. In some cases, at least, the *patwari* also obtained sufficient strength to oppress the smaller peasants.[35] At the same time his dissociation with the Village Community probably threw his relationship with the authorities into greater prominence so that he could become, under British rule, completely a servant of the government.

or record', but admits that the word *pat* in this sense is not found in Hindi and the term *patwari* is unknown in Maharashtra.

31. *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 457; *Ain*, I, p. 289; Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas, Art. 11; *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 91b, Or. 2026, f. 59a-b; Add. 6603, f. 52a-b.

32. *Ain*, I, p. 300.

33. In the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 41b-42b, this allowance appears under the name *kāghaz-i paṭwārī* as if it was meant to cover the cost of paper (*kāghaz*) needed by that official. In the *Khulasatus Siyaq* provision is made for two separate allowances, viz. *faṣlāna* (from *faṣl*, harvest) and *khurāk* (lit. food), for the *patwari*.

34. He was entitled to half the commission known as *ṣad-doī-i qānūngoī* (the *qanungo's* commission of 2 per cent.) (*Ain*, I, p. 300).

35. See Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas, Art. 6. In Art. 9 he is put alongside the *chaudhuri*, *qanungo* and *muqaddam* in opposition to the *reza ra'iyat*, the small peasantry.

CHAPTER V

THE ZAMINDARS

1. NATURE OF ZAMINDARI RIGHT

"Zamindar" in modern Indian usage means a landlord. Considerable controversy has centred round the question whether the modern zamindar is wholly a creation of British rule. This controversy (of no direct concern to us here) has involved the further question whether the word *zamīndār* when used in the literature of the Mughal period bore the same sense in which it is now understood. Unfortunately, there is no direct explanation of what it then signified, either in the *Ain-i Akbari* or in any of the more easily accessible historical sources. Recent interpretations have, therefore, been rather in the nature of inferences drawn from very scanty materials. The generally accepted view seems to be that the *zamindar* in Mughal times really meant a vassal chief and could not exist in the directly administered territories of the Empire.[1]

That the word *zamindar* was frequently applied in contemporary authorities to chiefs in general is beyond dispute.[2] What seems questionable is the assumption that this was its entire, or even real, meaning.

1. Among modern writers, Moreland was probably the first to put forward this view (*Agrarian System*, 122, 279). He admitted, however, that it was possible for the term *zamindar* to have a wider connotation in Bengal (*ibid*, 191-4); and he also found it hard to reconcile local traditions of chiefs, their clans and martial exploits in parts of Awadh with his own reading of the *Ain* (*ibid*, 123). Dr. Saran has not been assailed by any doubts of this kind. After defining *zamindar* in the same manner as Moreland ('vassal chief'), he dismisses as an "absurdity" the suggestion that *zamindars* could have been found in all parts of the Empire. (*Provincial Government, &c.*, 111 & *n.*)

It is true that two standard Persian dictionaries written in India during the 17th and 18th centuries, the *Farhang-i Rashīdī* (s.v. *marzbān* and *Bahār-i 'Ajam* (s.v. *zamīndār*), consider *zamindar* and *marzban* to be synonyms, and the latter means 'chief'. But these dictionaries were not concerned with technical words. Moreover, among the verses quoted in the *Bahar-i 'Ajam*, all from Indian poets to illustrate the use of the word *zamindar*, there is one which expresses contempt for Farhād and Majnūn on the ground that the former was only a labourer and the latter a *zamindar*. Was Majnūn, the Great Lover, a 'vassal chief'?

2. See Section 4 of this Chapter.

There is no easier way of refuting the identification with vassal chiefs than by showing that the *zamindars*, so called, did exist in the regularly administered territories and were by no means confined to the tributary states. It happens that the evidence of the *Ain-i Akbari* is alone sufficient to establish this fact. Why this has not been obvious so far is owing to a single undetected error in Blochmann's standard edition of the *Ain*, an error that has resulted in a serious misrepresentation of its statistical information.[3] In this edition presumably for convenience of printing, the statistics under the "Account of the Twelve Provinces" were not reproduced in their original tabular form found in the best manuscripts of the work. Blochmann not only dispensed with the columns of the original tables, but also dropped, without any explanation, the column-headings. His reader, therefore, has no means of knowing that the names of castes entered against each *pargana* in these tables, belong really to a column headed '*zamīndār*', or, occasionally, '*būmī*' in the manuscripts.[4] The entries under this column are provided for practically every *pargana* in the directly administered territory in all but the five peripheral provinces of Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Berar and Khandesh. In these five provinces and in the tracts ruled by tributary chiefs in other provinces, no entries are put against *parganas*, the *zamindar* castes being usually specified for whole *sarkars*.[5]

3. It should be remembered that Blochmann's edition, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1867-77, was pirated by the Nawal Kishor Press and its two editions of 1882 and 1893, which probably have had a wider public, are verbatim reproductions of Blochmann's edition. In the statistical section, therefore, they faithfully reproduce his errors. Saiyid Ahmad's edition of the *Ain*, 1855, lacked Vol. II, which should have contained the statistics.

4. In the original tables we have eight columns with the following headings: *Parganāt* (parganas), *Qilā'* (forts), *Naqdī* (revenue stated in cash), *Suyūrghāl* (revenue- and cash-grants), *Zamīndār* (or *Būmī*), *Sawār* (cavalry) and *Piyāda* (infantry). In Blochmann's edition they are all omitted, excepting *suyurghal*, *sawar* and *piyāda*, which, abbreviated to their initial letters, are put with the respective figures against each *pargana*.

The confusion introduced by Blochmann's handling of the original tables has been increased further by the eccentric restoration of the columns and headings in Jarrett's tr. of the *Ain*, Vol. II, ed. Sarkar, pp. 129 ff. He substitutes the heading "Castes" for "*Zamindar*" and pushes its column from its 6th position in the original tables to the last one. At the same time he puts the columns of cavalry and infantry figures immediately after "Revenue".

5. See my article, 'Zamindars in the *Ain*' in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 21st session, Trivandrum, 1958, pp. 320-23.

The testimony of the *'Ain* is backed by extensive documentary evidence in the form of sale-deeds, official papers and other records of the 16th and 17th centuries. Here also we come across *zamindari* rights in almost all parts of the Mughal Empire, in the provinces of Agra, Dehli, the Panjab, Ajmer (imperial territories) and, especially, Awadh, not to speak of the more distant provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat.[6] It may really be said with assurance that wherever the surviving records are carefully examined, the existence of *zamindars* is bound to be detected.

If, then, it is not possible to restrict the sense of the term *zamindar* to that of vassal chief, we must make a fresh attempt to discover what position or right its bearer possessed, particularly in the areas under direct imperial administration.

As already noticed, our histories contain no definition of *zamīndārī* nor a description of its essentials. Literally, the word *zamīndār*, a Persian compound, means 'holder of land'. The term was probably coined in India as early as the 14th century,[7] and is not found in the revenue literature of Persia proper.[8] Another Persian word used as a synonym for *zamindar*, quite often by Abu-l Fazl, though only rarely by other writers, was *būmī*. Its literal meaning (from *būm*, land) is the same as that of *zamindar* and it too does not seem to have been used in any technical sense in Persia.[9] While these Persian terms

6. The evidence is far too extensive for specific references here. Nor are they necessary, for documents relating to *zamindars* in all the regions mentioned will be cited in the present Section in various contexts. I have put the word 'especially' before Awadh simply because there are a very large number of *zamindari* documents from that area in the U. P. Record Office, Allahabad, which I have seen. It does not mean that the *zamindars* were more numerous or the institution of *zamindari* more strongly established in Awadh than elsewhere.

7. For the use of this term by Baranī and 'Afīf, the two best known 14th century historians, see Moreland, *Agrarian System*, 18 & *n*.

8. The word is not listed in the glossary of terms of 'land tenure and revenue administration' appended to A. K. S. Lambton's *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, London, 1953, pp. 422 ff. It does not appear in its own place in the *Farhang-i Rashīdī*, the standard 17th century lexicon for purely Persian words, though it is used there to explain the term *marzban*. But *Farhang-i Rashīdī* was, after all, written in India. In the *Bahār-i 'Ajam*, the word is admitted, but only verses from Indian poets are quoted to illustrate its use.

9. The word *būmī* seems never to have been used in classical Persian and, in the mouths of Abu-l Fazl and his contemporaries, was undoubtedly an archaism. It is admitted in neither *Farhang-i Rashīdī* nor *Bahār-i 'Ajam*; nor is it found in Lambton's Glossary.

gained currency, *zamindar*, indeed, becoming the standard term, there still survived local names which were considered to represent the same right as *zamindari*. There were *satārahī* and *biswī* or *bis'ī* in Awadh;[10] and *bhūmia* is said to have been the real counterpart of *zamindar* in Rajasthan.[11] The literal sense of the first of these three terms is obscure, while the second means 'of 1/20th', which for the moment brings us little enlightenment.[12] The third goes back etymologically to the same Indo-Aryan root as the Persian word *bumi* and means the same thing.[13] In the latter part of the 17th century, we come across a new set of terms used practically all over the country, *ta'alluqa* and *ta'alluqdār*, as substitutes in certain cases for *zamindari* and *zamindar*. Their exact significance will be discussed later (in Section 3 of this Chapter); at present, it is enough to say that they are derived from the word *ta'alluq*, which simply means 'connexion'; and these terms too, therefore, do not bear their real meaning on their face.

The synonym for *zamindar* used most often than any other was *mālik*. In some documents, a *zamindar* is directly termed *mālik*.[14] In two 17th century documents, *milkiyat* (i.e. the right of a *mālik*) and

10. Both these terms are found in a sale-deed of Akbar's reign (Allahabad 317, of A.D. 1586). A document of A.D. 1650 by employing the formula, "*biswi*, known as *satarahi*", shows that both meant the same thing. *Satarahi* occurs much more often than *bis'i*, or *biswi*, but both are used only in records belonging to the neighbourhood of Lakhnau, especially Sandila. They are not found in the records of Bahraich *sarkar*. There is no direct identification of *biswi* with *zamindari*, but *satarahi* is expressly identified with *zamindari* in the formula "*milkiyat* and *zamindari*, known as *satarahi*", in two 18th century documents (Allahabad 457 of A.D. 1764; & Allahabad 362). An earlier document, a sale-deed of 1698, uses a shorter formula, "*milkiyat*, known as *satarahi*", which serves as well, since the terms *zamindari* and *milkiyat* in these records are almost interchangeable.

11. Cf. Tod, *Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan*, London, 1914, I, pp. 133, 136.

12. The term *satarahi* seems to have disappeared altogether and I cannot discover its etymology. On the analogy of *bis'i* or *biswi* (with *bīs* or twenty as the root), it might be held to derive from *satara* or 17 and to mean 1/17th; but this is probably a wild guess.

13. *Bhūmia* is derived from Sanskrit *bhūmi*, which like the Persian *būm*, means 'earth, land'. Both the words are closely related, being just slightly altered forms of a common Aryan parent-word. Indeed, it is quite possible that the term *būmī* was coined in India under the influence of the indigenous *bhūmia*; an intermediate form *būmia* is actually used in the *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, f. 25a, a history of Sind written during Jahangir's reign.

14. The phrase "*mālik* and *zamindar* and *chaudhuri*" occurs in Allahabad 1192 of A.D. 1669. Add. 6603, f. 79a, speaks of the *mālikiyat*, i.e., position as *mālik*. of *zamindars*.

zamindari are used indifferently for the same right;[15] and in a large number of documents, we find "*milkiyat* and *zamindari*" coupled together as names of a single right.[16] Now while the significance of the other synonyms is obscure, *mālik* is an Arabic term which has its own place and distinct sense in Muslim law, namely, that of 'proprietor'. *Milkiyat* is, therefore, nearly what in English would be called 'private property'.

It is, however, one thing to say that *zamindari* was a form of *milkiyat,* and quite another to assume that all rights over land designated *milkiyat* were *zamindari* rights. This seems to be the real point in a definition of the word *zamindar* offered by Ānand Rām Mukhliṣ, an official at the Dehli Court, writing in the last years of Muhammad Shah's reign. "*Zamindar*", he says, "etymologically (*dar aṣl*) means a person who is a land-holder (*ṣāhib-i zamīn*), but now signifies a person who is the *mālik* of the land of a village or township and carries on cultivation".[17] Here the distinction drawn is between an ordinary occupant or holder of land and one whose right extended over land occupied by a number of persons (i.e. the population of a village or township). It was only to the latter that the term *zamindar* was applicable. We have seen in the previous Chapter that the peasants were often in fact described as *māliks;* but by terms of Mukhlis's definition, they could not be called *zamindars.* The association of *zamindari* with the village, rather than the field, is borne out by the manner in which the size of the area held under *zamindari* rights is specified in the documents of the period. A *zamindari* is always said to comprise a village or a certain fractional part of a village, never so many *bighas* or definite units of area. The word *biswa* which is sometimes employed in stating the area of *zamindari* does not mean the actual unit of area of that name, equal to one-twentieth of a *bigha,* but represents a twentieth part of a village.[18]

15. Allahabad 375 (A.D. 1662) and Allahabad 323 (A.D. 1675).

16. Allahabad 891, 1192, 1196, 1205, 1216, 1219, 1221, 1222, 1224, 1227, &c. (all 17th century documents).

17. *Mirat-al Istilah*, f. 153a.

18. For example, a sale-deed of Akbar's reign, transferring *satarahi* and *bis'i* rights, describes them as covering "the whole village", but after a few lines, when a reference is again made to the area held under these rights, it is defined as "twenty *biswas* of the said village". (Allahabad 317 of A.D. 1586).

From such use, the word *biswa* came sometimes to mean simply a share in the *zamindari* of any village. Thus we have reference to "the *biswas* ('*biswa-hā*')

Zamindari was, therefore, a right which belonged to a rural class other than, and standing above, the peasantry. Before we enquire about the actual relationship subsisting between the peasantry and this class, it is important to note that the sway of the *zamindars* did not cover the entire countryside. Indeed, in every locality there seem to have been large numbers of villages where no *zamindari* right existed and which, therefore, were known as *ra'iyatī*, or 'peasant-held', as distinct from the villages of the *zamindars.*

This division between *ra'iyati* and *zamindari* villages was well established, if not always equally well marked, throughout the Empire. One administrative manual written in the province of Shahjahanabad (Dehli) divides the land of a village into *khud-kāshta-i zamīndārān* (lit. the 'self-cultivated' land of the *zamindars*) and *ra'iyati.*[19] Another, written in the Ilahabad province, classifies villages of a *pargana* as *ta'alluqa* (i.e. under *ta'alluqdars*) and *ra'iyati.*[20]

In respect of Gujarat, we have an account of this division, which comes from the *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, the celebrated history of Gujarat, written about 1761. There are other things of interest in its account as well and it well deserves to be quoted at length.

"During the viceroyalty of the Khān-i A'ẓam (A.D. 1588-92, during the reign of Akbar), the *desā'īs, muqaddams* and peasants of most of the *parganas* complained to the Imperial Court that the agents of the governors and *jagirdars* were seizing all the revenue (or produce, *ḥāsilāt*) through (various) cesses (*abwāb*); and after their taking it away, the Rajputs, Kolis and Musalmans raised a tumult, laying waste the produce (*ḥāṣil*) and fields of the petitioners. This way lay the ruin of the peasantry and a cause of fall in the revenues of the government. It was, therefore, ordered that .... one-fourth of the land of the Kolis and others be set apart, no revenue demanded therefrom and trustworthy sureties taken for their good conduct. The *zamindars* of entire villages (*dehāt-i dar-o-bast*) and principalities (*makānāt-i 'umda*) should have their horses branded, so that presenting themselves before the Governor, they might perform services for the government; and from the land they might have sold, which is called *bechān*, they ought to take half the revenue (*maḥṣūl*). The order was put into effect and the province at that time prospered with each passing day.

of the *zamindari* of half of the village", &c., in Allahabad 1191 (A.D. 1667). See also *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 127b; Bodl., f. 98b; Ed. 98; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 48a (Bengal), 53a (Bihar), & 61b-62a.

19. *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Naṿisindagī*, f. 183a.

20. *Siyaqnama*, 35, 36, 38, 39, 53, &c.

Let it not be hidden .... that in olden times the country of Gujarat was in the possession of the Rajputs and Kolis, as has been mentioned earlier.[21] During the time of the Sultans of Gujarat, when the power and strength of the Muslims was fully established, owing to the rebelliousness of these people (the Rajputs and Kolis), they (the Sultans) devoted themselves to punishing and chastising them. Helpless, they had no choice but to offer submission and obedience. Entreating (to be forgiven), they accepted (the obligations of) service and payment of revenue. A fourth part of their native places and villages, which (part) was called *bānṭh* in the dialect of Gujarat, was settled upon them, while the (other) three parts of it (their land), called *talpad*, were attached to the imperial government. The big *zamindars* who held many (lit. most) *parganas* had their *ta'alluqa* settled upon them on condition of their joining service and maintaining troops, in the same way as by *jagir*, i.e. everyone was to be present with his troops of horse and foot, according to his resources and strength. So that for a long time, the Kolis and Rajputs who held *banth* in various villages performed watch and ward duty (*chauki o pahra*) in their respective places and enjoyed the possession of their *banth*, giving on each crop something by way of *salāmī* (offering) to the *jagirdar*. In course of time, some of the Rajputs and Kolis and others who had acquired a little strength, raised disturbances in the *ra'iyati* villages far and near, lifting cattle and killing the cultivators. The peasants of those places were thus compelled to gratify them by giving them, in some places, a fixed amount of money every year, or one or two cultivable fields. This exaction is known as *giras* and *va'dal*. This custom has become well established in this country and owing to the weakness of the Governors has become universal (lit. reached perfection). There is hardly a place in the *parganas* where a group of Rajputs, Kolis and Musalmans have not got their home or *giras* and *va'dal*". The passage goes on to describe the conditions at the time the work was written: Now, "owing to the absence of (imperial) control", these people "have settled in certain places and are seizing (not only) the whole of the *talpad* or the part under the government, but in addition many (other) villages to meet their (claim of) *giras*".[22]

What emerges chiefly from this passage is that in Gujarat the land was divided between *ra'iyati* villages and the *ta'alluqa* of *zamindars*;[23] and that while a number of villages were left entirely in the possession of *zamindars*, over large areas the *zamindari* villages were divided into two portions, the revenues of one of which, i.e., *bānṭh*, were to be retain-

21. The words here are jumbled up in the printed edition.
22. *Mirat*, I, pp. 173-4; see also Supp., 228-29.
23. A similar division is implied in *ibid*, Supp. 215-17, where the villages of certain *mahals* of *sarkar* Sorath are put down as *ra'iyati*, obviously to distinguish them from the rest which were held by *zamindars* or were under tributary chiefs.

ed by the *zamindars* and those of the other, the *talpad*, to be collected by the imperial administration.[24] In the later period, the *zamindars* not only tended to seize the *talpad*, but also to levy exactions, called *girās*, on *ra'iyati* villages.[25] This statement is alone enough to prove that the *ra'iyati* land was different from *talpad* and was not even originally under the possession of the Kolis and others.

It is interesting to find that even in the earlier part of the 19th century, Tod was able to find traces in Mewar of two distinct categories of villages. The *bhūmias*, 'the allodial proprietors', whom he identifies with the *zamindars* of other parts, held only a limited number of villages in the country; the rest were under *paṭṭāwats*, whom Tod also calls *girāsyas*. The position of the latter had by then become almost indistinguishable from that of *bhumias*, but tradition suggested that in an earlier period they had been servants of the State, holding revenue assignments similar to the *jagirs* of the Mughal Empire.[26]

If, then, all villages were either *zamindari* or *ra'iyati*, it might be supposed that the *milkiyat* rights of the *zamindars* and peasants were mutually exclusive. Where one existed, the other could not. There is an interesting document from Awadh which suggests that there may be some truth in this supposition and that the peasants lost their occupancy rights under a *zamindar*. Here we have a statement by two *muqaddams* of a village, made in 1677. They declare that "the *milkiyat*" of two named villages, one of which was their own, was "(in) the ancestral *zamindari*" of a certain *chaudhuri*. "We acknowledge", they say, "that we are his cultivators (*muzāri'ān*) and till the land by his leave (*raẓāmandī*)."[27] The affirmation has obviously been taken by the *zamindar* to assert or retain his right to give the land to whomsoever he might choose. A letter included in a collection of Aurangzeb's reign

24. Giving an account of the history of the chiefs of Navanagar, *Mirat*, I, p. 285, tells us that in the time of Muzaffar, the last Sultan of Gujarat, "the *zamindar* (i.e., ruler) of Navanagar had within his *zamindari* 400 entire (*dar o bast*) villages and a fourth part of 400 villages". This probably means that in 400 villages he was only allowed to collect revenue from the *banth*.

25. The significance of *girās* is discussed later in this Section.

26. Tod, *Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, pp. 132-38. For *pattawats*, see Section 4 of this Chapter.

27. Allahabad 329. The word "*zamindari*" is not very clear. The *pargana* or *sarkar* of the villages is not mentioned, but other papers relating to the same *chaudhuri* in the collection, suggest that the locality was *pargana* Sandila in the *sarkar* of Lakhnau.

also implies that the power of disposing of the land vested with the *zamindar*. It refers in the same breath to the addressee's "obtaining the *sanad* (deed) of *zamindari*" of a village and "the distribution (*taqsim*) of the land of the said village among revenue-paying and industrious cultivators."[28]

Two examples are, however, not proof enough that the *zamindars* everywhere possessed the right to give away land to, or resume it from, the peasants. In the previous Chapter, we have argued that the right to evict peasants was a right worth claiming or exercising only in a very few areas. With large wastes still unploughed, the chief object of a *zamindar* in normal circumstances would have been to keep his peasants rather than lose them. It is not certain that the *zamindars* could legally keep the peasants on their lands by force, as could the imperial authorities (which included the *jagirdars* and their officials). The only evidence we have about this is provided by the draft of a *muchalka* (bond), where along with the *muqaddams* and *patwaris*, the *zamindars* bind themselves "not to allow any cultivator to leave his place."[29] Even here it is open to question whether their authority to restrain the peasants derived from their own right or was only delegated to them by the administration, for it is equally shared by the two village officials mentioned beside them.

The end and purpose of *zamindari* right was naturally to provide its possessor with an income. Since it was a right primarily associated with land, we may expect that it gave its possessor a share in the land's produce. This share bears in our records a variety of names and it is possible that it varied considerably in magnitude according to localities.

Certain documents from Awadh introduce us to the terms, *rusūm-i zamīndārī* (customary exactions of *zamindars*) and *ḥuqūq-i zamīndārī* (fiscal rights of *zamindars*).[30] In a reference to a complaint made by the *zamindars* of a village, it is stated that a certain *qāẓī* (judge) forcibly took the *rusūm-i zamīndārī* of the village and also seized its land revenue

28. *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 90a. The locality is not indicated. Since there is also a reference to *chhappar-bandī*, or setting up of huts, it is possible that the village was an abandoned one. In that case, the distribution of its land would not have affected any existing rights.

29. Bekas, f. 67b.

30. Allahabad 782 (14th year of Aurangzeb) and 1214 for the former term and Allahabad 375 (A.D. 1662) for the latter.

(*maḥṣūl, ḥāṣil*) of a whole year.[31] This may be read with a passage in another document, where the holder of a *madad-i ma'āsh* grant, which entitled the grantee to the whole land revenue, is required "to pay the *ḥaqq-i milkiyat* (lit. claim based on *milkiyat*)" on the land of his grant to the *māliks*.[32] These documents, coming from the same part of Awadh (Bahraich *sarkar*), therefore, show that in that part, at least, the *zamindar* had a claim to a rate or cess upon the land, distinct from and in addition to the authorised land revenue. From another locality in the same province of Awadh, the neighbourhood of Lakhnau, we have evidence of a rate of this kind being levied under the name of *satārahī*, the local term for *zamindari*. In a paper given by certain village officials (*kārindas*) in 1746, the *satarahi* is defined as a rate of 10 *sers* of grain per *bigha* and is coupled with *dāmī*, a rate of one copper coin (*fulūs*) per *bigha*. The *karindas* bound themselves to deliver to the holder of these rights a quantity of grain as *satarahi* and an amount in cash in payment of the *dami*, both presumably based on the rates stated.[33]

But the *zamindar* did not always take his share in the form of a separate imposition on the individual peasant. Where, as in Bengal (see below), the *zamindar* paid the authorities a fixed sum for the revenue of a village and then made revenue-collections from individual peasants, at rates fixed by custom or by himself, his income would have been simply the difference between his collections and the amount he had paid to the authorities. It must really have been in areas where the imperial administration insisted on itself fixing the revenue-rates on the peasants that the *zamindar* had had to levy a separate cess for his own benefit. But in such areas, the tendency of the administration was to so enlarge the revenue demand as to reach the maximum that the peasant could part with, or, in other words, to cover his entire surplus produce.[34] Here the land-revenue demand annexed

31. Allahabad 782.
32. Allahabad 1203 (19th year of Aurangzeb).
33. Allahabad 299. The total amount of grain to be delivered was fixed at 50 *mans* for the year. For the *kharif* crop, it came to 25 *mans* (rice, 10 *mans*; millets (*kudrum* and *shāmākh*), 15; and *māsh*, 5). A note is made here in the document, the meaning of which is not clear, but which seems to contain a provision for *satarahi* on sugar-cane and cotton. Of the 25 *mans* to be delivered from the *rabi'* harvest, wheat was to account for 8 *mans*, gram 8 and barely 9. As for cash Rs. 7 were to be paid in the year, half of the sum at each harvest.
34. See Chapter VI, Section 1.

to itself all other fiscal claims against the peasants; and the ultimate result seems to have been that these claims began to appear as payments made out of, or deductions allowed from, the land revenue.

When the *zamindar's* claim assumed this form and appeared as a charge on the revenue collected, it was called *mālikāna*. An 18th century glossary of revenue terms, compiled by an official familiar with the practice of both Dehli and Bengal, tells us that "the *mālikāna* is a right (*ḥaqq*) of the *zamindar*. When they (the authorities) convert the *zamindar's* land into *sīr* (i.e. impose in it direct assessment and collection of revenue from the peasantry), they give him (the *zamindar*), on account of his being the *mālik* (*mālikiyat*), something out of every hundred *bighas* or every hundred *mans* of grain."[35] It repeats elsewhere that this was given only when the *zamindar's* land was, or had been made, *sīr*: When "he was himself the revenue-payer, he would not get the *malikana*, but only *nānkār* (an allowance for service)".[36] *Malikana* was, therefore, allowed only when the State directly assessed and collected the land revenue, by-passing the *zamindar*.

The normal rate for *malikana* is defined in the same glossary as ten per cent of the total revenue collected.[37] This was true of cases where it was granted to the *zamindars* in cash. But as implied in the definition above quoted, *malikana* could also be given in the form of revenue-free land, at a percentage of the total revenue-paying land ("something out of every hundred *bighas*"). Our earliest reference to *malikana* reveals it, indeed, as a land-holding.[38] Our glossary tells us at another place that *do-biswī*, or two *biswas* of land in every

35. Add. 6603, f. 79a. The term *sīr* is defined in the sense we have put parenthetically, in *ibid*, f. 66a-b. This sense should not be confused with its other one, now far more common, of the special lands of the *zamindars*, cultivated by themselves, or by their labourers or tenants-at-will. Wilson, *Glossary*, &c., p. 818, gives this meaning precedence, but notes that "the term is also sometimes applied to lands cultivated on account of the state, or to those in which the revenue is paid by the cultivators without any intermediate agent."

36. Add. 6603, f. 61b. At another place, f. 58b, it says the same thing while speaking of the *chaudhuri*: He gets his *malikana*, when his land is made *sir*. "If he himself is the revenue-payer for his land, he does not get the *malikana*."

37. Add. 6603, f 61b.

38. Allahabad 294 (of A.D. 1595). This document was issued in the name of a group of persons. They grant two areas of 20 and 9 *bighas* respectively, as *malikana*. The formula used is: "We grant *malikana* to (the grantees): We made — *bighas* of land exempt (from revenue) (*ma'āf*)." It is not clear who the granters were; they were probably *madad-i ma'āsh* holders.

bigha, was the right (*ḥaqq*) of the *zamindar* and was the same thing as *malikana.*[39] An early 19th century memoir of Gorakhpur contains a reference to *zamindars* known as *bratyas,* who, when the revenue was assessed directly upon the peasants (*hangām-i khām*), "got one-tenth or *do-biswī*."[40] This might well have been the reason for the use of the shortened word *biswī* as a local synonym for *zamindari* in Awadh.

A broadly similar arrangement seems to have been made by the authorities with *zamindars* in Gujarat. The central point in the long passage we have quoted from the *Mirat-i Ahmadi* is that the *zamindars'* land was divided into two parts, viz., *talpad,* which was three-fourths of it, and *bānṭh,* which was one-fourth, the revenue from the former being taken by the authorities and from the latter left to the *zamindars.* The *banth,* being one-fourth, represented a higher proportion of the land than *malikana,* which amounted usually to one-tenth of the land. But both were identical in nature. Thus *banth,* like *malikana,* could also take a cash form. This was obviously what happened when the *zamindar* of Porbandar in Gujarat was paid one-fourth of the total revenues of the port by the Mughal authorities.[41] In such cases presumably the revenue of the entire land of the *zamindar* was collected by the administration, which then paid him a fourth of the collections.

It is significant that the *Mirat* clearly distinguishes between *bānṭh* and *girās*[42] (and *va'dal*) *Banth* was a portion of land within the *zamin-*

39. Add. 6603, f. 61b.

40. Ghulam Hazarat, *Kawa'if-i Zila'-i Gorakhpur* (1810), Aligarh MS., f. 14a-b. The author classifies the *zamindars* of that district into three categories: 1. *zamindars,* who were complete proprietors not sharing their right with any other; 2. *ta'alluqdars,* who paid the revenue for lands which were held in proprietorship by *bratyas;* 3. *bratyas,* whose lands were included in the *ta'alluqas* of the *ta'alluqdars.* The meaning of *ta'alluqdar* will be discussed later, but to anticipate our findings, we may say that he was usually a *zamindar* who also paid revenue on land not included within his *zamindari.* When they paid on their own *zamindari,* they were ordinary *zamindars* and belonged to category 1. The *bratyas,* then, were *zamindars* who did not directly pay the revenue to the authorities, but paid them through a *ta'alluqdar.*

The use of the term *brat* in a 17th century document also suggests that it was simply a local name for *zamindari.* The author of a transfer-deed of 1669 declares that he gave away his "*milkiyat, zamindari* and *chaudhurai*" of a village "in the form of *brat*". (Allahabad, 1192).

41. *Mirat,* I, p. 288. The port was then (1677-8) in the *Khalisa.*

42. "Gras, 'a subsistence'; literally and familiarly, 'a mouthful'." (Tod, *Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan,* I, p. 133).

dari of its possessor; *giras* was an exaction, whether in the form of cash or land, from *ra'iyati* or peasant-held villages outside the exactor's *zamindari*. *Banth* derived from an earlier, legally recognised right, *giras* from the threat or actual exercise of force. An imperial order of 1672, relating to Gujarat, speaks of *girāsyas* and *zamindars* (compare Tod's *girāsya ṭhākurs* and *bhūmias* in Mewar), probably implying general similarity but also a shade of distinction in the sense of the two terms.[43]

An appreciation of the significance of the terms *banth* and *giras* may provide us with a fresh insight into the origins of the *chauth*, the imposition made notorious by the Marathas. Some historians have compared Shivaji's *chauth* to Wellesley's demand for subsidy from the 'Native States'; others have more bluntly described it as 'blackmail money'.[44] With him and his successors, it was really a demand for the payment of a fourth of the revenues of a district as price of its immunity from Maratha depredations.[45] Studies of Portuguese records have established that neither as an imposition nor as a name was *chauth* an invention of Shivaji. The Portuguese of Daman had been paying 'a fourth' of the revenues under this name to petty neighbouring *rajas* from the 16th century onwards.[46] It would seem to be a mistake to

43. For the Mughal order, see *Mirat*, I, p. 279. For Tod's "Grasya Thacoor" and "Bhoomia", see his *Annals & Antiquities*, *op. cit.*

44. Ranade apparently meant it as a compliment to Shivaji, when he compared his *chauth* to Wellesley's 'Subsidy'. He lauds it as an 'idea', originally worked out by Shivaji, which in Wellesley's hands 'bore such fruit' (quoted in S. N. Sen's *Military System of the Marathas*, Bombay, 1958, pp. 37-38). 'Blackmail' is a word freely used by Sarkar for the extortion of *chauth* by the Marathas.

45. *Chauth* meant, literally, 'one-fourth'. The earliest reference to Shivaji's extortion of *chauth* is in a letter of the English factors at Surat to the Company, November 26, 1664: "Sevagee(s)...dayly threatens heartily to visitt this towne once more, except the King will give him peacible(y) the fourths of what hee receives of the towne and country yearely." (*Factories, 1661-64*, p. 312). The best discussion of the character of the *chauth* demanded by the Marathas will be found in Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, where it is rightly stressed (pp. 37-39) that the Marathas offered to those paying *chauth* protection from none but themselves; they made no pretensions to taking over duties of a protective power.

46. Owing to my ignorance of Portuguese I have no access to this evidence and have depended mainly on Sen's interpretation of it, accompanied by translations of some long extracts, in his *Military System of the Marathas*, 20-29. There is one reference to this arrangement in the printed English records. Early in 1639, two Portuguese envoys came from Daman to Surat and asked its Governor to intercede on their behalf with Aurangzeb, then Viceroy of the Dakhin, whose armies

assume that the arrangements at Daman were unique and the sole 'prototype' of Shivaji's *chauth*.[47] That there was nothing unique about them is shown by the fact, already mentioned, that the Mughal authorities used to pay a fourth of the revenues of Porbandar, on the Kathiawar coast, to its *zamindar*. This again, as we have seen, was almost certainly a derivation from the *zamindar's* right to *banth*, or a fourth of the land of his *zamindari*. Analogy would suggest that the *chauth* paid at Daman arose out of a similar right held by *zamindars* in the Konkan. It is noteworthy that the *chauth* at Daman was similar to the *banth*, but essentially dissimilar to Shivaji's *chauth*, in being a payment or allowance made by a superior to an inferior, or even a subordinate, power.[48] Although the origin of Shivaji's *chauth* lay in a right claimed by *zamindars*, yet, as his power grew, his claim shed all semblance of a legal claim based on actual *zamindari* right, but became an extortion imposed by force.

There are, however, some indications that even at Daman, the *chauth* had begun to acquire predatory associations. In 1638 it was defined as "a kind of impost which obliges the said King (the Raja of Sarceta) not to harbour robbers in his dominions and to refrain from capturing men and cattle belonging to the farmers of the province of Daman".[49] In other words, it was here conceived of as an exaction similar to what the *Mirat-i Ahmadi* knew as *giras*. In 1617 this term, in the Portuguese garb of 'grasso', was actually used to designate the *chauth* paid on a part of Daman.[50]

To sum up, there existed almost throughout the Mughal Empire, a fiscal claim of the *zamindar* upon land lying within his *zamindari*, the claim being met either through a separate rate on the peasants or through the holding of a portion of the land revenue-free or a cash allowance from the revenue collected from the entire land by the authorities. In the last two forms, it was known by the names of *malikana*

ceased not to vexe and destroy the whole country about Daman". As a price for the withdrawal of the Mughal troops, the Portuguese "willingly submitted to pay what they were accustomed annually to give the Raja Rammugar (Ramnagar), the haereditary prince of that country, vizt. the quarter part of its provenue." Foster, *Supp. Cal.* 141).

47. Cf. Sen, *op.cit.*, 29, 32, 43, who takes precisely this view.
48. Cf. *Ibid*, 28-29.
49. *Ibid*, 26.
50. *Ibid*, 26-27.

and *do-biswi* in Northern India and Bengal, and as *banth* in Gujarat and *chauth* in the Dakhin.

In addition to this principal fiscal claim, the *zamindars* seem often to have claimed a number of petty perquisites from the peasantry. At one place, we find them levying a poll-tax, called *dastār-shumārī* ('counting of turbans') and cesses on marriages and births, and, at another, a house-tax (*khāna-shumārī*) and other cesses.[51] Besides these, the *zamindars* were sometimes entitled to extort unpaid labour services (*begār*) from certain classes of persons. Balāhars, Thorīs, Dhānuks and Chamārs had to act as guides and porters for their *zamindars* and also, apparently, for all men of *zamindar* castes who happened to pass through their locality.[52] There is, however, no contemporary evidence on record to the effect that the *zamindars* used compulsory unpaid labour for their fields.

On the basis of the little information we have, it is difficult to estimate the extent to which an ordinary *zamindar* derived his income from these perquisites. It is unlikely that the benefit so obtained by him was comparable in any degree to that derived from his main fiscal right. It may be possible, therefore, to form a rough estimate of the *zamindar's* share in the surplus produce from what we know of the *malikana* right and its counterparts in Gujarat and the Dakhin. The *malikana* generally amounted to one-tenth, and the *banth* and *chauth* to one-fourth of the land revenue. When the *zamindar* took his share by imposing a direct tax on the peasants and not by a deduction from the land revenue, these proportions could hardly have been followed. But from the single instance where the rate of the *zamindar's*

51. Balkrishan Brahman, f. 52a-b; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 51a-b. In both cases, the cesses are dubbed *abwāb-i mamnū'a* or exactions forbidden by the Court.

52. See *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 131, where there is a report concerning the flight of a party of Rajputs with a wounded comrade. In each village they requisitioned the services of the Thoris of the local *zamindars*, who carried the *chahārpāi* (cot) of the wounded man to the boundary of the next village, where the Thoris of that village took over. See also Add. 6603, ff. 51b-52a, and *Tashrih-al Aqwam*, ff. 181b-182a, 188a. Caste seems to have usually determined whether a person was or was not liable to render *begār*. The Chamars were known as Begārīs because they had to work as porters without payment (*Tashrih-al Aqwam*, ff. 181b-182a). On the other hand, we read of a Gūjar, who refused to render *begar* to some Rajputs, apparently because he felt he was not liable to it: He was beaten to death as a punishment for his refusal (*Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 187).

tax is stated, under the name of *satarahi*,[53] it appears as quite moderate in comparison with the usual rate of land revenue. Even if it is insisted that the miscellaneous cesses levied by the *zamindars* should also be taken into account, one may well argue that these would be offset, for purposes of comparison with the state's share, by the *sā'ir* and various other taxes which the authorities imposed in addition to the land revenue. In the latter part of the 18th century, in Bengal and possibly around Dehli, the *zamindars'* perquisites were often compounded at a fourth of the *sā'ir* taxes, their share being given the name of *sā'ir-chauth*.[54]

The fact that in the territories under direct imperial administration, the *zamindars'* share of the surplus produce was much smaller than that appropriated in land revenue, is confirmed by a study of the sale prices of the *zamindaris* of some villages, set by the side of the land revenue paid by them. Anyone familiar with transactions in modern 'real estate' would be surprised to find that the price of a *zamindari* in Mughal times was seldom more than double, and in a few cases only barely exceeded, the land-revenue demand for one year, although the price should have been the capitalised value of the annual income expected from possession of the right purchased.

In Bengal, in 1703, the English purchased Dahī Kalkatta and two other villages from certain *zamindars* for Rs. 1,300. The *jama'* or annual amount of revenue which they were required to pay for these villages amounted to Rs. 1,194, as.14.[55]

A series of documents concerning a group of adjoining villages in a *pargana* of Awadh, provide us with particulars of the prices at which the *'milkiyat* and *zamindari'* rights of these villages were sold in the middle years of Aurangzeb's reign; two other documents give figures of the annual land revenue imposed on the same villages in four years.

53. See Allahabad 299 (of A.D. 1746). The document and its contents have already been noticed. The rate of *satarahi* here stated was 10 *sers* of grain per *bigha*.

54. Add. 6603, f. 65a-b. For *sā'ir* and other taxes, see Chapter VI, section 7.

55. Add. 24,039, f. 36a-b, contains a copy of a *parwana* issued by the Diwan recognising this sale. On the back (*ẓimn*), along with some endorsements, three other documents have been copied: the sale-deed, a *nishan* in favour of the English containing some relevant provisions and the *muchalka* of the *vakil* (agent) of the Company, pledging himself on behalf of his clients to pay the annual amount of revenue. The sale-deed is also given separately on f. 39a.

The details are set out in the table below.[56]

Village	Year of Sale A.D.	Sale Price of *Milkiyat* & *Zamindari* in Rs.	Land Revenue	
			Year A.D.	Amount in Rs.
Baidaurā-Baidaurī (2 villages)	1672[57]	301[57]	1676-7	239
			1677-8	239
			1684-5	226
			1685-6	126
			Average	207. as. 8
Pasnājat (half of the village)[58]	1672 (1/3rd share)	589	1676-7	271. as. 8
	1688 (1/9th)		1677-8	224. as. 8
	? (1/18th)		1684-5	194. as. 11
			1685-6	209. as. (11)
			Average	225. as. 1½

56. The documents relating to the sales are Allahabad 891, 1195, 1196, 1205, 1215, 1216, 1221, 1222, 1224; and to the revenue, Allahabad 1206 & 897. The sale-deeds are dated according to the Hijri calendar, while the revenue demand was levied for Fasli years. In Allahabad 897, the Fasli year cannot be properly read, but luckily the document also carries a Hijri date. In this and the other revenue documents, the revenue of the previous year is also stated under the term, *asl;* every change, whether a reduction or increase, from that figure in the revenue of the current year is then indicated. Each document thus gives us revenue figures for two years.

All the villages belonged to the *tappa* of Chaurasi in *pargana* Hisampur, Bahraich *sarkar.* The *zamindari* of the villages had been gradually purchased by Saiyid Muhammad 'Arif and the sale prices are in all cases, except one, those which he paid. In the revenue documents, he is made responsible for the payment of the revenue of these villages. We know for certain that while he purchased one-third of Pasnajat, 3/4ths of Anchhapur and the whole of Debidaspur before the years for which we have revenue figures, his purchase of half of Baidauri and 1/9th of Pasnajat, covered by the revenue assessment (see note 58), came later. It should, however, be remembered that in the two revenue documents, 'Arif is described as *ta'alluqdar* so that, assuming its sense to be the one established in Section 3 of this Chapter, we should not be disconcerted by his paying revenue on land which he did not entirely hold in his *zamindari.*

57. The price and the year are not those of an actual sale, but of a sale first agreed upon at the given price and then cancelled at the request of the intending purchaser (Allahabad 1195). The two villages passed later on to Muhammad 'Arif and the sale-deed of a half portion of the village of Baidauri, executed in 1686, is extant (Allahabad 1219).

58. Allahabad 1206, the first of the two revenue documents, fixes the revenue on "the *patti* of Pasnajat"; the later one, Allahabad 897, fixes it on "the two *pattis,* (that is) half of the village of Pasnajat". In 1672, Saiyid 'Arif's father, Saiyid Ahmad,

lage	Year of Sale A.D.	Sale Price of *Milkiyat* & *Zamindari* in Rs.	Land Revenue	
			Year A.D.	Amount in Rs.
ıchhāpūr	1677	136[59]	1684-5	44. as. 9
			1685-6	34. as. 9
			Average	39. as. 9
bidāspūr	1682	175	1684-5	54. as. 12
			1685-6	54. as. 12
			Average	54. as. 12

A. Total Sale Price of the Villages .. Rs. 1201
B. Total of the Averages of Land Revenue .. Rs. 526. as. 14½
A : B = 100 : 44

Thus the share of the *zamindar* in the surplus produce of the pea- nt wherever the land happened to be within a *zamindari*, was still subordinate one compared with the land-revenue demand levied on e same land by the authorities. The *zamindar's* share moreover uld not be increased at his will. In the one document where the rate *satarahi* is set down, it is said to have been "established as of ", that is, it was the customary rate and not one fixed by the *mindar* for that particular year.[60] Where his share assumed the rm of an allowance from the land revenue, its relation with the latter ıs a fixed or constant one, whether at ten per cent. or one-fourth. ıe *zamindar's* right to a part of the produce of the soil was, therefore,

' purchased the whole of a third portion of the village (Allahabad 1196). The :t dated purchase (of a ninth portion of the village) was made in 1688 and a e-deed whose date is lost concerns the purchase of one-eighteenth of the village of the second *patti*, to which the one-ninth also belonged (Allahabad 1221 & 2). These two acquisitions are demarcated in a *qismat-nāma* (Allahabad 1186). total price given in the table is made up of the sale-prices of all these three rtions. But it is possible that since the acquisitions in the second *patti* were made er, the revenue shown for 1676-7 & 1677-8 was only assessed on one *patti*, or e-third of the village. In that case the ratio would be still more favourable to ıd-revenue.

It may be noted incidentally that 'Arif purchased an additional 1/18th share in village in 1689 for Rs. 61 (Allahabad 1224).

59. We have two sale-deeds both executed in 1677, one for a half-portion (price, 70) and the other for one-fourth (price, Rs. 32). (Allahabad 891 & 1205). The ce for the whole village has been worked out on the basis of what is thus wn to have been paid for ¾ths of the village.

60. Allahabad 299.

limited both by custom and by imperial or official regulation. The *zamindar* might formally be known as *mālik* and his right termed *milkiyat*, but nothing will be more inaccurate than to imagine him to be like a landed proprietor of the colonial era, paying the land tax and collecting rents fixed by himself from his tenants-at-will.

Zamindari, therefore, did not signify a proprietary right over land. It co-existed with other rights and claims on the produce of the soil. It is important, at the same time, to note that *zamindari* in itself (not the land under *zamindari*) had all the hall-marks of an article of private property. It was inheritable and could be freely bought and sold.

Hereditary succession to *zamindari* was a general law in the Mughal Empire. We find partisans of a claimant to a Rajput throne appealing to this law in the reign of Aurangzeb. "The *zamindari* of the country of Marwar", they declared before the *qazi* of Jodhpur, "was the property (*milk*) of Rāja Jaswant Singh, which should pass upon his death, by inheritance and of right, to his sons".[61] In contemporary records of sales or disputes was often find one party or another claiming a *zamindari* on the basis of hereditary possession as if this gave them the primary right.[62] A deed of transfer contains a specific provision debarring any 'heirs' of the transferer from laying claim to the *zamindari*.[63] In some sale-deeds the sellers bind themselves to compensate the purchasers, if 'heirs' (presumably with greater claim to the

61. They add: "And when his sons are there, what business has Indar Singh to become the possessor (*mālik*) of the *watan* and *zamindari?*" Jaswant Singh died in December 1678 and Aurangzeb overruled the claims of his two sons born posthumously, in favour of Indar Singh. This protest was delivered to the *qazi* by two officers of the dead king after the Emperor's decision. They wanted the *qazi* to tell them what the *Shari'at* had to say on their case. (*Waqa'i'-i Ajmir,* 245-6). The application of the law for ordinary *zamindari* on succession to a kingdom, simply because the Mughal chancery used the word *zamindari* to designate the latter, was more ingenious than sound, but it shows clearly enough what the law for succession to an ordinary *zamindari* was.

62. A large number of persons selling the *satarahi* of a village in Awadh declare that it had been in "the power and possession of us proprietors, by way of inheritance, from our fathers and forefathers" (Allahabad 435 of A.D. 1698). Some petitioners, complaining to the Imperial Court against the usurpation by some Afghans, of their "*biswas* and *zamindari*" in Bihar, claim that the right had been in their possession "from fathers and fore-fathers" (*Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 52b-53a). Similar assertions made in cases of dispute are found in Allahabad 375 and 1214, both from Awadh and belonging to Aurangzeb's reign.

63. Allahabad 1192 (A.D. 1669).

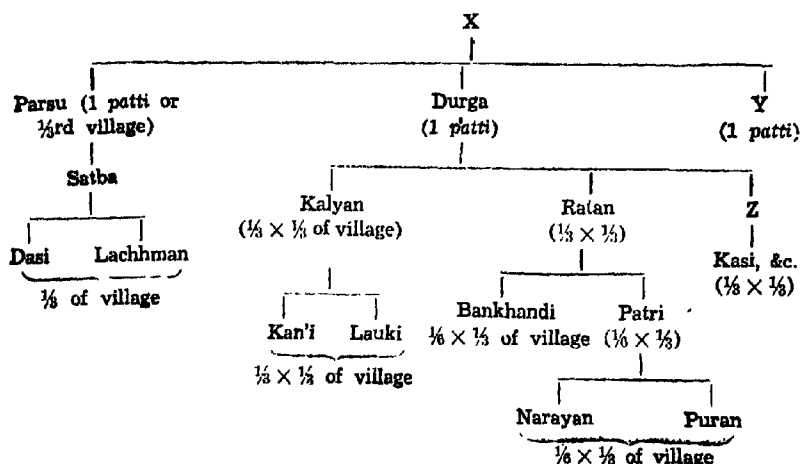
nindari than the sellers) appeared and proved their claim.[64] It is t necessary, and, in any case, space would hardly permit us, to ɜ the numerous cases known to us through our records where sons relations of a *zamindar* actually inherited his right. What is of rticular interest is that the Hindu and Muslim laws of succession to operty were fully applied. Since both laws provide for the sons' aeriting equal shares in the father's property, the *zamindari* was variably divided among the sons—a practice which is illustrated by me specific instances in the next paragraph. Moreover, the claims female heirs, as prescribed under Hindu and Muslim laws, were noured and in our records from Awadh, we actually find women, ndu and Muslim, inheriting, selling and otherwise disposing of their *mindari* or *milkiyat* rights.[65]

A *zamindari* does not seem to have been regarded as an indivisible ait, for, as we have just said, it could always be divided to meet the aims of the heirs. We have one case where a big *zamindari*, consist-g of a *pargana* in Sambhal territory, was divided up among "cousins scended from the same grandfather", a number of villages being lotted to each heir for his share.[66] By constant division a stage could nceivably be reached when a share in the old *zamindari* consisted of) more than a village; this is apart from the fact that a *zamindari* hen originally founded might have comprised only one village. In

64. Allahabad 891, 1196, 1205, &c.

65. In Allahabad 1215 (A.D. 1681), "Sabhānū, the sister and heir of Mahāsingh", nfirms through an agent (*vakil*) the sale of 2/3rds of the village Debidaspur made rlier by Mahasingh and assures the purchaser that if some named persons succeed proving their claims to this village, she would give him an equal area of land om another village held by her. Later in the same year, she sold to the same ırchaser the rest of the village (Allahabad 1216). She belonged to a Khatrī family, appears from the caste of Mahasingh mentioned in Allahabad 1205. From Allaha-ıd 1219 (of A.D. 1672), it appears that a certain "*musammāt* (lady) Bhīkan" was en the proprietress (*mālika*) of two villages, Baidaura and Baidauri, lying near ebidaspur. A half-share of Baidauri was sold in 1686. The two sellers, who scribed themselves as Brahmans add after their father's name that of their other, which is not clear but is probably Bhikan (Allahabad 1219). The giving one's mother's name was unusual and it has been done here presumably because ıe sellers derived their right to the village not from their father, but their mother. References to Muslim women holding *zamindari* rights are quite numerous. ɜe Allahabad 359, 810, 1191, 1208, &c. (all from 17th century). A number of Muslims Shaikhs) and one Hindu carpenter, selling the *satarahi* of a village, declare that ıey were acting "for themselves and on behalf of their mothers and sisters", who ıust, therefore, have been co-proprietors (Allahabad 435, A.D. 1698).

66. *Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 43a-44a.

either case, at the next succession, the village itself would have to be divided up among the heirs. A *zamindari*-share would henceforth appear as a particular fractional part of the village. In 17th century documents from Awadh we are able to trace in some detail a process of such division and sub-division of the *zamindari* of a village called Pasnājat in the *sarkar* of Bahraich.[67] This was apparently a big village and belonged originally to a family of Brahmans. At first it was divided into three supposedly equal parts, called *paṭṭīs*, probably among three brothers. The boundaries of these *paṭṭīs* were at some stage demarcated.[68] The surviving sale-deeds all relate to two of the three *paṭṭīs*. These show that at least three generations had passed since the initial division; and each *paṭṭī* had been further divided and sub-divided among heirs. The following chart, giving the family tree with the holdings possessed by the heirs, will show how exactly each fraction represented the heir's share in the inheritance of the whole village, according to the law of equal division among brothers.

It is noteworthy that though the village had been divided into three *paṭṭīs*, each heir's share has been defined as a fractional part of the

67. The documents are Allahabad 1186, 1196, 1221, 1222 & 1224. All except 1186 are sale-deeds. This is the same Pasnajat that has appeared earlier in this Section, in the table comparing sale prices with annual revenue.

68. This is clear from Allahabad 1196, the earliest of the Pasnajat documents. The sellers declare that they hold one-third of the village and "the *patti*, consisting of the third part belonging to us, is set apart and bounded on all sides as follows", &c. Allahabad 1186 also shows that the boundaries of the three *pattis* had been marked on the ground.

village as well as of the *paṭṭi*, in words such as "the full sixth part of one-third (i.e. of one *paṭṭi*) of the village of Pasnajat, that is, one-eighteenth of the whole village". The prices at which the various shares were sold—all within a period of two decades—also correspond fairly closely to their fractional values.[69]

Although the *zamindari* was always divisible, the definition of the rights of the heirs as fractional parts of the original *zamindari* implies that some kind of recognition of its unity survived. In some cases, *zamindaris* divided up among heirs are described as *mushtarik*, i.e. held in common.[70] There is evidence that while the share of each heir in the *zamindari* was recognised, the land was not actually divided and continued for some time, at least, to be regarded as a joint-family holding. The income was probably distributed among the heirs according to the size of their shares. This is the inference most naturally to be drawn from a Pasnajat document which shows that despite numerous co-sharers, the land of the middle *paṭṭi* of the village had not been divided for two or three generations and it was only when an outsider had purchased two shares, amounting to a half of it, that the boundaries of the land corresponding to these shares were laid down.[71]

When so much of our information about *zamindari* in its various aspects comes from contemporary sale-deeds, we run the risk of belabouring the obvious if we try to prove that *zamindari* was in fact salable. The risk should, however, be taken if only to emphasise the fact that the point is important and must be put beyond doubt or question. The principle that *zamindari* was salable is first directly enunciated only in an 18th century glossary of revenue terms.[72] The

69. The following are the sale-prices of various shares in the *zamindari* of Pasnajat specified in the surviving deeds:

Patti I (1/3rd of the village):	Rs. 405, A.D. 1672 (Allahabad 1196)
1/3rd of 1/3rd part (*Patti* II) of the village:	Rs. 127, A.D. 1688 („ 1222)
1/6th of 1/3rd part (*Patti* II):	Rs. 57, — („ 1221)
1/18th part of the village (in *Patti* II):	Rs. 61, A.D. 1689 („ 1224)

70. *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 44a; also f. 47b.

71. Allahabad 1186: a *qismat-nama*. The land was measured and divided into two plots (*takhtas*). Then out of these, equal portions were assigned to the purchaser and the remaining holders. The length and breadth of each portion with its boundaries are set out in great detail. I have missed the date of the document, but it probably belongs to 1688 or 1689.

72. Add. 6603, f. 65a.

recorded evidence of actual sales of *zamindaris* begins with Akbar[73] and becomes extensive under Aurangzeb. Orders issued from Aurangzeb's court require that in judging the merits of conflicting claims to *zamindari* rights, cognizance was to be taken of any sale that might have been affected.[74] We have already referred to the sale of Kalkatta (the later Calcutta) and some other villages by their *zamindars* to the English.[75] Earlier still, the English had purchased land at Malda in the same province (Bengal) from a local *zamindar*.[76] We have extensive evidence of such transactions in Awadh in the records at Allahabad.[77] The sale of a *zamindari* near Mathura is referred to in a *farman* of Shahjahan.[78] In Gujarat too, the *zamindars* could sell their lands, for we are told that the land sold by them was known as *bechān*.[79]

It seems that there were usually no official restrictions on the sale of *zamindari* right. Although the purchase by the English of Kalkatta and other villages was recognised in a *parwana* from the provincial Diwan, this was a patently special case, involving a foreign company, and even here, as elsewhere, there is no hint that the prior permission of the authorities had to be obtained before the transaction could be affected. Nor does custom seem to have offered an impenetrable barrier. A *zamindari* could be divided for sale just as for inheritance: Its possessor might sell one portion while retaining the other.[80] We also find, in the case of Pasnajat, members of a family, to which the *zamindari* of the entire village had originally belonged, selling away

73. A *farman* issued by Akbar in the 38th Ilahi year, refers to "the purchase of land from *zamindars*" in a named village near Mathura, by Gosāin Bithal Rāi (Jhaveri, Doc. IV). An earlier document, Allahabad 317 (A.D. 1586), records the sale of "the *satarahi* and *bis'i*" of a village in the *pargana* of Sandila in Awadh.

74. *Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 48a, 62a.

75. Add. 24,039, ff. 36a-b, 39a.

76. Malda Diary and Consultations, *JASB*, NS, XIV, 1918, pp. 81-2, 122-3. It was bought from one 'Rajaray', here described as *chaudhuri*, but subsequently (pp. 174, 182, 196, 202) as 'jimmedar', an obvious corruption of *zamindar*.

77. Allahabad 891, 1180, 1194, 1196, 1205, 1215, 1219, 1221, 1222, 1224, 1227, for Bahraich *sarkar*; Allahabad 317, 435, 464, for *pargana* Sandila in Lakhnau *sarkar*. All these documents belong to Aurangzeb's reign or to an earlier period. Allahabad 1192 (of A.D. 1669) is a simple deed of transfer.

78. Jhaveri, Doc. VI.

79. *Mirat*, I, p. 173.

80. Mahasingh, for example, sold 2/3rds of the village of Debidaspur, while it was only later that his heiress Sabhanu sold the remaining one-third of the village (Allahabad 1215 & 1216).

their individual shares without reference to their co-sharers. Only in one case, in a *zamindari* held by a Muslim family, do we find the holder of one share claiming the right of pre-emption in respect of another.[81]

If the *zamindari* could be sold, it could also be transferred on lease. One deed of lease (*ijāra*), which has come down to us, sets down in detail the amounts payable by the lessee for each of the two harvests in the year, for three years.[82] Another allows the lessee to recover in instalments any *taqāvī* (taccavi) loans given by him to the peasants still outstanding at the time of his surrendering the lease.[83] It is also stressed in two of our documents that taking a *zamindari* on lease did not confer on the lessee any *milkiyat* rights.[84]

2. Genesis, Composition and Strength of the Zamindar Class

Uptill now we have concerned ourselves only with the legal substance and nature of *zamindari* right. We have excluded from our consideration the historical context in which the right must be placed. The possessors of *zamindari* rights were not possessors of a visible article of property, like any other, but of a title to a constant share in the product of society. This right could not have dropped from the sky, and must have been created by social forces. Eighteenth century writers recognised that the origin of the right went as far back, at least, as the beginning of the period of Muslim Kings.[1] And though these kings might have recognised, or sometimes even granted, the *zamindari* of some lands,[2] the right as such was created independently of any royal action. Our growing knowledge of early medieval times might one day enable us to speak with greater assurance about the process which led to the evolution of this right. For the present, we must depend upon local traditions and though, as historical evidence, they individually leave much to be desired, it is difficult to disregard them on any point where they are unanimous or nearly unanimous. These traditions describing the

81. Allahabad 1200 (of A.D. 1676).

82. Allahabad 1230. The holder of '*milkiyat* and *zamindari*' of the village also held it in *madad-i ma'ash*, so that the lease also covered the right to collect its revenue.

83. Allahabad 323.

84. Allahabad 323 & 421. All the *ijara* documents cited in this paragraph belong to the reign of Aurangzeb.

1. This is the clear implication of the passage quoted earlier in this Chapter from *Mirat*, I, 173-5. A more direct statement will be found in Add. 6603, f. 65a.

2. See the next Section.

origins of local *zamindari* rights usually reveal a long process according to a set pattern. There is, first, a settlement by members of a caste or clan, perhaps, dominating over peasants settled earlier, or, perhaps, peasants themselves. Then another clan appears, drives them out or establishes its dominion over them; and then still another. At some stage, if not from the beginning, the dominion of the victorious caste crystallizes into *zamindari* right, held by various leading members of it over different portions of the subjugated territory. It appears that this process continued down to the Mughal times, and we have other sources besides the traditions to tell us that it did not end there.[3]

This summary of the usual traditional account of the establishment of *zamindari* rights makes it obvious that these accounts treat the *zamindar* class as consisting of a number of castes which monopolised *zamindari* holdings in different areas. With this association of *zamindari* with caste the testimony of the *Āin-i Akbari* is in full accord. When in its detailed census of the 'Twelve Provinces', the *Ain* puts a column for *zamindars* or *bumis*, the sole information it provides under it is about the castes (*qaum*, plural *aqwām*) of the *zamindars*. As noticed at the beginning of this Chapter, separate entries are made in this

3. A short passage from an early 19th century Persian memoir on the District of Gorakhpur may serve as a typical example of the traditional testimony: "In ancient times the dominion (*riyāsat*) and *rāj* of the neighbourhood of this city (Gorakhpur) belonged to the caste (*qaum*) of Ḍoms. Thus remains of their forts at Batvālgarh, Rāmgarh, Bhindiāgarh, Ḍomangaṛh, etc., in the areas adjoining the city are found to this day. And in the villages the caste (*qaum*) of Thārūs, i.e. the hill-men, of the race (*qism*) of those who are now settled at the foot of the hills, had their settlements. The market of Baṭol for the sale of goods from the hills was held in Gorakhpur. From the time of the establishment of the rule of the Muslims, the market and settlements of the Tharus gradually disappeared and exist now only in the Terai. Some Srīnit Rajputs, natives of Srīnagar, having extirpated them, established their power and are uptill now known as Rāja Gorakhpūrī. Thus their descendants hold the *zamindari* of some of the villages of Silhat and of the *pargana* of the environs of Gorakhpur. Many *bratyas* (*zamindars*) in the *pargana* of the environs of Gorakhpur and Silhat hold (their lands) in accordance with the *sanads* (deeds) of the Raja Gorakhpuris. Afterwards, in the time of Akbar, the ancestors of the *ta'alluqdar* of Kachhor, formerly residing in the *pargana* of Bhauwapāra, with their kinsmen (lit. brothers) seized the *zamindari* of the environs of Gorakhpur and Silhat, which, till now, is in the hands of their descendants." (Ghulam Hazarat, *Kawa'if-i Gorakhpur* (A.D. 1810), 1.0.4540, ff. 5b-6a, Aligarh MS. f. 7a-b).

The two classic studies of local *zamindari* traditions in Awadh are C. A. Elliott, *The Chronicles of Oonao*, Allahabad, 1862, and W. C. Benett, *A Report on the Family History of the Chief Clans of Roy Bareilly District*, Lucknow, 1870.

column for each *pargana* under all the provinces of Hindustan and Gujarat. Usually, there is only one caste named against a *pargana*, but sometimes there are two or three; and it is only rare that the word 'various castes', or simply 'various', is entered.[4] We must suppose, therefore, that there were well-marked blocks of territory each consisting of a single *pargana* or group of *parganas* under the *zamindari* of members of the same caste.[5]

Though it hardly stands in need of confirmation, the authoritative testimony of the *Ain* may be supplemented by individual references to the *zamindari* castes in certain territories. We know from Babur that the Salt Range was divided into three portions, in the possession, respectively, of the Jūd, Janjūha and Ghakkar tribes who exacted from all other inhabitants certain customary dues (which we may suppose to be *zamindari* cesses) upon every yoke of oxen and household.[6] Similarly, in the Ajmer province we find Rajput clans referred to, collectively, as holding the *zamindari* of some areas.[7] Out of contiguous areas in the provinces of Awadh and Ilahabad, a district was officially constituted under the name Baiswāra; it consisted, we are told, of "the many *mahals* that are the home of the seditious *zamindars* of the clan (*qaum*) of Bais."[8]

4. "*Aqwām-i mukhtalifa*" and "*mukhtalifa*" in the original. Cf. Elliot, *Memoirs*, &c., ii, p. 204.

5. In Elliot, *Memoirs, &c.*, ii, between pages 202 and 203, will be found a very interesting set of maps. The first shows on the area of the old North-Western Provinces (excluding 'Oudh'), the "Zameendaree Possession according to the Ayeen-i Akbaree" and the second, the "Zameendaree Possession in A.D. 1844". The maps, owing to their small scale, do not show certain details. For example, the various Rajput clans named in the *Ain* are not distinguished and the 'possessions' of all of them are shown under one colour. Nevertheless, the maps still have their intrinsic value as showing the broad changes which occurred in the areas held under *zamindari* by the big castes between the time of the *Ain* and the period before the Mutiny.

6. *Baburnama*, tr. S. Beveridge, I, pp. 379-80, 387. See also *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, pp. 159-60.

7. E.g. the references to the clans (*qaum*) of Saindhal and Dewal in *Waqa'i'-i-Ajmir*, pp. 364-5.

8. *Inshā-i Roshan Kalām*, ff. 6b-7a. Baiswara included parts of the *sarkars* of Lakhnau, Awadh, Manakpur and Korra. The Bais survive as an important *Zamindari* clan in the region. It is interesting to compare the list of the *mahals*, against which the *Ain* has entered the name of the Bais as *zamindars*, with that of the *mahals* of Baiswara given in Elliott's *Chronicles of Oonao*, p. 67. Most *mahals* are common to both lists, but there have certainly been some important changes.

One of the best students of local history, Charles Elliott, seems to have been forcefully struck by this division of the land among *zamindari* clans. He remarks that "the limits of a Pergunnah hardly ever coincide with physical or geographical boundaries and the only other cause for their irregular tracing seems to be proprietary right." And then, following a line of argument of no concern to us at the moment, he suggests that the *pargana* may be "defined as a tract of land in the possession of one undivided clan."[9]

The territorial division of *zamindari* possession among clans and castes was the result of the way the *zamindari* right had come into existence: It was historically created. It would be mistaking the nature of its creation, if one supposed that it was systematic. A clan might subdue a piece of territory, but it might not be able to drive away all men belonging to the clan previously dominant, and some of the latter might continue to hold their own in enclaves and corners.[10] A still greater irregularity would be introduced whenever the *zamindari* right became a full-fledged article of property and so became subject to sale and purchase, as it was throughout the Mughal times. Then money might corrode the old caste bastions and open the gates to outsiders.

The *zamindari* sale-deeds preserved at Allahabad provide us with ample evidence of how the rights were sold to men of different castes and, in many cases, of different religions, from those of the sellers. The group of five villages in Hisampur, which we have already referred to for illustrating some aspects of the *zamindari* right, may again serve as an example. Even originally, these five villages, adjoining each other, did not belong to men of one caste: three belonged to Brahmans and two to Khatris. But over a period of twenty years two Saiyids, father and son, through successive purchases, bought out all the old *zamindars*.[11] In another part of Awadh, in the *pargana* of Sandila, the Bāchhal and Gahlot clans of the Rajputs were recorded as *zamindars* in

9. The *Chronicles of Oonao*, p. 149 n.

10. From the passage we have quoted from Ghulam Hazarat's Memoir on Gorakhpur in a footnote earlier in this Section, it appears clearly that while the ancestors of the *ta'alluqdar* of Kachhor and his kinsmen seized the *zamindari* of the *parganas* of Silhat and the environs of Gorakhpur, the older clan of Srinit Rajputs continued to enjoy the *zamindari* of "some villages" in both the *parganas*.

11. Allahabad 891, 1196, 1205, 1215, 1216, 1219, 1221, 1222, 1224. It may be noted that the *Ain* has the following entry under '*zamindar*' against the *pargana* of Hisampur: "Rekwār, Bhāle and some Basin."—Brahmans are not mentioned, nor Saiyids.

the *Ain*.[12] But a document of Akbar's reign itself shows a number of Brahmans and others selling *satārahi* and *bis'ī* rights in a village in this *pargana*, to a certain Muslim.[13] And in Aurangzeb's reign a number of Muslims (Shaikhs) and a non-Muslim carpenter appear together as selling the "*milkiyat*, i.e. *satarahi*" of a village in the same *pargana* to two non-Muslims belonging to the caste (*qaum*) of *Kalwārs* (distillers).[14] Such instances could be multiplied from these records, but what has been said should be enough to show that money was interfering with the contours of caste-possession of *zamindari* right even in areas which were far from the great centres of trade and commerce.

Let us now retrace our steps to notice another feature associated with the institution of *zamindari* that the traditional testimony brings out. In this testimony we find that the one great instrument by which every caste established its possession of *zamindari* was the armed force it could command. Indeed, armed force appears as the first historical pre-requisite for the establishment, as well as the retention, of *zamindari* right.

"The troops of the *zamindars* (of the Empire)," says the *Ain*, "exceed forty-four laks."[15] In an additional clause in the same sentence, it tells us that the details of these forces have been provided elsewhere. The reference must be to the columns bearing the headings "Cavalry" and "Infantry" in the statistical tables of "The Twelve Provinces."[16] These are placed immediately after the column of *zamindars* and although this is not specifically stated, these give quite obviously the figures of the troops of the *zamindars*. Thus wherever the entries for the *zamindars* are filled in for each *pargana*, the cavalry and infantry figures are also given.[17] When similarly, the *zamindar*-

12. *Ain*, I, 439.
13. Allahabad 317.
14. Allahabad 435.
15. *Ain*, I, p. 175. Blochmann notes that two of the MSS. consulted by him read "the troops and *zamindars*" for the initial words, by introducing the word *wa* ('and') before '*zamindar*.' Though this makes nonsense of the sentence, Dr. Saran accepts this variant, "whatever this alternative reading may mean" (*Provincial Government, &c.*, p. 262)!
16. There is no separate column in the original tables for elephants. In the comparatively few cases where their number is stated, this has been put under the column of "cavalry', below the cavalry figure.
17. The cases where the cavalry and infantry figures are stated for a *pargana*, but the space for *zamindars* is left blank, are rare; those where the *zamindars* are specified, but the figures for troops are omitted, are much rarer. In a few cases of

castes are only stated for whole *sarkars,* we have only *sarkar*-figures for the troops. The *pargana* figures also make it clear that the census does not only relate to the troops of tributary chiefs, but mainly records those of the ordinary *zamindars*; the number of the troops recorded against *parganas* in the directly administered territories in fact far exceeds that recorded for the areas of the tributary chiefs. The totals of the troops are also stated for each of the provinces and here we find them described usually as *būmī,* the synonym of *zamindar.* The total of provincial figures only slightly exceeds that of 44 laks stated for the whole Empire. These figures are interesting also for the composition of the *zamindars'* troops in the whole Empire that they reveal: 3,84,558 cavalry; 42,77,057 infantry; 1,863 elephants, 4,260 guns and 4,500 boats.[18]

How Akbar's administration obtained information about the military resources of the *zamindars* is not known, but the detailed nature of the census invites respect. The immense totals,. on the one hand, and the break-up of the figures among *parganas,* on the other, show that almost every *zamindar* of any consequence reported possession of armed retainers. Two unpretentious documents relating to villages in the *pargana* of Hisampur provide striking confirmation of this general fact. The first, a complaint of a night-attack, shows by a casual reference that even in a *zamindari* of five villages, acquired through purchase, it was thought essential by the *zamindar* to build a *qil'acha* or 'small fort', to protect his possessions.[19] The second is an official order which takes

the latter type a note is specially put in, to the effect that the number of troops in that *pargana* is assimilated to the figure of those in another (*Ain,* I, pp. 435, 459, 494-5, 541). Sometimes (*ibid,* 435, 459, 541) the note is made directly below the name of the *zamindar* caste—another small proof that the troops were really those of the *zamindars.* To appreciate this point one must look up the corresponding entries in the *Ain* MSS., since Blochmann has dispensed with the columns. Jarrett's restoration of columns in his translation of the *Ain* is misleading since the original arrangement of the columns is not retained: The columns for cavalry, infantry and elephants precede, not follow, that of the "Castes."

18. Of the last two figures, the first is that of Bengal only and the second represents the total of the figures given for Bengal (4,400) and Bihar (100). The largest number of elephants was also recorded for Bengal (1,170).

19. Allahabad 1225. The *qil'acha* was built in the biggest of the five villages, Pasnajat. The complaint is made by the *zamindar,* Saiyid Muhammad 'Arif himself. The document is not dated, but the date of the raid is stated to be Dec. 12, 1689. Saiyid 'Arif's papers show that he held some other villages in his *zamindari* but none of these adjoined the Pasnajat group of villages.

note of a complaint by the *mālik* of only a third part of a village that "the *qil'acha* he had built there for stationing his men" had been razed to the ground by a usurper who had occupied his land: The order directs that the *qil'acha* be rebuilt, and restored to him, by those responsible for its destruction.[20] These two documents, which are both meant for the eyes of officials, show that not only was it normal for *zamindars* to raise *qil'achas*, but the authorities too regarded it as a perfectly legitimate proceeding. The country must have been dotted with innumerable such fortresses. They became abnoxious in the eyes of the authorities only when the *zamindars* used them not for maintaining their rights over the peasants, but for defying the administration. Reports of official action against such fortresses, described as *qil'achas* and *gaṛhīs*, abound.[21] From these it becomes clear that the fortresses were found not only in provinces like Awadh but even in an area as close to the heart of the Empire as Central Doab.

These fortresses were the visible symbols of the armed power of the *zamindars*. They served them as strongholds, garrison-houses and bases. But their real power must have lain in their millions of armed retainers.

Since caste had played such a role in the formation of *zamindari* right, it is reasonable to suppose that a *zamindar* usually drew his most loyal warriors from members of his own caste who had come and settled with him. That this was the general practice may be seen from the way in which writers belonging to the 17th century used the word *ulūs*. This word came from Mongolia and Central Asia where it had meant either a tribe organised as a military contingent or a military contingent given the name of a tribe.[22] In India it was not applied to

20. Allahabad 786 (dated January, 1684).

21. A petition to the Court by an officer, probably the Governor of Akbarabad (Agra), reports a march by a subordinate from Kalpi and Etawa *via* Kol and Marehra to Agra, destroying the forts of *zamindars*. A full list (*ṭūmār*) of the *gaṛhīs* destroyed by him is referred to as a testimony to his good service (*Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 73a-74a). For operations against such forts in Baiswara, see *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, esp. ff. 2a-4a, 6a-8a. A *faujdar* of Korra in the Ilahabad province reported to the Court that seditious *zamindars* in that area had built "three or four *qil'achas* in every village" (*Akẖbarat* 47/150). References to *zamindars'* village-fortresses in the various regions of the Empire are too numerous to make a full list possible, but the following may serve as examples: *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 236; *Akẖbarat* 47/56; *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 205; Bekas, ff. 52b-53a.

22. Cf. Wei Kwei Sun, *The Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*, Aligarh, 1957, pp. 13-14, 16-17.

units of the imperial army, but used mostly in association with *zamindars*. It was used, on the one hand, for *zamindar*-castes: We thus hear of the *ulūs* of Kachhwāhas, of Rāṭhors, of Gonds, of the Balūch, &c.[23] An official news-report from the Ajmer province says that the *ulus* of Saindhal Rajputs held a *zamindari* somewhere in Mewar.[24] At the same time the word bore the sense of a body of armed men: Thus a man to be recognised as a *zamindar* in disturbed territory was expected to be in possession of an *ulus*.[25] Such use of *ulus* was possible only under the assumption that no material difference existed between a *zamindar* caste and a body of warriors serving a *zamindar*.

It is, however, quite unlikely that the four and a half million troops recorded in the *Ain's* census all belonged to *zamindar* castes. Possibly, the horsemen, fewer and of a higher status than the infantry, were largely made up of caste-retainers. But there is one instance on record where a seditious Bais (Rajput) *zamindar* of a *pargana* in Baiswara employed an Afghan and placed in his hands the command of a fort he had built.[26] If money could interfere with caste-possession of *zamindari* right, it is not surprising that some *zamindars* were prepared to enlist mercenaries belonging to other castes or communities.

It seems probable, though there is little evidence about it, that the foot-troopers of the *zamindars* consisted largely of peasants or villagers, impressed to serve their *zamindars* in times of need. We do sometimes hear of large bodies of *ganwārs*, villagers, used by *zamindars* in their own local frays or in resistance to the authorities.[27] In the account of the operations of Farid (the later Sher Shah) in his father's *jagirs* in

23. *Akbarnama*, II, p. 156; *Ain*, I, pp. 477, 486; Sujan Rai, 63.

24. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir* 364. It goes on to say that the Saindhals, expelled by the Rana from Mewar, were to be provided with a *zamindari* near Jālor. They came, "two thousand and five hundred men, horse and foot, along with their families."

25. *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, ff. 3b-4a; *Kalimat-i Taiyabat*, ff. 127b-128a.

26. *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. 6b. Not only that but he named the fort Salimgarh, after the name of this Afghan.

27. For *ganwars* serving a petty *raja* in the *pargana* of Jalesar (Agra) during a battle with a body of troops led by imperial officers in the time of Akbar, see Badauni II, p. 151. Allahabad 1202, dated May, 1676, contains a complaint by Saiyid Ahmad and others that their *zamindari* rights in certain villages had been wrongfully seized by some persons. When they had complained to the *jagirdar* (or *faujdar*?), some horsemen were sent to secure them their possessions. Their opponents, however, assembled "a large number of sedition-mongers and *ganwars*" and scared the horsemen away.

Bihar against *zamindars* who defied his authority, it is stated that on storming their village he killed all the men he found there and not leaving a trace of the old population, settled new peasants on the land. The assumption behind this action must have been that all the old peasants were either the retainers of the *zamindars*, or, at least, had served them in battle.[28]

The way the *zamindars* paid their armed followers probably varied considerably. A *zamindar* preparing to resist an attack of the revenue-collector's troops is shown as first drawing up "the list of his horse-men and foot-soldiers, old and new, and of retainers (*naukarān*) paid by grant of land or in cash."[29] It is quite possible that the *zamindars* usually gave some of their own lands to their fellow clansmen in return for their pledge to serve them, as was the case with the Rajputs in the territories of the autonomous chiefs.[30] Whether the *ganwars*, called upon to defend the interests of the *zamindar*, received any pay or rendered their services in the form of *begār* (unpaid labour), remains, from the limitations of our records, an open question.

On the basis of the information assembled in this and the previous Section, a few general remarks may be made on the position of the *zamindars* as a class. Theirs was, in the first place, an exploiting class in the sense that they claimed a share in the surplus produce of the peasantry. But, though this share varied from place to place, it was on the whole a subordinate share, compared with what was extorted from the peasants in the form of land-revenue and other cesses and taxes in the name of the State. Secondly, they represented, in various ways, elements of a despotism or of a power which was purely local. Their right over any particular land was hereditary and though clan-movements or sales might interfere with *zamindari* possession, a *zamindar* normally would have the deepest roots in the land belonging for generations to his ancestors. His great advantage must have been his close knowledge of the productivity of the land and the customs and traditions of its inhabitants. Local associations, however, also meant parochialism and the horizon of the *zamindar's* outlook could have hard-

28. 'Abbas Khan, ff. 14b–15a.

29. Bekas, f. 52b.

30. "The Rajput practice is that in the *mahals* of their home territory (*waṭan*), they grant villages to Rajputs, and the latter offer their lives whenever the time of battle comes." (Indar Singh Rathor's submission to the Court in *Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, 121). Cf. Bernier, 39, 208.

ly gone beyond the limits of the possessions of his caste, if ever, indeed, it went beyond those of his own family. We have seen that the *zamindars* as a class were really largely made up of a number of castes, which had for long been uprooting and subjugating each other. The social heterogeneity of their class must have increased still further with the sale and purchase of *zamindaris*. Besides this social division, there was a geographical one as well, for, as shown in the beginning of this Chapter, the contiguity of *zamindari* possession was broken all over by blocks of *ra'iyati*, or purely peasant-held, villages.

The strength and weakness of the *zamindar* class were reflected in the type of armed power it commanded. The *zamindar's* fortress was the symbol of his resolution to defend the land inherited from his ancestors. The peasants with their large numbers probably never made him short of foot-soldiers. Four millions of infantry is no mean figure. Infantry too accorded with the *zamindar's* purely local ambitions and the absence of any great desire on his part for mobility or long-range operations. He was, accordingly, usually far weaker in cavalry, the arm most necessary for mobile warfare. According to the *Ain* census, the *zamindars* had hardly one horseman for ten foot-soldiers. As against this, an offitial estimate of the time of Shahjahan put the number of imperial cavalry (excluding such as was employed in the work of revenue-collection under *faujdars* and revenue-officials) at 200,000 and infantry at 40,000—i.e. 5 horsemen for one foot-soldier.[31] Since this figure of imperial cavalry excludes forces employed for revenue-collection purposes, it cannot be assumed that the total figure fell very far short of the nearly 400,000 horsmen of the *zamindars* counted by the *Ain*. Moreover, the latter could have hardly compared with the imperial troops in the breeds of their horses. This apart, however, the very fact that the *zamindars'* forces were not unified

31. Lahori II, p. 715. Lahori's estimate is not based on an inspection of the brand-rolls of the *mansabdārs'* contingents: He has apparently arrived at his figures by simply dividing the total number of *sawār* ranks by 4 and then adding the number of *mansabdars* and horsemen directly paid from the imperial treasury. In actual fact, however, *mansabdars* who had *jagirs* in the same province where they were serving had to bring to the brand horsemen numbering a third of their *sawar* ranks; while, on the other hand, those placed below 6-months in the month-scale brought fewer than the standard (cf. Lahori, II, 506-7). But still, Lahori's figure may serve as a rough estimate. As for infantry, it consisted, he says of "musketeers, gunners, cannoniers and archers," 10,000 of whom were stationed at the Court and the rest (3,000 in the printed text being an obvious error for 30,000) "in the provinces and forts."

but were dispersed and engaged so often in internecine quarrels, must usually have deprived them of any effective capacity of resistance against imperial armies.

The *zamindar* class was so fatally divided, so narrowly bound by its caste and local ties (though they were indeed in some respects its real strength and ensured its survival) that it could never form into a united governing class and create an empire. This incapacity on the part of the most powerful indigenous class may provide us with at least one explanation of why the main impetus towards empire-building in medieval India came so repeatedly from foreign conquerors.[32]

3. The Imperial Administration and the Zamindars

Before studying the relationship that was established between the imperial administration and the *zamindars*, it will be useful to remember a distinction which we have made in the preceding Sections of this Chapter. Although we know that the tributary chiefs were also called *zamindars*, they must be distinguished from ordinary *zamindars* within territories directly under imperial administration. We shall take up the position of the tributary chiefs in the next Section, and for the present concern ourselves with the ordinary *zamindars*.

We have seen that within these imperial territories, the *zamindars* in most provinces held rights only over a portion of the land and there were *ra'iyati* areas, where the peasant's right was the sole right. In the latter areas the administration dealt with the peasants direct, and this fact left its imprint on the whole machinery of Mughal revenue administration. It is not only that direct contact with the peasants, (that is the assessment of the peasants' lands and collection of the land revenue from them individually,) is always the ideal recommended in official regulations: many of these regulations, especially those of Todar Mal and Fathullah Shirazi, of the *Ain*, and of Aurangzeb (in the *farman* to Rasikdas[1]) never refer to the *zamindar*, though they lay down in detail the whole procedure for assessing and collecting land

32. The preponderance of elements of foreign birth or origin has been a subject of comment since Bernier (p. 215). Moreland shows, on the basis of the list of *mansabdars* given in the *Ain*, that Akbar's 'Service' consisted "predominantly" of foreigners, i.e. mainly Turanis and Persians. (*India at the Death of Akbar*, 69-70). This is a subject well worth further investigation.

1. This does have one reference to *zamindars*, but not in connexion with the procedure of either assessment or collection of revenue.

revenue. The *zamindar* thus seems to have had no place in the recognised scheme of revenue administration and his name only creeps in surreptitiously here and there in the administrative manuals of the period.

Yet there is evidence enough in our documents that the *zamindar* was normally called upon to pay the revenue for the land over which he claimed his right as *zamindar*. There is an exceptionally large amount of such evidence from the reign of Aurangzeb for various parts of the Empire, from Bengal to Rajasthan. A copy has come down to us of an undertaking (*muchalka*) given on behalf of the English Company to pay the land-revenue (*māl-i wājib*) of certain villages, including Dahi Kalkatta, ancestor of modern Calcutta, when they obtained their *zamindari* by purchase.[2] There is a good deal of other evidence for Bengal to the same effect,[3] but we shall be considering it in another context shortly. From Awadh comes a set of documents called *qaul-qarār*, issued by officials fixing the land-revenue on *zamindars* for particular years.[4] Other documents from the same collection contain references to the obligation of the *zamindars* to pay the *jama'*, or the amount of revenue assessed on their villages, to the authorities.[5] A letter of the *faujdar* of Baiswara speaks of "the peasants and *zamindars*" of a particular locality, who "attending upon the agents of the *jagirdars* duly pay the land revenue".[6] In two imperial orders issued on petitions received from *zamindars* of the *sarkars* of Sambhal and Kalpi, regular payment of the revenue in the past by the petitioners is made a pre-condition for entertaining their complaints.[7] A *parwana* recording the grant of a *zamindari* of twenty-five villages near Mathura to one Qāsim, who was already holding them in *jagir*, informs the new *zamindar* that "so long as the villages remain in his *jagir* he may keep the land revenue and official taxes (*māl-i wājib o ḥuqūq-i dīwānī*). Afterwards when they are assigned in *jagir* to some

2. Add 24,039, f. 36b.

3. Cf. especially, *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 47a-48a; Hedges I, p. 39.

4. Allahabad 897, 1206, 1225; also 1220 (which is a deed of acceptance of the assessment). The first two style the assessee '*ta'alluqdar*,' but we know from sale-deeds that in both cases the assessee was the *zamindar* of the villages (viz., the Pasnajat group of villages, to which we have already referred so often). In the last two documents, the assessees are called '*māliks*' of the villages.

5. See Allahabad 782; also Allahabad 1234.

6. *Inshā'-i Roshan Kalām*, ff. 19b-20a; see also f. 7a.

7. *Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 43b, 56b-57a; also ff. 61b-62a.

one else he shall be answerable to the *'āmil* (revenue collector) of that place (on behalf of the new *jagirdar*, presumably) for the revenue collected (*ḥāṣil*)."[8] In an official letter we come across a reference to the allegation of some *zamindars* of a *pargana* in Hisar against an *'amil* who collected the revenue from them at the wrong time.[9] The news-reports from the Ajmer province frequently refer to the payment of land-revenue by the *zamindars* either as an established fact or as an obligation on their part that needed to be enforced.[10]

This evidence has been set out only by way of illustration, for references to *zamindars'* paying revenue that are either general in nature or do not relate to any particular locality, are too numerous to be cited. The evidence we have given is by itself sufficient to warrant the statement that the collection of land-revenue through *zamindars* was by no means excluded from the provinces which were under the so called *'ẓabṭ'* system established by Akbar—or, in other words, from the most central parts of the Empire. The fact that the evidence belongs entirely to Aurangzeb's reign is mainly because his reign happens to be so much the richer in its records, when compared to earlier reigns. Any suspicion that this practice was a growth of the period between Akbar and Aurangzeb, may in any case be set at rest by a *farman* of Akbar that has survived. This, issued in his 38th regnal (*ilāhī*) year, exempts a religious dignitary from paying the revenue and other taxes (*māl o jihāt*) on land in a village near Mathura which he had purchased from some *zamindars*.[11] It thus provides an exception that really proves the rule.

It seems that by the latter half of the 17th century, a special term came into use to designate a *zamindar* in his aspect as payer of land-revenue. *Ta'alluq-dār* means 'the holder of a *ta'alluqa*'; the literal meaning of the latter word is 'connexion', but it was used in the sense of land or area over which any kind of right was claimed.[12] In the

8. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 199a-200a, Bodl., ff. 157b-158a.

9. Balkrishan Brahman, ff. 63b-64a. The *'amil* "seized Rs. 5,000 by force, selling the sons and cattle of the plaintiffs at a time when the fields were green."

10. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 57, 398, &c.

11. Jhaveri, Doc. IV. For Shahjahan's *farman* to the same effect in respect of the same village see *ibid*, Doc. VI.

12. The word *ta'alluqa* was thus used indifferently for the territories of *jagirdars*, *zamindars* and independent rulers. We often come across the formula "the village X, *ta'alluqa-i* (attached to, included in) *jagir* of Y" (see, e.g., *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*). Thence, *ta'alluqa* in the sense of land assigned to a *jagirdar*

18th century definitions of *ta'alluqdar*, two separate statements occur: First, that he was just a kind of revenue-farmer;[13] and, second, that he was a small *zamindar*.[14] Yāsīn's glossary, however, gives an explanation which shows how both these statements could be true at the same time. A *ta'alluqdar*, we are told, was a *zamindar* who contracted to pay revenue not only for his own *zamindari*, but also for the *zamindari* of other persons: this arrangement was usually made by the authorities to avoid having to deal with a large number of persons.[15] Thus a *ta'alluqdar* was not necessarily the *zamindar* of the whole area for which he paid the revenue, but only of a part of it; for the rest he was simply an intermediary. To be a *ta'alluqdar*, therefore, was a smaller thing than to be a *zamindar* of the same area, since the latter would hold the whole, and not merely a part, of it in *zamindari* right, in addition to collecting and paying the revenue due from it. This explains not only the 18th century definition of *ta'alluqdar* as small *zamindar*, but also a passage in the *Fathiya 'Ibriya*, where claimants to the throne of Arakan, who sided with the Mughals during Shā'ista Khān's Chatgaon expedition, are said to have hoped for something, at least: "If they could not become *rajas*, they might become *zamindars*; if not *zamindars*, then *ta'alluqdars*."[16] It should, however, be stressed that the *ta'alluqdar* was only a particular kind of *zamindar* and in many contexts it seems to have been a matter of indifference which of the two terms were used. Thus when two revenue documents from Awadh style the assessee *ta'alluqdar*, the word *zamindar* would have done equally well since he was in fact the *mālik* or *zamindar* of the assessed villages.[17] Similarly, in the provincial Diwan's *parwana* recognising the English Company's purchase of Dahi Kalkatta, &c., the sellers are designated "*zamindars*", while the English are called "permanent *ta'alluqdars*" of their acquisition.[18]

(*Akhbarat* A, 49). For an instance of its use for the area under a *zamindar*, see *Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, 15; Allahabad 1234. Finally, in the *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, p. 206, we read of the *ta'alluqa* or dominion of the "wretched" Sambhaji.

13. Add. 19,504, f. 100a.
14. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Khalisa Sharifa*, ff. 9b, 19a.
15. Add 6603, ff. 54b-55a. See also *Risala-i Zira'at*, f. 9a.
16. *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, ff. 155b-156a.
17. Allahabad 897 and 1206 (See note 4 in this Section): In 897 the assessee is actually termed '*mālik o ta'alluqdār*'.
18. Add. 24,039, f. 36a. Moreland, though he refers to the sale-deed on f. 39a of this collection, seems to have missed this *parwana* as well as the endorsements entered on the back of it. He believed that the term *ta'alluqdāri* for the Company's

Although we have just used the word 'assessee' for the *zamindar* (or for that matter, *ta'alluqdar*), when obliged to pay the revenue on the land of his *zamindari*, the official view seems to have been that he was always an intermediary, who merely rendered to the authorities the service of collecting the land-revenue from the peasants. Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas, making its sole reference to the *zamindars* (Art. XI), declares it one of the tasks of the auditors of village accounts to discover how much "the revenue-assessor and collector (*amīn o 'āmil*) and *zamindars*, etc.", took from the peasants. The bracketing of *zamindars* with the revenue officials is significant and suggests that the authorities claimed as much control over the *zamindars'* collection of revenue from the peasants as over those of their own officials. It was, therefore, natural that administrative documents should have laid down, in general terms, how the *zamindars* were to treat their peasants.[19] The *zamindar* thus appears primarily as an official or tax-gatherer, rather than a tax-payer. Two *farmans*, granting or confirming *zamindari*, accordingly speak of the right as a *khidmat*, a post of service.[20] This was not only a matter of terminology or paper injunctions. The *zamindars'* 'service' in collecting and

rights was used only in Farrukhsiyar's *farman* of 1717. From this he concluded erroneously that "at this time, then, Calcutta meant by zamindari what Delhi meant by taluqdari." (*Agrarian System*, 191-2). The use of the two terms in these documents would, however, conform to a definition in Add. 6603, f. 55a, of a subordinate sense for '*ta'alluqdar*': it could mean a *zamindar*, whose rights were not ancient nor derived from royal grant (*huzūri*), but obtained only by purchase. Thus the sellers of Kalkatta, &c., were *zamindars*, but the English could only be *ta'alluqdars*.

19. See the two *farmans* cited above. Also the Diwan's *parwana* concerning the English purchase of Kalkatta, &c., in Bengal, Add. 24,039, f. 36a, and revenue officials' *qaul-qarārs*, Allahabad 897, 1206, 1223. The shorter formula employed in these *qaul-qarars* consists of an injunction to the *zamindar* that he should pay the revenue assessed, followed by another to the effect that "he should keep the peasants contented by his good conduct and exert himself in furthering the cultivation and prosperity (or, increase in the numbers) of the peasants."

20. See Jahangir's *farman* issued in his 13th year and published in *IHRC*, XVIII, p. 188 (concerning the *zamindari* and *chaudhurai* of some *tappas* in *sarkar* Mungir, Bihar). The formula *khidmat-i zamindari* is also used (and, indeed, the word *khidmat* alone as substitute for *zamindari*) in a *farman* of Shah Alam II issued in his 15th year, confirming the descendants of Raja Sālibāhan in the *zamindari* of a *pargana* in *Sarkar* Kol, Agra province. A photograph of this *farman* is in the possession of the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari. It is certainly a late document but probably preserves the form used in such documents of the 17th century.

remitting the revenue was actually paid for, through an allow known as *nānkār*. This was either in the form of a deduction from revenue paid or in the form of land left to the *zamindar* revenue-fr The *nānkār*, according to what was apparently the standard rate, amo ed to ten per cent of the revenue demand,[22] although a later d ment, which also mentions this percentage, allows that it varied amounted to 5 per cent in some provinces.[23]

This conception of *zamindari* as a form of service rendered to authorities brought it very close, in essentials, to the office of the c *dhurī*. The *chaudhuri*, who was usually a *zamindar* himself, occu a crucial position in the machinery of revenue collection and rece for his services an allowance, which too was called *nankar*.[24] S *zamindari* was also treated as implying a duty to collect revenu is not surprising that *zamindari* and *chaudhurā'ī* are sometimes cou together in Mughal documents.[25]

The established principle, then, which emerges from our evide was that the land revenue was a direct imposition on the peasant that even when the *zamindar* might be the one who remitted i the imperial treasury, the peasant was the real assessee. This ma one reason why the standard revenue regulations of the time of Al as well as Aurangzeb ignore the *zamindars* altogether. The pitcl the revenue demand and the mode of assessment might well rer the same within a locality, irrespective of whether a particular vil was *zamindari* or *ra'iyati*. This was, indeed, implicit in the r of the authorities, acknowledged in the 18th century, to convert w ever they so chose, *zamindari* land into *sīr*, i.e., impose direct as ment and collection on the peasant, by-passing the *zamindar* altoget though allowing him his proprietary share or *mālikāna*.[26] Two spe

21. Add. 6603, ff. 65a, 79b, 82b.

22. In Bekas, f. 52b, a *zamindar*, addressing a revenue official, declares th the *jama'* (revenue) of the *ta'alluqa* was assessed according to the stateme the last ten years (*muwāzana-i dah-sāla*), with the deduction of one-tent *nānkār*," he was ready to render the official proper service.

23. Add. 19504, f. 100a.

24. The duties and significance of this official will be discussed in some in Chapter VII, Section 2.

25. Jahangir's *farman*, *IHRC*, XVIII, p. 188; Allahabad 1192 (of A.D. 166

26. Yāsin's Glossary, Add. 6603, ff. 61b. 66a-b. Yasin had experience of rev administration in both Dehli and Bengal. For *sīr*, see note 35 in Section 1 of Chapter.

instances where the revenue demand on *zamindari* land was at the same pitch and assessed by the same method as that on the *ra'iyati*, also come from the 17th century. In one manual of Shahjahan's reign a specimen account shows the *kankūt* method of assessment being applied, at the same time, to the *khud-kāshta* lands of the *zamindars* and the *ra'iyati* lands within the same village.[27] In a collection of official documents of Aurangzeb's reign we find an order to the effect that the revenue from a village of a *zamindar*, who had protested against heavy assessment, be realised through Crop-sharing, with the State's share amounting to half the produce, which was in fact the standard, if not the maximum rate authorised under Aurangzeb.[28] Two documents from Awadh, stating the revenue assessed on a *zamindar*, show that the revenue demand was revised every harvest and so suggest that there was a fresh assessment during each season, in the same way as was prescribed in the imperial regulations for ordinary land.[29]

There seem, nevertheless, to have been cases where the assessment once made was continued for some time. In two documents, again from nearly the same area of Awadh, the revenue is fixed *bi-l maqta'*—i.e., at the same figures permanently—upon the 'proprietors' (*māliks*) of a number of villages.[30] But this arrangement was sanctioned by the agents of the same *jagirdar* and might not have been accepted or continued by those of the next.

The system was different really in Bengal, where the *zamindar* seems to have paid his land revenue according to a figure fixed by the administration for long, though unspecified, periods. The evidence for this system goes back to the *Ain-i Akbari*, which declares that the *jama'* of Bengal was "wholly *naqdī*".[31] Now, since *naqd* means cash, the phrase standing by itself may be taken to mean simply that the

27. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, f. 183a.

28. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 126a-b; Bodl. f. 98a; Ed. 98. For half-share of the produce as the revenue-rate under Aurangzeb, see Ch. VI, Section I.

29. Allahabad 1206 and 897 (of A.D. 1677 and 1685). Under each harvest there is a figure under *asl*, the previous year's assessment for the corresponding harvest; followed by *izāfa* (increase) or *kamī* (reduction) as the case might be; and then the total now due.

30. Allahabad 1220 and 1223 (of 1687). The figures for the two successive years show no change in respect of any village. See also Chapter VI, Section 4, for *muqta'ī*.

31. *Ain*, I, p. 393.

land revenue in Bengal was collected in cash.[32] But this interpretation fails when we find the *jama'* of the *zabti parganas* in Bihar and Ilahabad being distinguished from that of *naqdi*.[33] The imposition of cash revenue rates was essential to the *zabt* system and if it could still be regarded as different from *naqdi*, the latter must mean something other than mere cash payment. Some indication of its sense may be obtained by turning to the other places in the *Ain's* statistics where the *jama'* figures are preceded by the word *naqdi* or *az-qarār-i naqdī* ('as settled in cash').[34] All the *mahals* against which these words are put uniformly lack measured area statistics.[35] Furthermore the *sarkar* of Sorath (Kathiawar) in Gujarat is declared to be *naqdi*[36] and we know from the *Ain* as well as the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* that this consisted entirely of the territories of tributary chiefs. At first sight, the fact that only a few *mahals* in the Ajmer province, the homeland of the Rajput chiefs, are specifically described as *naqdi* may appear to militate against any

32. Abu-l Fazl, in fact, uses the word *naqdī* to mean 'stated in cash,' when he puts it as heading over his column of *jama'* figures in the tables of statistics for the 'Twelve Provinces.'

33. *Ain*, I, pp. 417, 424. In respect of the *sarkar* of Ilahabas (Ilahabad), Blochmann's text is very misleading. Where the MSS. read: "Consisting of *Zabti*, 9 mahals: 2,08,38,384 *dams*; and *Naqdi*, 6 mahals: 19,93.615 *dams*," Blochmann has: "Consisting of 9 *mahals*: 2.08,33,374½ *dams* and *naqdi*."

34. A reader of Blochmann's text is, again, likely to be led astray here. Blochmann, dispensing with the columns, had no place where to put *naqdi* used as the heading for the *jama'* column. He put it here and there alongside the *jama'* figures of certain *sarkars* and *parganas*, which in the original appear without this distinction. So that unless one consults the MSS. one would have no means of knowing whether the term *naqdi* qualifying a *jama'* figure, at any place, has been the result of Blochmann's interpolation or intended to be there by Abul Fazl himself.

Dr. Saran, *Provincial Government, &c.*, p. 315, would like to make a distinction between *naqdī* and *az qarār-i naqdī*. But that this is unwarranted is shown by the fact that while the former is used for a part of the *jama'* of the province of Bihar, the latter is used for that of the *jama'* of the *sarkar* of Bihar, within that province. (*Ain*, I, 417-18).

35. The *mahals* are: Ajaigarh, *sarkar* Kalinjar (Ilahabad); Khandela, *sarkar* Narnaul (Agra); Udaipur, Islampur (Mohan), Sanwar Ghati, Saimbal 'with cultivated land,' Mandalgarh and Madaria in *sarkar* Chittor, and Amkhora and Dablana in *sarkar* Ranthambor (Ajmer); Seoni in *sarkar* Handiya and Aunarmal and Gagrun 'with the city' in *sarkar* Gagrun (Malawa); and Bandar Sola, *sarkar* Ahmadabad (Gujarat). Blochmann also puts *az qarar-i naqdi* against Singhana-Udaipur in *sarkar* Narnaul and Thamna in *sarkar* Ahmadabad, though this is not supported by either Add. 7652 or Add. 6552.

36. *Ain*, I, p. 493.

xion between *naqdi* and tribute. But actually the great Rajput did not pay any tribute: they became *jagirdars*, holding their ral domains as *watan* and keeping their revenues for themselves, *aqdi mahals* of the Ajmer province were probably the few areas chiefs had not joined imperial service as *jagirdars*, but were pay- ibute in cash. If then we apply the sense of *naqdi* we have so ed[37] to Bengal, we may suppose that the land revenue there was in fixed amounts of cash from the *zamindars*, as if it were tribute than a varying tax on land or its produce.

hat such was in fact the system in force in Bengal is borne out by ocuments of the reign of Aurangzeb. The first, a *hasbu-l hukm* that the *jama'* upon the co-sharers of a *zamindari* of two *parga-* as arbitrarily increased by Mir Jumla, not after an assessment of venue-paying capacity of the land, but as a punishment for some of the *zamindars*. The increased *jama'*, moreover, was not for any ular year, but obviously a permanent imposition.[38] The second Diwan's *parwana* of 1703 recognising the sale of Dahi Kalkatta vo other villages to the English Company: It gives a fixed amount *ia'* as the land revenue payable on these villages, and this, in the taking given by the Company's *vakil* (agent) and copied on the of the *parwana*, is broken into figures fixed for each of the villages.[39] ary to the specifications in similar revenue documents from Awadh, *ma'* is not laid down for any particular year; and one learns from nglish records that the same amount continued to be paid year year.[40] It is also interesting to note that in a *nishan* issued to the any, it is asked to pay the revenue (*hāṣil*) in accordance with the *i ṭūmār*.[41] This was the name given in Bengal to the *jama'* on isis of which *jagirs* were assigned,[42] and we must, therefore, sup-

A similar interpretation is suggested, but not fully developed, by Moreland isuf Ali in *JRAS*, 1918, p. 33.

Durr-al 'Ulum, ff. 47a-48a. To meet the *jama'*, they were required to pro- oats whose number was increased from 20 to 29.

Add. 24,039, f. 36a-b.

"The rent (of these villages)...according to the King's books amounts to 4 and something more which is yearly paid into the Treasury." (C. R. *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, II, ii, p. 60, cited in *Agrarian System*, *n.*) The same amount as mentioned here is stated to be the *jama'* in the *parwana* and the undertaking of the Company's *vakil*,

Add. 24,039, ff. 36b, 37a.

Add. 6586, f. 22b.

pose that there the same set of figures was in use to obtain revenue from the *zamindars* and assign *jagirs*.[43] Since this would mean that the *hasil*, i.e. the land revenue actually collected by the *jagirdars*, remained unvaried, it follows that there would not be the same tendency to change the *jama'dāmī* (on whose basis the *jagirs* were assigned) to accord with, or approximate to, the *hasil* as in other provinces. This was probably the main reason why the *jama'dami* figures of Bengal remained so constant during the 17th century.[44]

It is important to note that the general picture of the system in Bengal, which we have reconstructed exclusively from sources of the period before the death of Aurangzeb, is confirmed by the whole body of 18th century revenue literature.[45] This identity of evidence needs to

43. This is also suggested by the fact that while *ḥāṣil* (as distinct from *jama'*) statistics are available for all other provinces of the Mughal Empire, none have been provided for Bengal and Orissa. (See Appendix D).

44. See the figures tabulated in Appendix D. The total *jama'dami* of Bengal only rose from 42,77,26,681 in the *Ain* to 52,46,36,240 in the later years of Aurangzeb.

45. Two or three detailed references may serve to illustrate this. We are told in Add. 6586, f. 22b, that it was in accordance with the *jama'-i ṭūmārī* that "the *zamindars* obtain their *sanads* (deeds of recognition) till now and it was on the basis of it also that the *jagirdars* obtained their pay-assignments (*tankhwāh*)." It adds that since the *jama'-i tumari* was much less than what the land could afford, the country (so in our text: but we should, perhaps, say, the *zamindars*) became more prosperous. The *Risala-i Zira'at*, f. 12b, a work written c. 1750, says that the *jama'-i tumari* was instituted by Todar Mal in the time of Akbar, that it was never revised by actual assessment and that while 'men' (i.e., *zamindars*) paid the revenue to the authorities according to the *jama'-i tumari*, they realised the income from their estate (*jā'idād*) and collected the land revenue (*ḥāl-i ḥāṣil*) by actual assessment. The amount actually assessed on land was called *jama'-i tashkhīṣ*. Our work goes on to add that the *jama'-i tashkhīs* usually exceeded the *jama'-i ṭūmārī* many times over and there was scarcely a place in Bengal where it was less than the latter. A report on the revenue system of the pre-British régime, prepared by the Rāi Rāyān and the qanungos at the instance of the Governor-General and Council (January 25, 1775) also declares that the *zamindars* used to pay the revenue (*māl-guzārī*) according to Todar Mal's *jama'-i ṭūmārī* (Add. 6592, f. 77a; Add. 6586, f. 53a). See also Shore's famous minute of June 1789, especially paras 379 & 380.

Ghulām Husain says in his well-known history of Bengal, the *Riyāẓu-s Salāṭīn*, completed, 1787-8, that Murshid Qulī Khān, during his tenure of office as deputy-governor in the last years of Aurangzeb, tried to abolish, or at any rate, overhaul the old system. He brought under control the exactions of the *zamindars*, allowing them only *nankar*; he assessed the revenue and collected it directly from the peasants, employing measurement; and for this, he appointed his own revenue-collectors (*'āmils*) and under them *shiqqdārs* and *amins*. (Bib. Ind. ed., p. 252). It is obvious from our later evidence that Murshid Quli Khan's measures could

be the more stressed since doubts have been raised about the historical accuracy of the later literature, which grew up very largely for the benefit of the early English administrators.[46] The idea so firmly entertained by the English of a 'land-revenue settlement', whether permanent or for long periods, was thus at least partly derived from the conditions in Bengal and was not entirely exotic. What was novel was that it was taken by them to areas outside Bengal, where it was unknown previously. There it became the one great instrument that moulded free-booter and money-lender alike into that 'pukka loyalist' of British raj, the modern Indian landlord.

We have seen earlier that the *zamindari* right was regarded in our period as an article of private property. This appears clearly in the way the Mughal administration dealt with disputes among *zamindars*. Our documents show that the possession of a *zamindari*, when disputed, was established usually by judicial means, i.e., by, or in collaboration with, the *qāẓī*. When the right had been so established, or when it was not contested judicially by others, it was enforced by the *faujdār* or 'commandant' of the area.[47] Complaints about possession of *zamindari* could go right up to the Court, from which orders, known as *ḥasbu-l ḥukms*, were usually issued, directing local officials to take appropriate action.[48]

This was probably the normal way the *zamindari* right was treated: It had its sanctity as private property. But there were associated with it two important features which inspired in the administration a differ-

have had only limited success. The account is more significant for its revelation, by implication, of what was the system before Murshid Quli Khan.

46. Moreland suspected that the whole of this evidence had been cooked up to mislead the English (*JRAS*, 1926, pp. 51-52). And in his *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 325, he suggests that the *jama'* figures for Bengal in Mughal statistics were also falsified with the same intent. Truly, a case of Omichand out-deceiving Clive!

47. For a dispute, concerning a *zamindari*, taken directly before a *qazi*, see Allahabad 421; a dispute heard by the *faujdar* and *qazi* together, the judgment being given by the *qazi* alone, Allahabad 359; a complaint of usurpation of *zamindari*, contested on grounds of right, was referred by the *amin-o-faujdar* to the *qazi* and *mutawallī* (trustee of *madad-i ma'āsh* lands) for judgment (Allahabad 375). When the *faujdar* appears to be acting on his own in judging a dispute, it is found that in reality he had before him the judgments of some *qazis* given on it previously (Allahabad 370 and 1201). For official action restoring *zamindari* rights to the legitimate claimant see Allahabad 1202, 1203, 1225. Practically all the documents cited in this note belong to the reign of Aurangzeb.

48. Such a *hasb-ul hukm* has survived in the original in Allahabad 1214. See also *Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 43a-44a, 49a-b, 52b-53a, 56b-57a, 61b-62a.

ent view towards it. We have seen above that since the *zamindar* was usually expected to collect and remit land-revenue, his right came to be described, in the formal language of official documents, as a *khidmat* or service. If he did not perform the service well and did not pay the land-revenue, he had to be deposed and replaced by someone else. Secondly, the *zamindars* usually kept armed retainers: they were, therefore, a possible source of sedition as well as possible allies in suppressing sedition. A disloyal *zamindar* naturally lost all his claim to his right and the administration would attempt to install a loyal man in his stead.

Out of the necessity for such interference arose the doctrine that the imperial government could resume or confer any *zamindari* at its will. A saying went that "an official (*ḥākim*) of a day could in a moment remove a *zamindar* of five hundred years and put in his stead a man who had been without a place for a whole life-time."[49] A later work stated the same principle in less drastic terms: The Emperor could transfer the *zamindari* of any person, if a fault had been committed; the governor or any official (*ṣūba o ḥākim*) did not have the power to do this.[50] This is confirmed by our 17th century evidence, which shows that all changes in *zamindaris* were in fact made only on imperial orders, the powers of the local officials being limited to sending their recommendations (*tajwīz*) to the Court.[51]

The earliest extant order of conferment of *zamindari* comes from the reign of Jahangir.[52] But for the rest, our material comes almost exclusively from the reign of Aurangzeb, during which numerous transfers, depositions and appointments, of *zamindars* are recorded. Where the reasons for deposing the old *zamindars* are stated, these are usually non-payment of revenue and rebellious conduct, the two being normally combined.[53] If the *zamindars* paid their revenue, no case for their deposition existed.[54] Conversely, the persons appointed to *zamindaris* were given the responsibility of paying the revenue as well as sup-

49. Bekas, f. 51a.
50. Add. 6603, f. 65a.
51. See *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 396-8, *Akhbarat* 38/137, &c.; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 199a-b, Bodl., ff. 157b-158a, Ed. 152; *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, ff. 3b-4a, &c.
52. Jahangir's *farman*, *IHRC*, XVIII, 1942, pp. 188-9. It confers *zamindari* and *chaudhurai* of some *tappas* in a *pargana* of *sarkar* Mongir, Bihar.
53. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir* 365, 396-8; *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, ff. 7b-8a, &c.; Bekas, ff. 50a-53a.
54. *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. 20b.

pressing sedition. An administrative manual has set out the rules for newly appointed *zamindars*: a *manṣab* (or rank, including *sawār* rank, imposing military obligations) could be given against the income expected from the right conferred; and the *zamindar* had to undertake to control the seditious elements in his *zamindari*.[55] The "expulsion of evil-mannered sedition-mongers" takes pride of place among duties prescribed for the recipient of a *zamindari* granted near Mathura.[56] Similarly, other documents make possession of an *ulūs* (a body of armed followers) a prerequisite for receiving *zamindari*.[57] We should not be surprised, therefore, when we find the duties of *faujdārī* (military command) and *zamindari* of a *pargana* conferred together on the same person.[58] But money too had a role to play in the appointments: The aspirants usually had to promise a substantial cash offering or *peshkash* to the Court before they could obtain the *zamindaris* they sought.[59] Some of our records also suggest that the imperial grants were not always hereditary,[60] nor in some cases, at least, even for life, since they refer to the transfer (*taghaiyur*) of such *zamindaris* in the same terms as if they were *jagirs*.[61]

From our 17th century evidence just set out above, it is obvious that the person holding a *zamindari* grant was usually an instrument of imperial administration rather than as, possibly, in the next century, a man who had obtained power first and then got it recognised

55. Fraser 86, f. 62a-b. Cf. *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. 3b, where a candidate for a *zamindari* grant is put forward and the grant to him of a *mansab*, "conditional on *zamindari*," is recommended. Also *Akhbarat* 44/142.

56. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 199b, Bodl., f. 158a, Ed., 152.

57. *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, ff. 3b-4a; *Kalimat-i Taiyabat*, ff. 127b-128a.

58. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir* 218-19. The official, Mansingh, was deprived of "*faujdari* and *zamindari*" at the same time.

59. *Akhbarat* 38/137 (*zamindari* of *pargana* Baran, Dehli province); 44/142. (Jahangirabad, Awadh); *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. 8a.

60. As shown by the grant of the *zamindari* of Baran to another officer on the death of the former incumbent (*Akhbarat* 38/137). But see *Akhbarat* 48/148, where on the death of a *zamindar* in *sarkar* Sambhal, who held a *mansab*, the *zamindari* was conferred on his two sons and his *mansab*, held against the *zamindari*, was equally divided among them. In Jahangir's grant of *zamindari* and *chaudhurai*, the passing on of the grant to the sons of the grantee is specifically provided for by the phrase *'bā farzindān* ('with sons') in the text (*IHRC*, 1942, pp. 188-9). Possibly, if a *zamindari* grant was to be hereditary, this had to be explicitly laid down in the imperial order.

61. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir* 219; *Akhbarat* 38/283, 44/142, 48/106; *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, 514.

by the Court. The imperial power to expel and appoint *zamind* though not normally exercised, was an important weapon for kee the *zamindars* in order. It introduced here and there, among t ranks, elements loyal to the government simply because they w occupying, under its dispensation, land to which for a long time dispossessed would continue to lay claim. Sometimes, it seems, grantees were chosen so as to break the caste monopoly of the *zan daris* of certain areas. We find local Muslims being granted big *zan daris* in the midst of territories of the Bais Rajputs, in Baiswara.[62] we find a Rajput clan being brought in as *zamindars* with the exp purpose of dispossessing another, whose loyalty was suspected.[63] I possible that the *zamindari* grants of this period have been a fac by the side of others, in altering the boundaries of *zamindari* pos sions of the various castes since the time of the *Ain*. It is also poss that the changes made in Aurangzeb's reign were substantially favour of certain sections of Muslims: A large number of the *zaminc* appointed by the Court, whose names occur in our records, are tainly Muslims. This would have been in conformity with Aurangz general policy of religious discrimination, but the available evidence the point is not such as to allow us to make any unqualified assertio

4. Autonomous Chiefs

Hitherto in this Chapter, we have restricted our treatment *zamindars* within the territories under direct imperial administrat We have found that a person, not a peasant, was called *zamindar*, w he possessed a particular right to the land, known by various na locally, but formally designated 'proprietary' in our records. The r was not often, in fact, proprietary, but was distinguished by three ess tial features: It was superior to that of the peasant; it had origin independently of the existing imperial power; and it implied a cl to a share in the produce of the soil, which was completely dist from, though it might be laid side by side with, the land-reve demand of the State. In addition, the right was usually accompa by possession of armed force, the instrument for establishing enforcing the right. The *zamindar* in the imperial territories was enti subordinate to the administration, whose constant endeavour it wa convert him into a mere tax-gatherer. But there were features wh

62. *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, ff. 3b-4a, 8a.
63. *Waqa'i-i Ajmir*, 364-5.

he had in common with men of greater power, with chiefs and kinglets, the so-called *rājas, rānās, rāos, rāwats,* etc.[1] Like them he held some territory which he could call his own; like them he was no creature, normally, of the imperial government; and like them, he had warriors to defend his possessions. Sometimes the lines between the two could not be rigidly drawn. We may find a person calling himslf a *rāja* selling his right to a village like any other *zamindar.*[2] And in the Dakhin, a *deshmukh* (equivalent to the north Indian *chaudhuri*) could grow into a chief,[3] while the descendants of a powerful chief might shrink into *deshmukhs.*[4] For an imperial chancery, anxious to depress the status of all rulers in the Empire, the similarities were enough to suggest an identity; and a master of a large kingdom and a petty claimant to a share in the possession of a village were alike designated *zamindars* and *būmīs.*[5]

The use of the same term for chiefs and ordinary *zamindars* may cause confusion sometimes when the term is employed in a general sense. It has one important virtue, however, and this lies in its stress-

1. These traditional titles were generally confirmed by the Mughal emperors on the submission of a chief. But they also granted them to men who had no pretensions to being chiefs, e.g. Todar Mal and Birbal under Akbar.

2. Allahabad 1227 (dated Dec. 12, 1695). The seller styles himself "Rāja Barthūn Singh, son of Rāja Pratāp Narā'in, son of Rāja Murār Singh, *zamindar* of the village Nahaska." The village sold was a different one. Both lay in the *sarkar* of Bahraich, Awadh.

3. Chanānerī, *Deshmukh*, chief of Indur in Telingana, is mentioned in the *Ain*, I, p. 477, among the chiefs of Berar. The financial obligations of his descendants, all called Chanānerī *Deshmukhs*, form the subject of a letter from Aurangzeb, when Viceroy of the Dakhin (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 161b-162b).

4. This happened to the descendants of Ūdājī Rām, chief of Mahur (*Ma'asir-al Umara*, I, pp. 42-45).

5. For the use of the terms *zamindar* and *bumi* for autonomous chiefs see *Ain*, I, pp. 477-82, 486, 492; *Akbarnama*, III, p. 533; *'Alamgirnama*, p. 677, &c. The term *zamindar* was applied to the chiefs even in the period of the Dehli Saltanat. See Baranī, *Tārikh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, Bib. Ind. ed., pp. 326, 539 and Shams Sirāj 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz-Shāhī*, Bib. Ind., p. 170.

The Mughal chancery was always chary of giving a high, especially royal, designation to any ruler in India. Abu-l Fazl speaks of contemporary Indian rulers never as 'kings', but usually only as *marzbans*, 'chiefs over a territory'. The Mughals always insisted on calling 'Adil Shah "Adil Khan" and Qutb Shah "Qutbu-l Mulk"; and from Akbar's time onwards both of them were styled *'dunyā-dārs'* ('men of the world') a term at once analogous to *zamindar* (*zamīn* meaning earth) and suggesting that the men so styled were really not firm of faith, being worldly men.

ing the fact that from the view-point of the Mughal Government there was a chain of local despotisms, covering the whole Empire, here semi-independent, there fairly subdued, here represented by chiefs, there by ordinary *zamindars*. In various contexts the two categories could appear as forming a single class.

But the difference between the two should not be lost sight of. This difference did not lie simply in the superiority that the chiefs enjoyed over ordinary *zamindars* in military power and territory. A distinction was made between the two by custom also, which prescribed different principles of succession in respect of their possessions.[6] But the difference lay most clearly in the relationship with the imperial power which allowed autonomy to the chiefs, but made ordinary *zamindars* mere propertied subjects of the Emperor.

The relations between the chiefs and the Mughal government were not, by any means, of a single kind. Some, like the great Rajput chiefs, entered imperial service and obtained *mansabs* or ranks. Their ancestral domains were considered a special type of *jagir*, untransferable and hereditary, known in official terminology as *watan*. The practice was to summarily assess the total revenue of a territory at some figure and then assign to its ruler ranks the sanctioned pay for which would be equal to that figure.[7] From some of these and from almost all the other chiefs (outside the imperial service), it was usual to demand a fixed annual tribute, or *peshkash*, which was regarded as both the hall-

6. In the ordinary *zamindaris*, as we have seen, the patrimony was equally divided among the sons; but a chief was succeeded by only one of his sons. We are told that among the Rajputs generally, the practice of primogeniture was followed, but among the Rathors, the son born of the mother for whom the father had the greatest affection succeeded. (Lahori, II, p. 98).

7. This principle is cited in a representation made to Aurangzeb on behalf of Raja Indar Singh: "After the death of holders of *watan*, *mansabs* are given (to their heirs), according to the assessed revenue (*dām-hā*) of their *watan*." The *jama'* figure for his own *watan* showed an excess of Rs. 40 lakhs over his pay and he prayed that either his rank be increased to cover this excess, or the figure be reduced (so that no part of it might be assigned to anyone else in *jagir*). His *mansab* was increased (*Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, 121). The same practice is well illustrated, as pointed out by Moreland in *Agrarian System*, 267, by a passage in Lahori, II, pp. 360-61, relating to the submission and entry into imperial service of Partab, the *zamindar* of Palamau in Bihar. For examples of the use of the term *watan*, see *T.J.*, 192, 336; Lahori, I, p. 161, I, ii, p. 95; *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 65a. *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 167-8; *Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, 84, 121.

mark and substance of submission.[8] The territories of many chiefs were also assessed at different amounts of *jama'*, to be paid annually to whomsoever it was assigned in *jagir* (or, to the imperial treasury when assigned to the *Khāliṣa*).[9] It was, therefore, different from *peshkash,* which was paid into the imperial treasury alone and, so far as our knowledge goes, was never assigned in *jagir*. It was, indeed, possible to require a chief to pay both, an amount as *jama'* and an additional amount as *peshkash*.[10]

Once the imperial government had exacted military service or money from the chiefs, it left them free to manage their internal affairs as they wished. For example, no complaints made to the Imperial Court by the subjects of any chief are on record. They were free to levy cesses and duties on trade passing through their territories at rates fixed by themselves.[11] Their methods of revenue administration did not follow the regulations laid down by the imperial government. With the few exceptions noticed below, the *Ain.* does not set out any revenue rates or measured area statistics for the chiefs' territories. Two of our authorities, however, offer more positive evidence on this point when, speaking of a popular uprising in favour of the deposed ruler of Kuch Bihar, they declare that the *zamindars* as a rule prac-

8. See, for example, *Akbarnama*, III, p. 533 (Kumaun); Lahori, II, p. 360 (Palamau); *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 42a, *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgiri*, p. 109 (Deogarh); Ma'muri, f. 179a, Khafi Khan, II, p. 377; *Dilkusha*, f. 139b; *Mirat*, I, p. 25, &c.

9. See the detailed account of the *jama'* assessed upon Chananeri *Deshmukh,* the ruler of Indur, as paid in different years to the *jagirdars* and the *Khalisa.* (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 161b-162b). An interesting 19th century history of the *Rajas* of Azamgarh declares that Raja Harbans Singh obtained a *farman* from Akbar, whereby the *pargana* of Nizamabad and the *tappa* of Daulatabad were granted to him in *zamindari* at a fixed *jama'* of Rs. 60,000, which he first paid to the Khan-i Khanan (Abdu-r Rahim), who held them in *jagir;* later on he and his descendants kept on paying the amount to whomsoever the territory was assigned in *jagir*. (Edinburgh 238, folio numbers unmarked).

10. The terms arranged with the Raja of Nagarkot in the 18th year of Akbar's reign ran as follows: "... Second, that he should pay a suitable *peshkash;* ... Fourth, since this territory is conferred in *jagir* upon Raja Birbar, he should be answerable to him for a large amount ..." (*Akbarnama*, III, 36-37). When the *jama'* imposed upon him was raised substantially, Chananeri of Indur asked to be allowed to pay the increase separately as *peshkash* and not as part of the *jama'* (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, *op. cit.*).

11. See *Factories, 1624-29*, p. 176, for Baglana; Mundy 5, for Handiya (Malawa); *ibid*, 260, *Factories 1646-50*, p. 193, & Tavernier, p. 131, for Ajmer Province; and *Factories 1637-41*, p. 138, for Jaisalmer.

tised more flexible methods of revenue collection than the imperial government.[12]

Some of the Rajput states seem to have been influenced considerably by the general pattern of Mughal administration. In the kingdom of Jodhpur, for example, a kind of *jagirdari* system existed. The Raja held a few villages in each *pargana* for his own treasury, while he assigned the rest in *paṭṭas*, equivalent to *jagirs*, to his officers in lieu of their pay.[13] Tod's account suggests that a similar system was in force in Mewar.[14] It even appears from the *Ain* that in some Rajput states, especially Ambir and Jodhpur, an attempt was made to copy the *Zabt* method of revenue assessment established in the imperial territories.[15] But if these states copied the Mughal system, they did so of their own volition. Nor was the copying ever hundred per cent. Jodhpur, for example, did not have *qānūngos*, officials whose functions were vital for the working of the *jagirdari* system.[16] Nor did it enforce the *Zabt*, for though it had established cash revenue rates it did not apparently come round to measuring the land, and the *Ain* fails to provide area statistics for its territory.[17] Finally, these states were, after all, exceptions, and there is no reason to believe that the chiefs in general ever followed their example.

In its account of the different provinces the *Ain* often specifies the areas which were under the control of the great *zamindars* or *būmīs*. This can be supplemented with information derived from other sources, but it has been suggested[18] that the *Ain's* own statistics provide us with a tool for detecting the presence of such chiefs in the various *mahals*. Where the revenue is given in round figures, it suggests strongly that the *jama'* had been assessed not upon the peasants, but upon some

12. *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, ff, 47b-48a, Calcutta ed. A.H. 1265, p. 90; *'Alamgirnama*, pp. 781-2.

13. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, pp. 82, 114, where references are made to the assignments of *jagirs* or *pattas* by Raja Jaswant Singh. Cf. also *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, I, p. 325: In 1690-91, in a phase of Mughal occupation of Marwar, Shujā'at Khān found it politic to give "*paṭṭas* in lieu of *jagirs* to most Rajputs and *paṭṭāwats* in accordance with the ancient practice of their ancestors."

14. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, p. 133 & *n*.

15. The *Ain* sets out *dasturs*, or cash revenue rates under *Zabt*, for both Ambir and Jodhpur. But, while in its statistical tables, measured area statistics are given for Ambir, they are omitted under Jodhpur.

16. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 163, 171.

17. See note 15.

18. *Agrarian System*, 268-9.

intermediary.[19] Where in addition the measured area and *suyūrghāl* figures are omitted, it may be regarded as almost a certainty that the *mahal* concerned was part of the territory of a tributary chief.

It is not possible to give the results of our study on these lines in any detail, but the main conclusions may be stated. In the great belt of the *Zabti* provinces from Lahor to Bihar there is little sign of such chiefs except on the periphery. A series of petty kingdoms stretched in and along the Himalayas from Jammu to Kumaun[20] and then here and there in the Tarai further eastwards.[21] There were Baluch chiefs west of the Chenab in Multan province.[22] On the southern fringe of the plains, parts of Hariana lay under Rajput chiefs.[23] The southern parts of Agra, Ilahabad and Bihar provinces, where they approached the spurs of the Vindhyas, were similarly outside the sphere of imperial administration.[24] Speaking in general and allowing for exceptions,[25] we may, therefore, say with Pelsaert and Manuchy that

19. It may be noted that many *mahals* expressly stated to be under the rule of chiefs, do not carry round figures for their *jama'*. This might be the result of small adjustments of which we have no knowledge.

20. See *Akbarnama,* III, pp. 533, 588. The *sarkar* of Kumaun is included in the Dehli province in the *Ain*: only *jama'* figures are supplied for it, all in round numbers and all palpably nominal. Cf. also Manucci, II, p. 438.

21. The *sarkar* of Sambhal and the *mahals* of Kant and Gola were specially notorious for their powerful and refractory *zamindars* ('Abbas Khan, ff. 107b-108a; Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 183b, Or. 1671, f. 90a). But in the *Ain* all the statistics are fully provided for this region and it is possible that the local *zamindars* were not recognised as vassal chiefs by the Mughal authorities. A few *mahals* in the *sarkar* of Gorakhpur appear to belong to tributary chieftains.

22. Sujan Rai, 63; Manucci, II, p. 426.

23. Some *mahals* in the Hisar *sarkar* seem, from their statistical peculiarities, to fall under this category.

24. The *Ain* ignores the Bundel Kingdom of Orchha. The *sarkar* of Bath Ghora was really a kingdom in its own right. (Cf. Saran, *Provincial Government &c.,* pp. 123-4). The entries for a number of *mahals* in the *sarkars* of Rohtas and Bihar show that the whole country south of the plains was ruled by chiefs (cf. Beames in *JASB,* LIV (1885), pp. 168, 181). For Rohtas itself see Mundy 167, and for Palamau, Lahori, II, 360-61. The *sarkar* of Mongir which covered the narrow gateway into Bengal, stretching from the Rajmahal Hills to the foot of the Himalayas, had a very high proportion of summarily assessed *mahals.*

25. It is possible that a *mahal* might show both area and *suyurghal* figures and yet a part of it be ruled by a petty *raja* paying a fixed tribute. By a tradition already referred to, which there is no reason to doubt, *Raja* Harbans Singh is said to have been granted the *pargana* of Nizamabad and the *tappa* of Daulatabad (in the *sarkar* of Jaunpur) at the *jama'* of Rs. 60,000 (Edinburgh 238). He was a Gautami Rajput and the Gautamis are entered in the *zamindari*

in Hindustan proper, the tracts ruled by the *rajas* and princely *zamindars* were usually to be found only behind mountains and forests.[26]

The statistics for Bengal in the *Ain* are not given in such a form as to allow a distinction to be made between the *mahals* under ordinary *zamindars* and those under real princes or kinglets. But we know that large portions of the province must have been covered by petty kingdoms.[27] To the north was Kuch Bihar,[28] to the east Kamrup and Assam;[29] the Delta contained two petty kingdoms[30] and beyond, to the south-east, lay the pirate-infested kingdom of Arakan.[31] It is also clear from the *mahal*-lists of the *Ain* that the imperial territory extended in Orissa only to a narrow belt along the coast and a part of the Mahanadi delta.[32]

A number of *mahals* in the Ajmer province were under imperial administration, but the bulk of it was covered by the dominions of the great Rajput princes.[33] Tributary states also covered the entire *sarkars* of Mandsur in Malawa and Sorath (Kathiawar) in Gujarat. The imperial territories in the latter province were ringed by a belt of states which ended in the south with the kingdom of Baglana.[34]

column against Nizamabad in the *Ain*. But Brahmans and 'Raḥmatullāhs' are also entered as *zamindars* and (converting *dams* into rupees) the *jama'* of the *mahal* is put at no less than Rs. 1,50,515. Harbans, therefore, could only have ruled over a small portion of the *mahal*.

26. Pelsaert, 58-59; Manucci II, p. 444.
27. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir*, pp. 17-24.
28. *Ain*, I, p. 387. It was annexed to the Empire in 1661.
29. *Ibid*. Kamrup was also annexed as a result of Mir Jumla's campaign.
30. *Ibid*; Fitch: Ryley 118, *Early Travels*, 27-28.
31. *Ain*, I, p. 388. The name given to Arakan in the Persian authorities is Rakhang. Chātgāon (Chittagong) was its principal port. The *sarkar* of Chatgaon appears in the statistical tables of the *Ain* as if it were under regular imperial administration. This is, however, explained by a passage in the *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 164a. The Sultans of Bengal, it says, had once subjugated this tract and from then on its revenue figures continued to be shown on the *qānūngo'ī* lists. Its *mahals* were technically known as *pā'ibāqī-i ghair 'amalī*, i.e. 'non-revenue-paying territory not held in *jagir*'. Chatgaon was finally conquered by Shaista Khan in 1666.
32. The *Ain* does not give *mahal*-wise statistics under the *sarkars* of Kaling Dandpat and Rajmahindra, and these were probably claimed for the Empire on paper only. Most of the other three *sarkars*, Jalesar, Bhadrak and Katak, carry round figures for their *jama'* and there are constant references to forts. Cf. Manucci, II, p. 427. See also Saran, *Provincial Government &c.*, pp. 152-3.
33. Cf. Saran, *op.cit.*, pp. 126-147.
34. *Ain*, I, 486-93; *Mirat*, Supp., pp. 188 ff, especially pp. 211-221 and 224-236. Kachh was also a separate kingdom. Baglana was annexed in 1638.

There was, finally, a large block of states in Central India, extending from Garh with its centre near Jabalpur down to Indur in Telingana.[35] But so far as we can judge from the available records of Shahjahan's reign,[36] western Berar and the Khandesh and Aurangabad provinces did not contain any large or important tributary states.

It would appear from this outline that while the richest and most populous lands lay generally under imperial administration, the extent of the territory ruled by chiefs and princelings was not by any means negligible. Geographical barriers such as hills, forests, rivers and deserts helped to maintain whole regions under their rule. The existence of these 'states' meant that despite the great strength and centralised administration of the Mughal Empire, there still existed two ruling classes within its limits; and the numerous *zamindars*, whom the imperial government had reduced to the status of its servants, could, by casting a glance at these states, still recall their own past and nurse their political ambitions for the future.

35. *Ain*, I, pp. 477-82.

36. The authorities I have specially in mind here are the *Adab-i 'Alamgiri* and the *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, besides the chronicles.

CHAPTER VI

THE LAND REVENUE

1. MAGNITUDE OF THE LAND-REVENUE DEMAND

In an earlier Chapter we have dwelt on the fact that the conditions of life of the peasant generally approximated to the lowest possible levels of subsistence. The central feature of the agrarian system of Mughal India was that the alienation from the peasant of his surplus produce (i.e. produce above that required for his subsistence) took largely the form of land-revenue (*māl*) exacted on behalf of the State.[1] It is, says Geleynssen, owing to the high pitch of the revenue demand that "the peasants cannot earn more than their subsistence." They are left so little, he adds, that "their share is usually consumed before it is gathered."[2] Pelsaert, while speaking of the land-revenue assignments, declares that "so much is wrung from the peasants that even dry bread is scarcely left to fill their stomachs."[3] The equation of land revenue with the surplus produce, it is true, is no part of the official doctrine as expressed in the administrative documents. But Abu-l Fazl, who may well be regarded as the most authoritative exponent of imperial outlook on such matters, says frankly that no moral limits could be set to the fiscal obligation owed by the subject to the ruler: the subject ought to be thankful even if he were made to part with all his possessions by the protector of his life and honour.[4] If, then, the revenue imposed did not usually exceed the surplus produce, this was only because such a course, leading to a wholesale extermination of the revenue-payers, would have reduced, not increased, the total revenues and thus defeated its own purpose.[5]

1. *Ain*, I, p. 294
2. Geleynssen, tr. Moreland, *JIH*, IV, pp. 78-9. The statement refers particularly to Gujarat.
3. Pelsaert 54.
4. *Ain*, I, p. 291. He adds, though, that "just sovereigns" do not exact more than what is required for their purposes, which, of course, they would themselves determine.
5. But the heavy toll of lives during famines (see Chapter III, Section 2) suggests that the contemporary idea of the part of the produce necessary for the peasant's subsistence only took into account normal times and did not ;[illegible] for

We have no means of knowing what the average rate of surplus produce (in terms of the total produce) was in Mughal India. Owing to the differences in the productivity of the soil and also in climatic and social conditions that determined the minimum levels of subsistence, it must have varied from tract to tract.[6] The share that could be taken out of the peasant's produce without destroying his chances of survival was probably a matter of common knowledge in each locality. If we are right in assuming that the land-revenue did not normally exceed the surplus produce, its rates should have been so formulated as either to approximate to these established local rates or to remain below them. Numerous statements are found in our sources which define the land-revenue as amounting to a particular portion of the total produce. These statements are of the greatest value since they enable us to judge what part of his produce was alienated by the peasant without receiving anything in return. Not everything, however, is straightforward in this evidence, especially when it relates to cases where, as in the *Ẕabṯ* system, there was no direct relationship between the magnitude of the land-revenue demand and the actual harvest. On such points as this the findings set out in the next two Sections have been freely anticipated in the following paragraphs so as to avoid any lengthy digressions on problems connected with the various systems of revenue assessment and collection.

Abu-l Fazl tells us that Sher Shah framed three crop rates and the principle adopted was to fix the demand at one-third of the average of these rates for each crop.[7] This process was a part of the *Zabt*

savings (in the form of reserve stocks of foodgrains held by the provide sustenance to him and his family in times of famine.

6. It is interesting to recall here Bhimsen's remarks about subsistence in Karnatik in contrast to the extreme fertility of affairs that made it possible for the *rajas* to accumulate enou the magnificent temples he found there (*Dilkusha*, ff. 112b

7. *Ain*, I, pp. 297-300. As Moreland has shown in ... on of the subject, there is the strongest presumption that ... third for the revenue demand was inherited by Akbar fr ... tration (*JRAS*, 1926, pp. 452-4). But the temptation to ru ... perhaps too great for some, and Dr. I. H. Qureshi ha ... that Akbar raised the revenue demand from one-fourth to ... (*Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, 2nd ed., ... o. 1: "Akbar's ancestor Timur realised a third of the ... ne only!) of his dominions". A hereditary trait, in fact. ... emanded a hundred and thirty instead of a hundred (of wh ... nough, for the arithmetic is not clear, "this would raise ... to a fourth". But the

system of assessment and accordingly could have been applied only in the provinces of 'Hindustan', i.e., the territory from Lahor to Ilahabad. The crop rates themselves seem, in the beginning, to have been fixed arbitrarily, although they became more realistic subsequently, varying with localities, and ultimately came to be framed on the basis of the average yield, worked out separately for each locality.[8] But the revenue was fixed in cash, not kind. It is very unlikely that the prices, or the quotations of prices, which formed the basis for commuting the demand into cash, were identical with those at which the peasant parted with his crop at the time of the harvest, when there was a glut in the market. If so, the actual imposition even on an average must have considerably exceeded one-third of the produce.[9] It must also be noted that since the demand under *Zabt* was based, first, on one unvaried crop rate and then, finally, on unvaried cash rates, the peasant was left to bear practically all the risks from the inconstancy of the harvests. Manifestly, then, the proportion under *Zabt* could not have been set as high as under, say, Crop-sharing, where the risks were evenly shared between the peasant and the State. There is nothing to show in Abu-l Fazl's statements that the proportion of one-third also obtained under Crop-sharing and *Kankūt*, whenever these methods were applied within the *Zabti* provinces.

Outside these provinces, in Kashmir Akbar's administration found the demand to be set in theory at one-third of the produce, but amounting in reality to two-thirds: Akbar ordered that one-half should be

[illegible] was really nothing to do with either land-revenue or produce: In 1529 [illegible] had exhausted the treasury of the Lodis, he was compelled to recover [illegible] of the amounts sanctioned in allowances to the stipendiaries [illegible] order to meet the expenses of his army (*Baburnama*, tr. Beve- [illegible] Hyderabad Codex, f. 345a). Finally Proof No. 3: "Abūl Fazl [illegible] justify this measure by saying that Akbar abolished various [illegible]h...." So there was really no large-heartedness involved in [illegible] but since Abu-l Fazl never refers to "this measure" (i.e. increas[illegible] a third of the produce), how can he advance any justifica[illegible] to say, there is nothing like it in his text.

8. As [illegible] next Section the revenue rates on the cash crops were determ[illegible]d [illegible] much more arbitrary fashion.

9. Khafi [illegible]s that Todar Mal set the demand at half the produce in the [illegible]nt upon rainfall, while from fields irrigated by artificial means [illegible] sown with foodgrains, and lesser proportions, if sown with cash c[illegible] explains this is apparently a late legend based upon Murshid [illegible] the Dakhin (*Agrarian System*, 255-8).

demanded.[10] In the province of Thatta a third was realised through Crop-sharing.[11] But according to the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*, a memoir on the administration of Sind written in 1634, the Tarkhāns, who held Thatta in *jagir* when the *Ain* was written, "did not take more than half of the yield of the harvest from the peasantry and also took in some places a third or a fourth part," so that half the produce would really seem to have been the standard.[11a] In the Ajmer province, presumably in the desert regions only,[12] the proportion taken amounted to just one-seventh or one-eighth of the crop.[13]

For the next century, we have first the evidence of an accountancy manual written probably in the Dehli province in the later years of Shahjahan's reign. In the specimen assessment accounts that it contains, the rate of one-half of the produce is adopted, under *Kankut*, for all crops of the *rabi'* harvest (e.g., cotton, barely, gram, mustard seed), but excepting wheat, the rate for which is put at one-third. Under Crop-sharing, applied to *kharif* crops (rice, pulses, rape seed, *moth*), the rate is uniformly a third of the produce.[14] Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas, which presumably has relevance to conditions in the central regions of the Empire, recites in its preamble that when the authorities had recourse to Crop-sharing, usually in the case of distressed and indigent peasantry, the proportions levied were "a half or a third or two-fifths or more or less". Towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign a manual reproducing the assessment accounts from the records of a *pargana* near Lahor, shows that the proportion of one-half was there applied to wheat and barley under both *Kankut* and Crop-sharing. This work also gives the cash *dastūrs* (revenue-rates) for these two crops as well

10. *Ain*, I, p. 570. Cf. also *T.J.* 315.

11. *Ain*, I, p. 556.

11a. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, pp. 51-2. In Sehwan *sarkar*, Bakhtyār Beg who held it in *jagir* under Akbar (1593-99) is said to have "exacted one-half of the harvest and in some parts also one-third and one-fourth and two-fifths only". (*Ibid*, 101; see also p. 121 for similar arrangements by another *jāgirdār*, the author's own father).

12. Most of the fertile portions of this province lay under *Zabt:* the *dasturs*, or revenue-rates, given for them in the *Ain* are generally as high as those elsewhere.

13. *Ain*, I, p. 505.

14. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, ff. 183b-185a.

as gram.[15] These may be compared with the *dastūrs* given in the *Ain* for the same circle, and the result is that, allowing for the different size of the local *bigha*,[16] the rates now were for the respective crops 2·6, 3·2 and 1·9 times higher than in the *Ain*. But since there was a general rise in agricultural prices in the interval, amounting, as indicated by another document in the same manual, to about 2·9 times in respect of wheat at Lahor,[17] no real change in the pitch of the demand would seem to have taken place.

The author of the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* says that in his time (1634) the country of Thatta could be populous if, under Crop-sharing, "the *jagirdars* did not take more than half."[17a] For parts of the *sarkar* of Sehwan he recommended still lower rates, but allowed half where the peasants were submissive and not exposed to raids from the hills.[17b]

The only other regions for which we have similar information are Gujarat and the Dakhin. Writing in 1629 Geleynssen says that the peasant in Gujarat was made to part with three-fourths of his crops.[18] Two authorities following him in the next decade modify his statement a little,[19] but in the eighth regnal year of Aurangzeb an imperial order describes the *jagirdars* as demanding in theory only half, and in practice actually more than the total yield.[20] And a little later Fryer found the peasants near Surat able to keep only a fourth of the produce for themselves.[21]

15. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 75a-76b, Or. 2026, ff. 24b-28a. The cash *dasturs* in this manual are particularly deserving of confidence because they are definitely dated (*Rabi'* harvest, the 41st regnal year of Aurangzeb), and the village and *pargana* to which they relate are named. This cannot be said of the *dasturs* given in the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, where the model assessment papers are purely hypothetical and bear neither a date nor an indication of their locality: The rates given are for sugar-cane, tobacco and brinjal and are patently nominal.

16. The *bigha* used in the *Khulasatus Siyaq* is neither the *bigha-i Ilahi* nor the *bigha-i Daftari*, but one based on a *dir'a* of 48 digits (f. 75a; Or. 2026, f. 24b). It should therefore have been larger than the *bigha-i Ilahi* by 37 per cent. (See Appendix A).

17. See Chapter II, Section 3.

17a. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, p. 51.

17b. *Ibid*, pp. 204, 207, 214-16, 219, 225, 229, 230, for lower rates and pp. 209-10, 220, 223, 227, 229, for one-half of the harvest.

18. *JIH*, IV, pp. 78-9.

19. "Nearly three-quarters" (De Laet); "one-half or sometimes three quarters" (van Twist). Cf. Moreland in *JIH*, XIV, p. 64.

20. *Mirat*, I, p. 263.

21. Fryer, I, pp. 300-301.

In the Dakhin, when Murshid Quli Khan established the system of Crop-sharing in the closing years of Shahjahan's reign, he took half the produce from ordinary lands, but one-third from those irrigated by wells and still lower proportions (down to one-fourth) from high-grade crops.[22]

It is in the light of these specific instances from actual practice that we should view the dictum which becomes all-pervading in the revenue literature of Aurangzeb's reign, in general instructions as well as orders passed on particular cases—namely, that the land revenue should everywhere amount to half the produce. This is some times stated to be the maximum permissible, but most often as representing the exact amount, neither more nor less, of what was to be exacted.[23] It is probable that this repeated emphasis on the proportion of one-half was inspired—as is, indeed, explicitly made clear in some of the documents themselves[24]—by a formal regard for the *Shari'at* (Muslim law), which prescribes this as the maximum for *kharāj* (land tax).

It is difficult to say how far this meant a change from previous conditions. We know that in parts of Gujarat where the land was exceptionally fertile, the revenue continued to exceed the newly fixed maximum despite imperial strictures. In Kashmir, Sind and the Dakhin, ordinary lands were paying half the produce in revenue before Aurangzeb's accession, so that there the new rate simply recognised the existing practice. The real question is whether in the central provinces it implied any increase in the revenue demand. Moreland was firmly of the opinion that such an increase did occur, taking the

22. See Section 3 of this Chapter.

23. *Mirat*, I, p. 263; *Farman* to Muhammad Hashim, Arts. 4, 6, 9 and 16; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 77b-78a, 102b, 119a, 126a-b, 127b-128a, 188b, Bodl., ff. 56b, 78a, 92a, 98a-b, 150a, Ed., 80, 92, 98, 144-5; *Durr-al 'Ulūm*, ff. 42b-43a, 51a, 55a; *Khulāṣatu-l Inshā*, Or. 1750, f. 111a-b; *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Āgahī*, f. 28a; *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 244a-b; *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 73b, Or. 2026, f. 21b. See also Ovington, p. 120, speaking generally of "*Indostan*".

24. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 102b, Bodl., f. 78a, and *Khulasatu-l Insha*, *op. cit.* The *farman* to Muhammad Hashim (see especially its preamble) shows that Aurangzeb was trying to reconcile formally the realities of his revenue administration with the laws of the Shari'at. Abu-l Fazl also might have this particular injunction of the Muslim Law in mind, when, speaking of "Iran and Turan", he says that "from ancient times they used to take one-tenth (of the produce), but often it happens that it exceeds one-half and out of cruel-mindedness this does not appear bad to them". (*Aīn*, I, p. 293).

revenue from one-third of the produce to half.[25] But he assumed that the demand under *Zabt* during Akbar's reign did not exceed one-third of the actual produce. We have seen above that this was really not the case in practice and the real rate came probably to much above one-third. On the other hand, there is no proof that Aurangzeb set about reformulating the *Zabt* revenue rates on the basis of half of the crop rate. The *Shari'at* was concerned with the actual produce and not the average, or arbitrarily fixed, yield on paper. Moreover, when in one instance we are able to compare cash rates from the later years of Aurangzeb with the corresponding rates in the *Ain* for the same locality (Lahor), no real increase can be shown, once allowance has been made for the rise in prices during the intervening period. The proportions fixed for *Kankut* and Crop-sharing under Akbar are not known, but a manual of Shahjahan's reign adopts the ratio of 1 : 2 for all crops, except wheat, when assessed by *Kankut*. Under Crop-sharing, it shows a third as the State's share, but this proportion is also allowed, for Crop-sharing, by Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas. In other words, the increase postulated by Moreland is more apparent than real. It seems that from the beginning, the demand was set so high that it could hardly have been increased any further. If we also take into account the other taxes imposed on the peasants and the regular and irregular exactions of officials and others, we can visualise what a heavy burden was borne by the peasantry. If the authorities were to simply insist on all their rights, to collect the full authorised demand and arrears and to refuse to offer relief at proper times, the amount realised by them could even cross the danger mark and encroach upon what was essential for the peasant's subsistence. But with this we are not immediately concerned and the question whether there was an increase in oppression of this kind may be deferred to the last Chapter.

2. Methods of Land-Revenue Assessment

Like any organised system of taxation, the land-revenue arrangements of the Mughal administration consisted mainly of two stages: first, assessment (*tashkhīṣ*) and, second, the actual collection (*taḥṣīl*). The term *jama'* signified the amount assessed as opposed to *ḥāṣil*, the

25. *Agrarian System*, 135. He suggests elsewhere (*Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 260-61) that the revenue burden might have also increased if the demand continued to be made in *dams* which greatly appreciated in value in relation to silver in the 17th century. This point is discussed in Section 5 of this Chapter.

amount collected.[1] In accordance with the great seasonal division of the agricultural year in India, the assessment was separately made for the *kharīf* (autumn) and *rabī‘* (spring) harvests. When the revenue had been assessed, the authorities issued a written document called *paṭṭa, qaul* or *qaul-qarār*, setting out the amount or rate of the revenue demand. At the same time, the assessee gave, in acknowledgment, his *qabūliyat*, or 'acceptance' of the obligation imposed upon him, stating when and how he would make the payments.[2]

The assessment was made under various methods, which deserve the most careful study. This Section will be devoted merely to defining and describing the main features of these methods separately, leaving to the next a survey of their application in the different territories of the Empire.

To begin rather negatively, the first practice we are to consider is not really a method of assessment, but of collection in such a manner as to dispense with assessment. This is Crop-sharing, known in Persian as *Ghalla-bakhshī*, and in Hindi and allied languages as *Baṭāī* and *Bhāoli*. The *Ain* distinguishes three types of Sharing. The first consisted of the division of the crop at the threshing floor "in the presence of both the parties, in accordance with the agreement (*qarār-dād*)". This seems to have been regarded as the proper form of *Baṭai*. The second was *khet baṭāī*, the division of the field or the standing crops; and the third, *lāng baṭāī*, where the crop after being cut was stacked in heaps, which were then divided.[3] Crop-sharing is

1. In accountancy *jama‘* is also used for 'receipts' and thus stands opposite to *kharj*, expenditure. Cf. Moreland, *Agrarian System*, 212-15.

2. *Farhang-i Kardani*, ff. 34a-35a; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 62a; *Siyaqnama* 29-30; *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 73b-75a, Or. 2026, ff. 22b-24b. The *Farhang-i Kardani*, *Siyaqnama* and *Khulasatus Siyaq* also reproduce specimens of these documents. Allahabad 177, 897, 1206 and 1223 are *pattas* or *qual-qarars* and are so described in their headings. Allahabad 1220 has no heading but is a *qabuliyat*. All of these belong to the reign of Aurangzeb.

The *Ain*, I, p. 286, refers to the *'amalguzar* (revenue official) exchanging papers with the peasants on making his assessment, but does not enter into any particulars.

3. *Ain*, I, p. 286. What is meant by the last method is probably that the crop was stacked by the peasants in equal heaps, and the revenue collector chose a number of these, proportionate to the State's share.

The *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 33a, (Edinburgh 83, f. 55a) distinguishes from *ghalla-bakhshi* a practice which it calls *pola-bandī*. But it seems to have been only a particular form of Crop-sharing in which the authorities arranged for the reaping and threshing of the harvest and took the State's share out of the threshed grain.

described in an official document as the "best method of revenue collection."[4] It was, perhaps, generally preferred by the peasants because they were enabled to share the risks of the seasons with the authorities. It was regarded as best suited to such villages or peasants as were suffering from exceptional distress.[5] For the administration it was also a good method of checking the productive capacity of a village where the standing assessment gave cause for doubt.[6] It was also profitable for the authorities when grain was fetching high prices in the market.[7] The main objection from the official point of view, as stated by Abu-l Fazl, was that "this requires a large number of alert watchmen, otherwise the ill-starred ones soil their dishonest hands with misappropriation".[8] It was, therefore, an expensive method and Aurangzeb declared that when it was introduced in the Dakhin the costs of revenue collection doubled simply from the necessity of organising a watch on the crops.[9]

Among the methods of assessment, the most summary one was that known as *Ḥast-o-būd*: The assessor inspected the village and viewing good and bad lands together made an estimate of the total produce, on the basis of which he fixed the revenue.[10] Another method quite as summary was to simply count the ploughs and assess the revenue by applying to them rates fixed according to localities.[11]

The defects in these two practices are obvious. In the first, all would depend on the personal capacity and integrity of the assessor and the second would have resulted in an extremely uneven distribution of the revenue demand. To some extent these defects were

4. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 97b-98a, Bodl. f. 73b, Ed. 76.
5. *Farman* to Rasikdas, Preamble.
6. Both when it was too heavy (*Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 126a-b, Bodl., f. 98a, Ed. 98) or too light (*Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 244a-b).
7. *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 32b, Edinburgh 83, f. 35a.
8. *Ain*, I, p. 286. Cf. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 97b-98a, 126a-b, Bodl. ff. 73b, 98a, Ed. 76, 98; *Farhang-i Kardani*, *op.cit.* Bekas, f. 71b, quotes a Hindi proverb, "*Baṭāi* is *luṭāi*", i.e. Crop-sharing invited looting.
9. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 118a.
10. *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 32b, Edinburgh 83, f. 35a. Add. 6603, f. 84a, defines *hast-o-bud* as "what is being currently cultivated and grown. When the *ḥākim* (claimant to revenue) is capable, the *zamindar* says: 'Assess my place according to *hast-o-bud*'."
11. This prevailed in the Dakhin and has been described by Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 185a-b, Or. 1671, f. 90b; Khafi Khan, I, p. 732n.

mitigated in a more developed system known as *Kankūt* or *Dāna-bandī*.[12] It is very clearly described in the *Ain* and other authorities and seems to have consisted of two stages. In the first, the land was measured either by means of a rope (*jarīb*) or by pacing.[13] After this the yield of each crop per unit of area, i.e. the crop rate, was estimated and applied to the whole area under the crop. If the assessor found it difficult to fix the crop rate on the basis of observation only, he was to make three sample cuttings, from good, middling and bad lands, and on the basis of these make his estimate.[14] As Abu-l Fazl tells us, an important feature of *Kankut* was that the demand was primarily assessed not in cash, but in kind.[15] Thus in the specimen *Kankut* papers we find, first, the assessment of the full crop (on the

12. As Abu-l Fazl explains, *kan* means grain and *kūṭ*, appraisal or estimate (*Ain*, I, p. 285). That is, a system where the grain-yield (or more properly, the crop rate) was estimated. *Dāna* means grain and *bandī*, when forming part of compounds, is used in revenue literature in the general sense of fixing or determining anything. Thus *jama'-bandi*, &c.

13. *Ain*, I, p. 285; *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 76a, Or. 2026, f. 27a; Bekas, f. 70a-b. Cf. Add. 6603, f. 71b. The fact that measurement of the area was an essential part of this system appears also from the specimen assessment tables in *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, ff. 182a-185a, and *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 75a-76b, Or. 2026, ff. 24b-28a. In the former the area is given in terms of *bighas*; the *Khulasatus Siyaq* prescribes *kanāls*, units of "the Indian scale of measures" (*ẓabṭ-i Hindī*), but these were used only in the Panjab.

14. *Ain*, I, pp. 285-6. It says that with practised eyes the estimate on sight used to be quite accurate. Cf. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 76a, Or. 2026, f. 27a. Bekas, ff. 70b-71a, prescribes two methods for estimating the crop-rate: one consisting of having sample cuttings in two plots chosen respectively by the assessor and the peasants; and the other, of weighing the grain in one corn heap (and setting it against the area of the field from which it had been cut?).

How the crop rates were applied to the area under each crop is illustrated by the *Kankūṭ* tables in the two manuals cited in the preceding note. No crop is listed twice in the table in the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, but in the *Khulasatus Siyaq* table we have two wheat fields assessed according to different crop rates, 4 & 4·3 *mans* per *kanal*. The implication obviously is that it was not necessary to fix a single crop rate for the whole of a village if the land of some fields happened to be more fertile or better irrigated than that of others.

Another interesting point about these *Kankut* tables is that they do not carry a column for *nābūd*, the deduction from the total measured area on account of crop-failure, which is found in all *Zabt* tables. This is probably because the crop rates under *Kankut* were fixed at the time of the harvest for each village (or even field) and it was expected that an allowance for crop-failure would have been made in the crop rates themselves.

15. *Ain*, I, pp. 285-6: The *'amalguzār* "should not make it a habit to take cash only and should collect grain also. And that consists of various methods (*bar chand gūna buwad*): *Kankut*....*Batai*...." &c.

basis of the crop rates); then from this the 'share of the peasan deducted. Finally, the remaining portion, representing the re is commuted into cash by applying a schedule of prices for the v crops.[16]

It will be seen that the *Kankut* system resembled Crop-shari being based upon the actual yield of the harvest, but was fa expensive since it required no watch on the reaping and threshi the crop. It was also obviously far more efficient and accurate either of the two methods of assessment we noticed before it. Nev less in requiring the assessor himself to determine the crop ra allowed him a very great latitude. It was perhaps a wish to : him of this power that induced the governor of Bhakkar in 157 fix "the revenue, under the system of *Kankut*, uniformly at five per *bigha*".[17] Here the element of appraisement altogether disap and we are on the borderline of, if not already within, the sphe *Zabt*.

The word '*zabt*' is assigned a technical meaning in Indian re literature which is not to be found in the dictionaries.[18] It is to be synonymous with '*jarib*' or ' '*amal-i jarib* ' and used to s measurement as well as the assessment based upon it.[19] We thus of *Kankut* as *zabt-i Kankut* since it took account of the area c assessed land.[20] But the *Zabt* was in its own right a di

16. See the tables in *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, ff. 182a-185a, & *Khul Siyaq*, ff. 75a-76b, Or. 2026, ff. 24b-28a. The prices were (or were supposed those prevailing in the market. Cf. *Ain*, I, p. 286: "If it is not burdensome peasantry, let him (the '*amalguzar*) commute the share of the crop int at market prices". From the context (see preceding note) it seems tha statement applies to Crop-sharing (*Batai*) as well as to *Kankut*.

17. Ma'ṣūm, *Tārikh-i Sind*, p. 245.

18. Cf. *Agrarian System*, p. 235. *Zabt* is not listed in the glossary of re terms in Prof. Lambton's *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*. *Zābit* is there (p defined as 'revenue collector, controller; bailiff', which sense is probably d from the literal meaning of *zabt*, 'confiscation, sequestration, &c.'

19. This sense is established from Abu-l Fazl's use of the word in contexts. Cf. Moreland, *Agrarian System*, p. 235 and *passim*. It is inva used with the narrow connotation of measurement in a passage about the lation of the area of the fields of many sizes in *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 75a, Or. f. 24b. Add. 6603, 71b, directly defines *zabt* as "the measurement of the area (*m bandi*) of anything".

20. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, f. 182a; *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. Bekas, f. 70a. See also the definition of *Kankut* in the *Khulasatus Siyaq*, Or. 2026, f. 27a, where the assessor is asked to "(first) bring the land *zabt*, &c."

and, indeed, in the Mughal period, a far more prominent method of assessment.[21]

The evolution of the main features of this system can be traced best in the *Ain*. Sher Shah and Islam Shah are said to have brought Hindustan under *Zabt*.[22] We are told that Sher Shah established a *rai'*, or crop rate,[23] for lands which were under continuous cultivation (*polaj*) or were only very rarely allowed to lie fallow (*parauti*). The *rai'* was based on three rates, representing good, middling and low yields. These were averaged to obtain a general rate for the produce and a third of this was recognised as the "remuneration of Sovereignty", i.e. land-revenue. We are provided with a long table of rates per *bigha* for the various crops of the *rabi'* and *kharif* harvests,[24] which may be assumed to be the *rai's* of Sher Shah.[25] Akbar accepted and sanctioned these rates apparently for the whole of his Empire in the beginning of his reign; and in a statement made later on in the *Ain* it seems implied that not only the crop rate, but also the proportion of it assigned to revenue, was inherited by him from the Sur administration.[26]

The rate in kind however did not directly express the revenue demand but had to be commuted into cash for "the benefit of the

21. For references to *Zabt* and *Kankut* as separate systems, *Ain*, I, p. 285, *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 74a, Or. 2026, f. 22b; *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 32b, Edinburgh 83, f. 35a. In Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas (preamble) the distinction is made between *'Amal-i jarib* and *Kankut*.

22. *Ain*, I, p. 296.

23. The dictionary definition of the word *rai'* as given, for example, in the *Ghayas-al Lughat*, s.v., is: "....whatever is obtained from cultivation; the revenue (*mahsul*) from cultivation for the sovereign; the rate on taxable possessions", so that it might mean both the rate of produce and of revenue. Abu-l Fazl seems to have used it in both senses, restricting its connotation under the latter to revenue rate in kind only. It is clearly the first sense he has in mind, when he says of Nausherwan that having fixed a certain area as equivalent to a *jarib* he "determined the *rai'* thereof to be one *qafiz* (measure of bulk) at the value of three *dirhams*. And he took one-third of it as revenue". (*Ain*, I, pp. 292-3). Elsewhere however, in defining *mal* or land revenue, he explains that it is "fixed on the cultivated area by way of *rai'*" (*Ain*, I, p. 294), and here the sense of 'revenue rate' would better suit the context. At another place still he speaks of the 'formulation of the *rai'* of Kashmir' by which he seems to mean the rate of revenue in kind taken from each *'patta'* of land under different crops. (*A.N.*, III, pp. 548-9).

24. *Ain*, I, pp. 497-300.

25. Cf. Moreland in *JRAS*, 1926, pp. 454ff.

26. *Ain*, I, p. 300. It is stated at the end of the *rai'* schedules that "the enlightened Emperor sanctioned the *mal* (revenue) as set out above, having remitted one-tenth in the *jihat* (cesses)."

army", i.e. the *jagirdars*.[27] Abu-l Fazl says that it was the practice from the early years of Akbar's reign for the details of the prices to be reported each year from every region of the Empire; these were then examined and approved by the Court and the *rai's* were converted at the sanctioned prices into cash rates, known as *dastūr-al 'amals* or simply *dastūrs*.[28] The annual *dasturs* for the various crops in each of the *Zabtī* provinces (except Ajmer and Bihar), for "Nineteen Years", viz., the 6th to 24th year of the reign, have been set out at length in the *Ain*.[29] In these tables, the figures for the years 6 to 9 in all provinces (except Malawa) are, for each crop, either identical or nearly so; moreover there is no, or only a very slight, change in the *dasturs* from year to year.[30] We must, therefore, assume that in the beginning there was not only a single *rai'* for the Empire, but also for all practical purposes, a single price schedule applied each year in all the regions with only small modifications.

It would be difficult to imagine how these uniform rates could have at any time been imposed upon the peasants of such a large area as that extending from Lahor to Ilahabad. One can only regard them as essentially paper rates. Abu-l Fazl recognises that "much distress used to occur" from the promulgation of the *dasturs* in the early years of the reign and immediately goes on to explain that the *jama'* or general assessment at that time known as the *jama'-i raqamī* was greatly inflated and in individual cases the assignments were either greatly over- or under-assessed.[31] Moreland, who is fundamentally

27. *Ain*, I, p. 297.

28. *Ain*, I, pp. 303, 347; *A.N.*, III, pp. 282-3. For certain crops like musk-melons, *ajwa'in*, onions and other vegetables in the *rabi'* harvest and indigo, poppy, *pan*, turmeric, *singhara*, hemp, &c., among the *kharif* crops, no *rai'* had been prepared, the *dastur-al 'amals* being directly fixed in cash (*Ain*, I, pp. 298, 300).

Dastur-al 'amal should, as a word, mean regulation guiding executive work (cf. Add. 6603, ff. 61b-62a) and thus many administrative manuals are styled *dastur-al 'amals*. But *'amal* also bears the sense of revenue collection (whence *'āmil*, revenue collector) so that the use of this term for revenue rates is not inappropriate.

29. *'Ā'īn-i Nuwazdah-sāla'* in *Ain*, I, pp. 303-47. The provinces covered are Agra, Ilahabad, Awadh, Dehli, Lahor, Multan and Malawa. The tables under Ajmer are left blank. Nothing is said about the *dasturs* of Bihar in the *Ain*, though much of the province is stated to have been under Zabt.

30. The identity of the figures, generally speaking, appears even greater in the texts of tables given in Add. 7652 and Add. 6552 than in those of Blochmann's edition.

31. *Ain*, I, p. 347. The *jama'-i raqami* and the general assessments subsequent to it are discussed in Chapter VII.

correct in his appreciation of the nature of this *jama'*, does not appear to see any direct connection between it and the *dasturs*.[32] But unless Abu-l Fazl's reference to it in the context of the *dasturs* is an irrelevant digression, it would be natural to suppose that the *jama'* was inflated to some extent precisely because it was based upon these unreal cash rates. Akbar's administration must have inherited some record of measured areas from the archives of the Surs and the *dasturs* could have easily been multiplied by these to yield the *jama'* for each locality. But since the *dasturs* themselves were uniform and bore little relation to local productivity or price fluctuations, the widest discrepancies must have existed between the actual revenue-paying capacity of the peasants and the *jama'* at which the assignments were made to the *jagirdars*. Moreoever, it seems, the area statistics could be manipulated, for Abu-l Fazl says that the *jama'* could be increased by a stroke of the pen in order to meet salary claims.[33]

This absence of enforceable revenue rates and reliable area statistics would explain the nature of the measures taken in the 11th year of the reign under the direction of Muzaffar Khān and Todar Mal.[34] "They obtained the local area and revenue statistics (*taqsīms*) of the country[35] from the *qānūngos*. Leaving the *maḥsūl* (produce or

32. *Agrarian System* 242.
33. *Ain*, I, p. 347.
34. In *Ain*, I, p. 347, the year given is the 15th and this reading is supported by the best MSS. But *pānzdahum* (15th) in Persian writing is easily interchangeable with *yāzdahum* (11th) and it is possible that the confusion took place at an early stage in the transcription of the work. The testimony of the *Akbarnama* on this point must be regarded as decisive since it follows a strictly chronological arrangement and places this event under the 11th year! (*A.N.*, II, p. 270). Moreland in *Agrarian System*, 246-7, accepts the force of this argument, but tries to reconcile the two discrepant pieces of evidence by saying that the work began in the 11th year and finished in the 15th, a view which has textual support from neither of the two authorities.
35. "*Taqsīmāt-i mulk*". The papers known by the name *taqsīm* (plural, *taqsīmāt*) are referred to in the administrative and accountancy manuals of the 17th century. They are stated to be the same as those known as *muwāzana-i dah-sāla*. (*Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 36b; *Siyaqnama*, 100; and *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 74a, Or. 2026, f. 23a). Under the heading "*Muwāzana-i Dah-sāla*, which they also call *Taqsīm-i Sanwāt* ('*Taqsīm* of (a period of) Years')", the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri* sets out the main items of information which these papers contained. The contents included the *mujmil*, the summary account of revenue realised and local expenditure (cf. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 82b, Or. 2026, f. 38b); particulars of the land revenue and other taxes (*māl-o-sā'ir*); details of the number of villages in the

revenue)[36] to appraisement and estimate, a fresh *jama'* was brought into being".[37] It seems that it was this summary way of determining the actual yield or crop rates that was responsible for the defects of the new *jama'*, which is said to have been still "far away" from the actual revenue received (*ḥāṣil*). But a change is at the same time noticeable from the tenth year onwards, in the "Nineteen-Years" tables of the *Ain*. The differences among the rates of different provinces, and among the rates of the same province in different years, become

pargana; and, finally, area statistics. The last gave the area of uncultivated land (specifying separately what lay under habitation, tanks, gardens, nullahs and forest) and, then, the area of cultivated land. This is followed by a heading giving the title of another document, "*Taqsīm-i Yak-sāla,*" the *taqsim* of one (the immediately preceding?) year. This provided information about the land-revenue on the area cultivated by the peasantry, the taxes on gardens and trades, the *nānkār* and *madad-i ma'āsh* lands, &c. The *Hidāyat-al Qawā'id*, f. 10a-b, Aligarh MS. ff. 27b-28a, briefly, but quite definitely, confirms that revenue and area, and certainly the latter, were the main items of information with which the *taqsim* or *muwazana-i dah-sala* was concerned. The *amīn* or revenue-assessor, it says, ought to obtain "the *dah-sala* papers, giving the *jama'* (assessed revenue) and area" from the *qanungos* and proceed to check if the information supplied was correct. "Let him compare the actual area with that in the papers of the *qanungo.* If the area corresponds with it, it is all right; but if it exceeds that of the *taqsim,* let him demand an explanation from the *qanungo, &c.*"

Moreland, who was not aware of the use of *taqsim* in 17th century revenue literature, interpreted it to mean 'local schedules' or revenue rates, deriving it from the term *qismat* which in technical use meant the apportionment of the produce between the State and the peasants. (*Agrarian System,* 244-5). Dr. I. H. Qureshi seems sure that *taqsim* meant 'schedules of produce' and he refers us to Barani's phrase "*qismāt-i būd o nābud*", of which, he thinks, *taqsim* is "another version". (*Journal of Pakistan Historical Society,* Vol. I, Part III, p. 212.) But what proof that Barani's phrase means "schedules of yield and the failure of crops"? The proof is one and one only and that is Moreland's interpretation of the term *taqsim* in the *Ain!* (I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli,* p. 108*n*.)

36. The word *maḥṣūl* is used by Abu-l Fazl as well as other authorities in two senses. First, in that of produce as, for instance, in the reference to the 'carrying away of the *maḥṣūl*' by the peasants in *Ain,* I, p. 286, or even more clearly in the passage concerning Sher Shah's *rai'* (ibid, 297-8). It is also used with the same significance in Aurangzeb's *farman* to Muhammad Hashim, Arts. 11 & 14. We have the second sense of revenue clearly indicated, however, when the *bitikchi* is asked to record the *jama'* of each peasant and having totalled the amounts, to arrive at the *mahsul* of the village (*Ain,* I, p. 288). See also Todar Mal's regulations (*A.N.,* III, p. 382). It is similarly used in 'Abbas Khan, f. 10b; *Farman* to Rasikdas, Preamble; & Khafi Khan, I, p. 156. Cf. *Agrarian System,* p. 249.

37. *Ain,* I, p. 347.

very pronounced. Not only that, but the rates are often expressed in two, maximum and minimum, figures, representing the range of divergence in rates promulgated within the province for different localities. It seems certain that new local crop rates had now been worked out and that henceforth the price schedules were drawn up afresh every year, separately for each locality. It may be assumed that these changes were the result of the measure undertaken by Muzaffar Khan and Todar Mal to work out new revenue rates for instituting a new *jama'*.[38]

As the *dasturs* approached closer to actual conditions, the administration was probably able to enforce them to some extent for determining the revenue demand upon the peasants. Abu-l Fazl now comments on the distress caused by the annual commutation of the *rai'* into cash rates. The Empire had greatly expanded, he says, and long delays used to occur in the communication of the local price reports to the Court and the sanctioning of the rates for the year. As a result sometimes the peasants complained that more had been taken from them (in the interval) than was ultimately sanctioned and sometimes the *jagirdars* protested about the balances of revenues left unrealised, owing presumably to the delay in receiving the approved rates.[39] "Moreover, it became notorious that some of the price-reporters had deviated from the path of uprightness".[40]

The 'remedy' which was finally adopted for this state of affairs is linked up both in the *Ain* and the *Akbarnama* with the preparation, in the 24th year, of the *Jama'-i Dah-sāla, 'the Jama'* of Ten Years'. Although the discussion of this general assessment should be left properly to Chapter VII, it is so intimately connected with the evolution of what may be called the final *dasturs* that it seems necessary to enter some remarks upon it here. Moreland believed that the *Jama'-i Dahsala* was instituted by simply averaging the total revenue demand actually

38. The interpretation offered here is in some respects materially different from that of Moreland, *Agrarian System*, 86-7, 245-7. He links this measure with the change discernable in the rates in the 15th year and calls those from this year onwards 'Qanungo Rates'.

39. *Ain*, I, p. 348; *A.N.*, III, p. 282. In the *Ain* the peasants are said to have 'demanded justice' against *afzūn khwāhī*, i.e. collection in excess of the authorised demand. The corresponding word in the *Akbarnama* is *fāẓil* (credit balance). The *jagirdars* (called here *iqtā'dārs*) were complaining against *baqāyā*, the term used in revenue literature for the arrears of revenue unpaid by the peasants.

40. *A.N.*, *op. cit.*

levied upon the peasants in the preceding ten years.[41] But it is difficult to see how this can be maintained when we are distinctly told by Abu-l Fazl that "the essence of this innovation is that having ascertained the ten years' state (*ḥāl-i dah-sāla*) of every *pargana* in regard to the categories of cultivation and the levels of prices, they fixed the tenth part thereof as the annual revenue (*māl-i har-sāla*)."[42] It would have been entirely irrelevant to obtain information about the produce and prices if the object was only to discover the actual revenue receipts of the previous decade. Ordinary revenue accounts, like the *taqsims*, should have sufficed. Moreland seems to rely mainly upon the passage in the *Ain*, where it is declared that the process consisted first of ascertaining the *maḥṣūl-i dah-sāla* and then striking an average to obtain the (*maḥṣūl-i?*) *har-sāla*.[43] *Maḥṣūl* is however used by Abu-l Fazl both in the sense of revenue and produce.[44] From a later administrative manual we learn that the papers called *dah-sala* contained area statistics of each *mahal* and the areas given in the *har-sala* papers were based on this record.[45] It is, therefore, probable that the investigations were not confined to ascertaining what had been exacted before, but were also aimed at establishing the area as well as the productivity of the different districts. Since information for prices was also called for, what seems to have been done was to work out the crop-rates retrospectively for a locality each year and then simultaneously prepare a parallel schedule of prices, so that the cash revenue rate for each of the previous years could be determined. These data were doubtless far more difficult to collect than those of revenue receipts. We are told that information for "the twentieth year to the twentyfourth, they obtained by way of actual knowledge (*taḥqīq*) and (of) the five pre-

41. *Agrarian System*, 96-7, 249-54.
42. *A.N.*, III, pp. 282-3.
43. *Ain*, I, p. 348.
44. See note No. 36 on the word *mahsul*.
45. *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, f. 10b, Aligarh MS., ff. 27b-28a. The *dah-sala* and *har-sala* papers of this manual are apparently identical with the *muwazana-i dah-sala* (or *taqsim-i sanwat*) and *taqsim-i yak-sala*, respectively. The work itself once mentions *taqsim* in place of *dah-sala*. See the note on *taqsim* above, where its identity with *muwazana-i dah-sala* and nature as revenue and area record are discussed.

The *Ain*, I, p. 288, speaks of *muwāzana-i dah-sāla-i naqdī o jinsī*. This shows at least that in addition to carrying information about revenue in cash (*naqdī*), it also gave some on produce (*jinsī*). It is also quite possible that, by the latter, information on the areas under various crops is meant.

ıg (years) (15th-19th) from the representations of truthful men".[46] has obvious reference to the changes brought about in the 19th when the whole of Hindustan (excluding Bihar) was resumed to *ʼhāliṣa* (where the revenue was collected directly for the imperial ury) and placed fully under *Zabt*. The new revenue collectors ɔrīs) were reputed to be charged especially with the task of extend- .ultivation,[47] and it is not improbable that this was associated with letailed agricultural information they were required to supply. To up, our evidence suggests that a new crop rate or *rai'*, averag- rom the actual rates for the harvests of the previous ten ;, was first instituted for each locality;[48] then the average of the rates of the previous ten years, based upon this and the known s, produced the final, or permanent *dastur-al 'amals*. This seems est explanation of why Abu-l Fazl should put on the chapter intro- ıg the tables of the final *dasturs* the title of '*Āʼīn-i Dah-sāla*', the ɔf Ten Years. The multiplication of the averaged area figures by *dasturs* provided the figures for the *Jama'-i Dah-sala*.[49]

Ͳhe closing passage of the chapter *Ain-i Dahsala* shows that in mining the final *dasturs* for some crops an exception was made the general rule. This passage has been variously translated and preted, but the following rendering, for reasons given in the foot- seems to be the most plausible. "And the revenue on the high- ɜ (or 'cash') crops was also fixed (or assumed); they took the when it was greater. It is accordingly shown in the table."[50] The

Ain, I, p. 348.

'Arif Qandahari, p. 177; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, pp. 300-301; Badauni, II,

Abu-l Fazl probably has in mind the crop rates thus established in the 's regions, when he says, with reference to Sher Shah's *rai'*, that "today they ; indicate any (*rai'*) lower than that in any of the provinces." (*Ain*, I, p. 297). Moreland believes that while the *Jama'-i Dahsala* was averaged from the revenue receipts of the previous ten years, the *dasturs* were probably ;ed from the cash rates as actually promulgated in the previous decade. But ling to his interpretation of the text of the *Ain-i Dah-sala*, we must suppose ıbu-l Fazl is here guilty of speaking incoherently and irrelevantly to a sur- ; degree. He would have Abu-l Fazl repeatedly describe evils the neces- :ure for which was the permanent cash rates; yet we must believe that he comes to the point of describing the remedy, he gets derailed and talks nething completely different, viz. the *Jama'-i Dah-sala*. (*Agrarian System*, 251-4).

Ain, I, 348. Blochmann's text was amended by Moreland, after collating ıl MSS, to read as follows: "*Wa nez māl-i jins-i kāmil i'tibār namūd. Sāle ūn būd bar-giriftand. Chunānchi jadwal ān-rā barguẕārad*". Blochmann had

last sentence must refer to the tables of the *dasturs* which follow immediately. The whole passage may be read with the statement made earlier in the *Ain* that no *rai's* had been prepared for such crops as indigo, poppy, *pān*, turmeric, hemp, &c., for which the revenue rates

read the first three words as *wa bar sāl* and indeed the MSS are by no means unanimous. But the best of them support Moreland's reading. Add. 6552 agrees with it completely and so does Berlin MS. Hamilton 1, which is of an equally early date. (Information about the latter MS. was kindly supplied to me by Mr. B. R. Grover.) Add. 7652 and its copy I. O. 6 read *wa har māl-i*, &c., which means that the presence of the word *mal* is at least definitely established.

Jins-i kāmil is used by Abu-l Fazl and by all other authorities in the sense of high-grade crops (*Ain*, I, p. 286; *Farman* to Rasikdas, Preamble; Add. 6603, f. 57a). The phrase *i'tibar namūd* looks awkward at first sight and dictionaries like the *Bahār-i 'Ajam* do not give any comparable idioms. But it is justified by a similar phrase found elsewhere in the *Ain*, I, p. 26, in a passage stating that though the rate of *dams* to the rupee "gets sometimes above and sometimes below forty *dams*, yet in payment of salaries this price is adopted (*īn qīmat i'tibār rawad*)."

Leaving aside Jarrett's translation, which in any case must be entirely superseded, we have Moreland's translation of the three sentences: "And also taking into account the (figures known as) *māl-i jins-i kāmil* 'they' took the year which was greatest, as the table shows". (*Agrarian System*, p. 249). The expression *māl-i jins-i kāmil* he interprets as meaning 'Demand' on high-grade crops, i.e. not the revenue rate applied to the crops, but the total amount of revenue levied on the area under them. *Māl* is admittedly open to both the meanings of revenue and revenue rate, but the rendering of *afzūn* in the sense of 'greatest' and the explanation of the 'greatest year' as the year of the maximum revenue, for which in fact there was a definite technical term, *sāl-i kāmil* or *sāl-i ḥāṣil-i kāmil*, seems straining things a little. Moreover, if what Abu-l Fazl is here speaking about, relates to *jama'* and not the *dasturs*, the reference to the 'table' become pointless, for the tables that follow are not of *jama'*, but of *dasturs*. This Moreland counters by supposing that a great editorial reshuffling of materials took place after the first draft of the *Ain* had been prepared: there were originally *jama'* tables here, but they were later on removed. (*Ibid*, 251-3). But this is the counsel of despair. It is unfair to say of the *Ain* that it shows "signs of hasty editing". In fact its contents are most carefully arranged and an error of the magnitude, with which Moreland would credit it, cannot be lightly assumed.

Finally, we have the benefit of Dr. Qureshi's "simplest and most straightforward interpretation" (*Jour. Pak. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I, Part III, pp. 215-6). Deprecating the fact that "authors" have unnecessarily stumbled" here, he proceeds (silently) to ignore altogether the textual problems raised by Moreland. He then takes the initial words in Blochmann's text, viz. *har sāl*, and identifies them with the *har sāla* of the preceding passage. *Jins-i kāmil* he takes to mean "the full produce which has not been affected by calamity or loss"—a meaning unheard of in revenue literature. Finally *afzūn* is 'superfluous'. From all this he builds up the following interpretation: The *maḥṣūl*, or 'medium produce' (this being the meaning he adopts for it), was averaged

had been directly formulated in terms of cash.[51] In addition, the thick or *paunda* sugar-cane seems to have been omitted from the *rai'* list.[52] Perhaps the yield of these crops was liable to such fluctuations every harvest[53] that no crop rate could be fixed that might be of any practical use. What Abu-l Fazl means is, then, probably, that in determining the permanent *dasturs* for such crops no attempt was made to fix the local crop rates by the process of averages, the method adopted being simply to choose certain good seasons and accept the revenue rates determined for them.

It is not absolutely clear whether the figures under the years 15th to 24th in the 19-Years" tables are the actual *dasturs* promulgated from year to year or those determined retrospectively in connexion with the *Jama'-i Dahsala*. But there are some indications that favour the latter alternative. From the 15th (and in some cases the 14th) year the variations between provincial and annual rates become much more pronounced and many new crops appear on the schedules. The introduction of the bamboo measuring rod in the 19th year was officially assumed to have increased the size of the *bigha* by 15 per cent,[54] but there is no hint of a proportionate rise in the rates under the 19th or 20th year.[55] This can be explained best if we conceive the figures to have been those worked out in the 24th year, when a uniform size for the area unit would have been assumed.

every year from the total produce harvested during the previous ten years. So that as each new year came round, one year at the other end—the eleventh, counting backwards—became 'superfluous' and was taken out. In suppport of this he cites the *Farhang-i Kārdānī*, Aligarh MS. But this manual makes its statement with reference to the assessment of the *jama'* under *Nasaq*, while Dr. Qureshi has in mind (one presumes) the rate of revenue under *Zabt*.

51. *Ain*, I, pp. 298, 300.

52. Sugar-cane appears in this list under the name *qand-i siyāh* which actually means *gur* (*Ain*, I, p. 299). It may be a mistake for *neshkar-i siyāh*, or the thick or paunds sugar cane, but in that case the ordinary sugar-cane would have no place on the list.

53. The uncertainty of yield is one of the principal reasons for the high prices of certain cash crops. Thus indigo cropping was "liable to many more accidents and misfortunes than other crops or products." (Pelsaert, p. 13).

54. The *Ain*, I, p. 296, says that the *bigha* formerly used to be 13 per cent. shorter than its real size. A *parwana* of 1757 in the Batala series of *madad-i ma'ash* documents, while confirming a grant of 1569 reproduces its endorsements, which show a reduction of 13·03 per cent. in the area of the grant 'on account of the *ṭanāb* (measuring rod)' (I.O. 4438: (55)). See also Appendix A.

55. This is most obvious in the case of crops carrying flat or nearly flat rates such as poppy, musk-melons (Central Asian and Indian), onion, *paunda* sugar-cane, turmeric, *singhara*, &c.

The final *dasturs*, which are reproduced at length in the *Ain*[56] preserve the same tabular form as the 19-Year Rates, with this difference that at the head of the columns the years are replaced by groups of *mahals* and the entries now carry single figures only. Thus each group of *mahals* constituting an assessment circle has a single rate or *dastur* for each crop. The *Ain* contains full lists of the *mahals* grouped in these circles.[57] As Moreland observes, each of these circles usually forms a homogeneous block from the point of view of agricultural conditions.[58]

It is implicit, rather than explicit, in Abu-l Fazl's account and the nature of the tables, that the final *dasturs* were permanent and were to be applied each year without any reference to the current yield or prices, so that the element of confusion and hardship complained of in connexion with the annual commutation of the revenue rates into cash was now removed.[59] It is, however, probable that revisions took place from time to time and that the final *dasturs* as preserved in the *Ain* are not exactly those established in the 24th year, but as they stood in or about the 40th year. The *dasturs* for *singhara* and turmeric, which are practically uniform in the final schedules, show in comparison to the figures under the 19-Year Rates an increase corresponding to the enhancement in the size of the *bigha* brought about by the introduction of the *gaz-i Ilahi* in the 31st year.[60] Moreland has pointed out that it is difficult to check from the figures themselves if the final *dasturs* are averaged from the rates of 15th-24th Years, owing to the difference in their presentation in the two tables.[61] There are, however, some

56. *Ain*, I, pp. 348-85.
57. Owing to this Elliot was misled into regarding the *dastur* as a territorial unit between the *sarkar* and the *pargana*. (*Memoirs*, &c., ii, p. 201). Cf. Moreland in *JRAS*, 1918, pp. 12, 13.
58. *Agrarian System*, 88.
59. *Agrarian System*, 88.
60. The increase in the *bigha* is put at 10·01 per cent. of its previous area in the *Ain*, I, p. 297. But in the *madad-i ma'ash* grants of the Batala series (I.O. 4438: Nos. 7, 25 & 55) and in Allahabad 879 and 1177, the reduction in area of the former grants on account of the new *gaz* is calculated at 10·5 per cent. which implies an increase in the size of the unit of about 11·7 per cent. (See also Appendix A). *Singhara* and turmeric are uniformly rated in the 19-Year Rates at 100 *dams*, but in the final *dasturs* the figure is increased, with only a few exceptions, to 111 *dams*, 20 *jitals*. The misplacing of the dots makes this figure liable to be read in some cases as 111 *dams*, 8 *jitals*, or 115 *dams*, 8 *jitals* or 115 *dams*, 20 *jitals*.
61. *Agrarian System*, 89.

simple ways still in which such a check can be made and it seems that even after allowing for the increase in the size of the *bigha*, some of the final *dasturs* for cash crops, which were not determined by the mechanism of averages, could not possibly have been based upon *any* of the rates given under the ten years from the 15th to 24th;[62] while in the case of other crops a number, at least, of the final *dasturs* could not have been averaged from the rates of these years.[63] If one accepts

62. The *paunda* or thick sugar-cane has an unvaried rate of 200 *dams* under the years 15-24 in Awadh, Lahor and Multan, yet the final *dasturs* range from 230 d. 8 *j*. to 240 d. 9 *j*. in Awadh, and from 180 *d*. 12½ *j*. (one *dastur*) to 240 d. 12 *j*. (in six, including one giving 240 *d*. 12½ *j*. in Lahor). In Multan also the figure is 240 *d*. 12½ *j*. (two *dasturs*). In Lahor and Multan the highest figure against indigo in the rates of the ten years is 136 *dams*, but the permanent *dasturs* in the two provinces rise respectively to 158 *d*. 19 *j*. and 159 *d*. 22 *j*.

63. The test applied is based on the assumption that if the final *dasturs* have been averaged from the rates under the 15th-24th years, none of them should exceed the average of the maximum annual rates for the same province, or fall below that of the minimum rates, after allowing for the increase of 11 per cent. consequent upon the change in the size of the *bigha*. The following tables will perhaps speak for themselves.

TABLE I

Province	*Crop*	A *Average of the Minimum Rates*	B *Maximum among the Final Dasturs*	*B : A*
Illahabad:	Kabuli gram	56·40 *d*	71 *d* 14 *j* (5 *dasturs*)	126%
do	Safflower	70·00 *d*	83 *d* 21 *j* (4 „)	119·6%
do	Rapeseed	47·00 *d*	101 *d* (1 *dastur*)	215%
Awadh:	Lentils (*'adas-masur*)	22·70 *d*	35 *d* 20 *j* (1 „)	156%
do	Peas (*matar*)	27·35 *d*	38 *d* (1 „)	135%
Dehli:	*Ajwa'in*	71·20 *d*	89 *d* 15 *j* (1 „) 89 *d* 12 *j* (1 „)	122%

TABLE II

Province	*Crop*	A *Average of the Minimum Rates*	B A × 111/100	C *Minimum among the Final Dasturs*
Illahabad:	*Chana* (*arzan*) (*Rabi'*)	15·20 *d*	16·87 *d*	15 *d* 19 *j* (one *dastur*)
Awadh:	do	15·10 *d*	16·76 *d*	7 *d* 22 *j* (one *dastur*) 15 *d* 3 *j* (one *dastur*)

the view that the final *dasturs* were averaged from the retrospective rates for these years, there can only be two explanations for these negative results. Either that, despite what has been said above, the rates from the 15th to 24th years as given in the *Ain* are not the retrospective rates at all, but those actually levied; or, what is perhaps more plausible, that very considerable revision was made in the *dasturs* during the sixteen years following the initial formulation of the permanent rates.

The imposition of the permanent *dasturs* meant that the revenue rates were to be divorced completely from the quality of the actual harvest in any year. If the crops failed relief was not given by lowering the rates, but by making a reduction in the measured area under the heading *nābūd* (lit. 'destroyed').[64] There was no such machinery, however, to meet the contingency caused by a fall in prices and special remissions had to be ordered from the Court in cases of exceptionally abundant harvests.[65] On the other hand, there is also an instance of the demand being raised to correspond with a rise in prices.[66]

The *Zabt* system continued to function in the 17th century on fundamentally similar lines. It is defined, for example, in a manual written in 1679 as a method of assessment under which the area was measured at each harvest, the *dastur-al 'amal* being then applied to

These figures have been used after collating Blochmann's text with MSS. Add. 7652 and 6552, and doubtful entries have been ignored. All the crops except Kabuli gram and *ajwa'in* are listed in Sher Shah's *rai'*.

64. If crop-failure was reported after the measurement had been completed, the revenue officials were required to fix the *nabud* after inspecting the standing crops. If the reports came after the crops had been cut, the reduction in the area was to be made on the basis of the evidence of neighbours and the *patwari's* papers. (*Ain*, I, pp. 286-8). In his recommendations of the 27th year, Todar Mal fixed 2½ *biswas* per *bigha* (or 12½ per cent. of the measured area) as the allowable maximum for *nabud* in fertile regions during seasons of abundant rain. For jungle and desert land a maximum of 3 *biswas*, or 15 per cent., was allowed (*A.N.*, III, p. 382; see the original text of the recommendations in Add. 27,247, f. 332a).

65. *A.N.*, III, pp. 463, 494, 533-4, 577-8. These were made in the 30th, 31st, 33rd and 35th years and applied to the Ilahabad, Awadh, Agra and Delhi provinces, and ranged from ¼th to ⅒th of the total demand.

66. When Akbar took his Court to Lahor, the revenue demand in the Panjab was raised 'as from ten to twelve', in order to keep up with the rise in the price levels brought about by the presence of the Court. When Akbar left Lahor in the 43rd year, this enhancement was withdrawn (*A.N.*, III, p. 747).

; to yield the *jama'*.[67] More significant still are the specimen assess-
ıent papers preserved in this and other manuals of the same period.
.ere we have first the *khasra-i zabt*, the paper giving the details of
ıeasurement.[68] It contains six columns: (1) *asāmī*, giving the name
' the cultivator and specifying his crop; two others giving (2) the
ridth and (3) the length of his field; (4) the *arāzī* or area; (5) the
ābūd; and (6) *bāqī*, the area remaining after deducting *nabud* from
·azi. The net area figures, separately for each crop, are carried over
ɔ another document where cash rates per *bigha* for the respective
rops are applied to them for determining the total amount of revenue
ssessed (the *jama'*).[69]

From an administrative point of view, the Zabt had some obvious
ıerits. Measurement could always be rechecked and the fixed *dasturs*
eprived local officials of much of the discretion that they could have
therwise abused. With the promulgation of the permanent *dasturs*
ıe uncertainties and fluctuations in levying the annual demand were
) a great extent eliminated. At the same time the system was not
·ithout its limitations. It could not probably be easily applied in places
·here the soil was not homogeneous in quality; nor, since it left the

67. *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 32b; Edinburgh 83, f. 34b.
See also *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, pp. 13-14, for application of *dasturs* to crops *safed-barī* (autumn) and *sabz-barī* (spring harvest) under the "*Zabtī*" system levying revenue (*'amal*).

68. Cf. *Ain*, I, p. 283: "....the record of *zabt* (*nuskha-i zabt*), which in Hindi ey call *khasra*".

69. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, ff. 182a-185a; *Farhang-i Kardani*, f 33b; *yaqnama*, 32-34; *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 75a-76b, Or. 2026, ff. 24b-28a. In the ecimen *khasras* in *Farhang-i Kardani* and *Siyaqnama* there are 7 columns, the ·st (*asāmī*) giving only the names of the cultivators, the crops being specified in .e seventh (*jins*). The *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi* belongs to the reign of ıahjahan and was probably written in the *sarkar* of Sambhal. It shows three ops under *Zabt*, viz., tobacco, sugarcane and brinjal. That the high-grade or cash ops were liable to *Zabt* assessment even when sown in land formerly under her methods is shown in the *Ain*, I, p. 286, where it is stated that if land previously ıder Crop-sharing was sown with high-grade crops the revenue was to be levied a rate one-fourth less than the usual *dastur* in the first year.

It is interesting that the *zabti* rents, the sole surviving trace of the Mughal ıbt system, found in the Panjab, Upper Doab and Rohilkhand, have been des- ibed as cash rents levied, according to the area, principally on cash crops, though ɔo on fodder and on such other crops as are gathered from day to day. (Princep, *story of the Punjab, &c.*, Vol. I, London, 1846, p. 167; *Meerut District Gazetteer*, 22, p. 109; *Saharanpur District Gazetteer*, 1921, p. 132; *JRAS*, 1918, p. 26; *Agrarian stem*, 169n).

peasant to shoulder practically all the risks, where the yield was very uncertain.[70] Moreover the method was by no means inexpensive. It required a cess of one *dam* per *bigha*, called *ẓābiṭāna*, to meet the costs of maintenance of the measuring parties.[71] But there were still greater loopholes in the practical working of the system. Much fraud could be practised in recording the measurements.[72] The *ẓabṭ-i harsāla*, or annual measurement, before the 13th year of Akbar, is said to have "necessitated great expenditure and caused misappropriation by men" in the *Khalisa*.[73] A major aspect of the so-called '*Karori* Experiment' in the 19th year was to bring all the provinces of Hindustan under measurement. As a precautionary step, the hempen rope, which could be fraudulently used, was replaced by the more accurate bamboo rod with iron rings.[74] Nevertheless the peasants were grievously oppressed by the *karoris*, as Badauni tells us;[75] and it seems natural to associate this oppression with the sudden imposition of measurement over such a vast region. One may well imagine how many a village must

70. This is tacitly recognised by Abu-l Fazl, when he says in his chapter on Qandahar that "if the peasant does not have the strength to bear *Zabt*, the practice of taking a third of the crop as revenue (*sih toda 'amal*) is followed". (*Ain*, I, p. 587).

71. The *Ain*, I, pp. 300-301, tells us that formerly the measuring parties used to get 58 *dams* daily as *zabitana* (from the treasury or the village?). This was converted into a cess of one *dam* per *bigha*. In Todar Mal's regulations it is explicitly stated that the daily allowances in cash and kind for the survey staff were to be provided out of this cess (*A.N.*, III, p. 383). The scales of allowances for the survey officials appear in a revised form in the *Ain*, I, p. 286. Todar Mal's regulations provided for a minimum area to be measured every day by the staff. The text in *A.N.*, however, interchanges the harvests and *Ain*, I, 301, supplies the correct reading: 250 *bighas* were to be measured in the *kharif* season when the day was longer, and 200 in the *rabi'*, the day being shorter. This passage in the text of the original version of the recommendations of Todar Mal, Add. 27,247, f. 332b, is unluckily very corrupt.

72. Cf. Mukundarama's reference to the oppressive acts of the revenue official of a jagirdar. "The lengths of areas were measured diagonally; a 'bigha' was computed at 15 'kathas' (not twenty); and people's protests were not heeded". (Sukumar Sen, *History of Bengali Literature*, 1960, p. 124 (also p. 393 for the text of the passage). See also T. Raychaudhuri, *Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir*, p. 25).

73. *A.N.*, II, p. 333.

74. *Ibid*, III, pp. 117-18; *Ain*, I, p. 296. The hempen rope shrank, when wet, and lengthened, when dry. So the officials would keep it wet on all sorts of "pretexts". Badauni, II, p. 189, quotes a verse: "In the warning-laden eyes of the cheated man, the double-headed snake is better than the measuring rope".

75. Badauni, II, p. 187.

have stirred anxiously when a measuring party of petty officials thrust themselves upon it, demanding their perquisites and extorting money for putting in correct, as well as false, entries.

Considerable controversy has centred round the exact nature of the system of assessment known as *Nasaq*. Abu-l Fazl refers to it at a number of places, but without anywhere defining it. The result has been that the number of interpretations put upon the term probably exceeds that of all his references to it. But long as their list is, none of the interpretations seems to carry conviction.[76] It may be tedious to take up the various arguments put on behalf of one or the other of the theories so far propounded, and we have thought it best to proceed directly to Abu-l Fazl's evidence.

When we put all his references to *Nasaq* together, the first thing which strikes us is that *Nasaq* is often not treated as an independent method of assessment at all but only as a handmaid of other methods. In Hindustan, for example, it appears as a subordinate of *Zabt* and in Kashmir, of Crop-sharing. We may expect, therefore, that it was a method or procedure which could be adopted, whatever be the basic method of revenue assessment and collection that was in force.

It appears that we are in a pretty good position to judge what the *Nasaq* signified when it was applied under *Zabt*. We are told in what is the earliest reference to it, that in the 13th year of Akbar's reign, Shihābuddīn Khān, "having set aside the *ẕabṭ-i har-sāla*.....established a (system or form of) *Nasaq* (*Nasaqe*)." in the

76. The following is a summary (probably not exhaustive) of the views on *Nasaq* advanced within the last hundred years or so. Najaf 'Alī Khān, commenting on the *Ain* in 1851, took it to mean revenue-farming (*Sharḥ-i Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Or. 1667, ff. 177a-178a, 193a-b). Blochmann rendered it as a method whereby 'the land tax is settled by the collector and the ryot' (*JASB*, xlii (1873), p. 219n). Moreland, writing in collaboration with Mr. Yusuf Ali, admitted his inability to define it satisfactorily but thought 'it was ordinarily a zamindari rather than a ryotwari arrangement' (*JRAS*, 1918, pp. 29-30). Subsequently, he took it to mean a 'summary assessment on the village or some large area as a unit' (*JRAS*, 1926, p. 47), and, finally, as equivalent to what he termed 'Group Assessment' (*Agrarian System*, 234-37). Dr. R. P. Tripathi was not satisfied with the rendering 'summary assessment' but confessed himself unable to say what *Nasaq* really was. (*Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, 357-60). Mr. S. R. Sharma has suggested that it was a method of assessing the revenue by averaging previous demand (*Indian Culture*, III, pp. 43-5) and, lastly, Dr. P. Saran has sought to identify it with *Kankut* (*Provincial Government*, &c., 301-9, 453-7).

Khalisa lands.[77] It may be noted that the form of *Nasaq* promulgated did not replace the *Zabt* as such but only "annual *zabt*". The Zabt consisted of two things: the fixed cash revenue rates and the measurement of land. We know definitely that the revenue rates continued to be fixed annually up to the 24th year and so what was replaced by *Nasaq* in the 13th year could only have been annual measurement. We may remember that land-measurement was after all the real technical meaning of *zabt;* and in *madad-i ma'ash* documents the words, *zabt-i har-sala,* are actually used to denote annual measurement of the land.[78] What Shihabuddin Khan was supposed to have done in the 13th year, Todar Mal recommended again in the 27th year. "It is known," he says, "that in the *parganas* of the *Khalisa* the area (recorded) (*arāẓī*) is less every year. (Therefore), [illegible] the cultivated land has been once measured, they should, increasing it (the area) from year to year" establish a partial *Nasaq* (*Nasaq-i juzv*).[79] Here it is made quite clear that though the *Nasaq* meant the supersession of annual measurement, the record of area measured in any one previous year continued to be used for assessment purposes. The final position as described in the *Ain* was not much different. The revenue-collector was to "keep farsightedness and justice before him in undertaking measurement. Let him add to the capacity (*nīrū*) of the cultivator everywhere and honouring the settlement (*qarār-dād*) let him not demand anything from (the area) cultivated in excess (*fuzūn kāshta*).[80] If some desire measurement (*paimā'ish*) and others *Nasaq,* let him agree."[81] This passage can be interpreted only in one way: The revenue official was to accept the previously fixed area, increasing it presumably by estimate. If some peasants did not accept this and demanded fresh measurement, he was to agree to that; but otherwise the

77. *A.N.*, II, p. 333.

78. It is used in the standard injunction to revenue officials: "The *zabt-i har-sala* should not be insisted upon, once the boundaries of the area of the grant have been laid down" (*ẓabt-i har-sāla ba'd az tashkhīṣ-i chak,* &c.). (Jahangir's *farman,* 8th regnal year. I.O. 4438 : 3; see also I.O. 4435).

79. *A.N.*, III, pp. 381-2. The corresponding passage in the original version of Todar Mal's recommendations (Add. 27,247, f. 331b) is in sense practically identical, except that it reads "*Nasaq*" for "*Nasaq-i juzv*".

80. It may be remarked that there could not have been any area "cultivated in excess" under actual measurement made between sowing and harvest. Such excess could have arisen only if the area on which the revenue was assessed had been fixed on paper on the basis of previous measurements.

81. *Ain,* I, p. 285.

Nasaq was to be enforced. In other words, the *Nasaq*, standing in these passages as an alternative to annual measurement under *Zabt*, signified the use, for revenue assessment in successive years, of the same area figures previously determined by actual measurement.

This association of *Nasaq* with repetition of area figures probably best explains the use of *nuskha-i Nasaq*, 'document of *Nasaq*', in the unmistakable sense of record of area, from which the *nābūd* or the area allowed for crop-failure, had to be deducted.[82] There is still another reference to *Nasaq* in the same chapter of the *Ain*. This is in an injunction to the *'amalguzār* not "to make *Nasaq* with the big men of the village."[83] Far from proving that *Nasaq* was equivalent to 'Group Assessment' it shows that, in a authorised form, *Nasaq* was *not* Group Assessment. Probably, the [illegible] sense of this prohibition, in the light of our other information ab[illegible]aq under *Zabt*, is that the revenue officials were not to make modifications or enhancements in the standard area figures by bargaining with the leading villagers.

Nasaq under *Zabt* was, however, only one form of *Nasaq*. Thus Abu-l Fazl can speak of it as *Nasaqe*, 'a (form of) *Nasaq*' and *Nasaq-i juzv*, 'partial *Nasaq*'. Gujarat, though it was not, exactly speaking, a *Zabti* province, had probably a similar form of *Nasaq*. The *Ain* declares it to be "mostly *Nasaqī* (under *Nasaq*)", "measurement" being rarely practised.[84] As we shall see in the next Section, the measurement to which it is counterposed is really annual measurement, which only, and not the use of area statistics for assessment, seems to have been rare in Gujarat.

But in Berar, Bengal and Kashmir, *Nasaq* must have existed in very different forms. Berar, we are told, was "*Nasaqī*" from ancient times,[85] so that the term *Nasaq* is here applied to a system untouched by Mughal innovations. It must be identical with the time-honoured method of levying revenue in Mughal Dakhin, described by Sadiq Khan. This consisted of applying customary rates to the number of ploughs in a

82. "If a calamity befalls cultivation after the *nuskha-i Nasaq* has been despatched to the Court, let him at once enquire into it and make an estimate of the *nābūd*". (*Ain*, I, pp. 286-7).

83. *Ain*, I, p. 286.

84. *Ibid*, p. 485.

85. *Ibid*, 478.

village, without reference to the land cultivated or the actual harvest.[86] In Bengal, where Crop-sharing was not practised and measurement was the exception, the revenue demand was based upon *Nasaq*.[87] We have already discussed the nature of the revenue system of Bengal in another context, and the conclusion that has been reached is that the revenue assessment (*jama'*) on the *zamindars* had a semi-permanent basis, though it could sometimes be arbitrarily increased.[88] But it is in respect of Kashmir that Abu-l Fazl himself offers us the most detailed description of the working of a particular form of *Nasaq*. The province is stated to be "*Nasaqī-i ghalla-bakhsh*," i.e. 'under a *Nasaq* of Crop-sharing.'[89] The main feature of its revenue system was that the *rai's* (crop rates) on the different crops were fixed and applied to the area of each village and "in accordance with that they have estimated some *kharwārs* (ass-loads) of rice upon each village and go on demanding that same number of *kharwārs* without obtaining information afresh."[90] Here, therefore, we have Crop-sharing with this peculiarity that the quantity of produce appropriated as revenue remained fixed or constant from year to year.

By putting together all the information we have of the systems to which Abu-l Fazl applies the term *Nasaq*, we can see that the diversity of form really conceals one essential feature that is common to them all: The whole, or a part, of the assessment was not made afresh every year, the results of assessment once made being repeated year after year. It did not matter how the initial assessment had been made or what was repeated—area figures, amounts of cash, quantities of grain, or, perhaps, numbers of ploughs. Any avoidance what-

86. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 185a, Or. 1671, f. 90b; Khafi Khan, I, p. 132n. It is interesting to note that Prof. Lambton in her *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, p. 436, lists *Nasaq* as a technical term in use in Arak for the 'capacity of a village in plough-lands'.

87. *Ain*, I, p. 389.

88. See Ch. V, Sec. 3.

89. *Ain*, I, p. 570. Blochmann puts a dash between *Nasaqī* and *ghallabakhsh*, but a glance at the text would show that the second word could have belonged to the next sentence only if it had been followed by the conjunction "*wa*" (and), which is not the case. Moreland and Yusuf Ali questioned the reading *nasaqī* on the basis of one MS., I.O. 265, which reads *nisfī* instead. (*JRAS*, 1918, pp. 9-10). But there is no doubt that *nisfī* is a scribe's misreading of *nasaqī*, for the best and earliest of our MSS. of the *Ain*, Add. 7652, Add. 6552 and I.O. 6, support Blochmann's text (without his editorial punctuation, of course).

90. *A.N.*, III, p. 548.

soever of the process of actual assessment, by acceptance of something previously worked out or determined, was *Nasaq*.

It may have been observed that we have so far relied for our enquiry on the references to *Nasaq* contained in the writings of Abu-l Fazl only. This has been done deliberately to meet the force of the argument that, in view of the possibility of a change in its significance in the intervening period, later evidence is not admissible for determining what the *Nasaq* really signified under Akbar.[91] However, such later evidence as is available is wholly consistent with the conclusion stated in the preceding paragraph. A manual written in Aurangzeb's reign directly defines *Nasaq* as follows: "The assessor, keeping in view the *muwāzana-i dah-sāla* (record of the revenue and area of the last ten years) and (the record of) the year immediately preceding, or by averaging the *jama'* of the ten or twelve years, assesses the *jama'*."[92] Thus it is the past assessment which determines the present. In another manual prepared near the close of the same reign, *Nasaq* appears in exactly the form it had when associated with *Zabt* in the 16th century: that is, it signifies the area fixed on paper by the revenue officials for purposes of assessment.[93]

3. The Systems of Revenue Assessment in the Different Regions

Abu-l Fazl tells us that under Sher Shah and his son Islam Shah the system of *Ẕabṯ* replaced Crop-sharing and *muqta'ī* (imposition of

91. Saran, *Provincial Government*, &c., pp. 453-57.

92. *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 32b. In Edinburgh 83, f. 34b, this definition is reproduced, but its compiler or scribe was obviously unable to recognise the word *nasaq* at all. It also omits the word 'or' before 'averaging'. Mr. S. R. Sharma in *Indian Culture*, III, 544-5, refers to a definition of *Nasaq* found in a manual in the State Library, Rampur. Surprisingly enough he provides us with neither the text nor a translation of the definition, but only with a paraphrase. Even from this it seems almost certain that it is couched in the same terms as the one in *Farhang-i Kardani* and might not contain the exclusive emphasis on the principle of averages that Mr. Sharma attributes to it.

93. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 79b, 80a; Or. 2026, f. 34a-b. The *karori* "having endeavoured to encourage cultivation, (and) having fixed the *Nasaq*, which in the dialect is known as *Sar* (or *Sī*), in accordance with the state of the peasantry, should post horse and foot, so that the cultivators may do the sowing according to what has been fixed and allow not a (single) cultivable *bigha* or *biswa* to remain uncultivated". I cannot identify the Hindi synonym. Cf. the phrase, *nuskha-i Nasaq*, in Abu-l Fazl in precisely the same sense.

fixed revenue-demand) in Hindustan.[1] This is supported by 'Abbas Khan, who says that Sher Shah introduced the method of assessment by the *jarib*, which had never been practised before him.[2] In his earlier days, in his father's *jagirs* in Bihar, he had allowed the peasants the choice between *Jarib* and Crop-sharing;[3] but as King, he seems to have attempted to make *Zabt* the sole method of assessment. The chronicler declares that revenue was exacted from even the people of the Panjab hills (Nagarkot, &c.) by the use of the *jarib*,[4] and the people around the city of Sambhal were also compelled to pay revenue assessed by the same means.[5] *Zabt* was probably extended to Malawa as well, since *dasturs* for this province, promulgated in the early years of Akbar's reign, are given in the "19-Year" tables of the *Ain*. Only Multan was treated as an exception: the methods used by the Langahs were retained, the *Jarib* was not applied and a form of Crop-sharing was practised.[6]

As the 19-Year Rates show, the *Zabt* system continued in most of the provinces of Hindustan (Agra, Ilahabad, Awadh, Dehli, Lahor and Malawa) during the early years of Akbar. But it is possible that it lost some ground during this period. In the 13th year the practice of annual measurement was replaced by a form of *Nasaq* in the *Khāliṣa* lands.[7] In the 19th year, however, all the provinces of Hindustan, apart from Bihar, were resumed to the *Khāliṣa* and placed under *Zabt*.[8] It was also extended to Multan[9] and parts of the Ajmer

1. *Ain*, I p. 296. For *muqta'i*, see the next Section.
2. 'Abbas Khan, f. 106a. The *Zabt* system was possibly an innovation of Sher Shah, but simple measurement for assessment, as in *Kankut*, must have been an old practice in India. Alauddin Khalji in the 14th century had established a system of assessment by measurement (*ba-ḥukm-i misāḥat o wafā-i biswa*) (Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz-shahi*, Bib. Ind., p. 287). This and his system of *dāgh* (horse-branding) provided the grounds for Abu-l Fazl's sneers that 'Sher Khan' "put into effect some of the numerous measures of Sultan Alauddin that are described in detail in the *Tarikh-i Firuz-shahi*". (*A.N.*, I, p. 196).
3. 'Abbas Khan, f. 11b. *Jarib* here probably means *Kankut*.
4. *Ibid*, f. 107a.
5. *Ibid*, f. 108a.
6. *Ibid*, ff. 93b-94a.
7. *A.N.*, III, pp. 333; *Iqbalnama*, II, Lucknow, p. 233.
8. *A.N.*, III, pp. 117-18; 'Arif Qandahari, 177-78; Badauni, II, pp. 189-90.
9. Under the 19-Year Rates the entries for Multan begin only from the 15th year. But since it is probable that the rates for the 15th to 24th years are those fixed retrospectively it is possible that Multan came under *Zabt* only in the 19th year or later.

province.[10] By the time the *Ain* was compiled, the majority of the *parganas* of Bihar, accounting for over three-fourths of its *jama'*, had come under *Zabt*.[11] It is, however, improbable that the *Zabt* covered the whole land in any province.[12] The object of the *'Karori* Experiment' launched in the 19th year probably was to make as extensive a measurement as possible just for once, or for a period of years, and then use it as the basis for a workable *Nasaq*[13] and for compiling the new general assessment, the *Jama'-i Dahsala*. In the *Ain* the instructions to the *'amalguzar* lay down that he ought to allow the peasants the choice of either accepting *Nasaq* or having fresh measurement. Furthermore, he is asked not to confine himself only to these two methods, which set the demand in terms of cash, but also to use *Kankut* and Crop-sharing, where the demand would be expressed in kind.[14] It is indicated elsewhere in the same work that any of these methods, in so far as they suited the locality, were to be applied in *chachar* land (under fallow from three or four years), while in *banjar*, left untilled

10. The tables for Ajmer are left blank under the 19-Year Rates, but the final *dastur-al 'amals* are given for nine groups of *mahals*.

11. *Ain*, I, p. 417.

12. We have seen in Section 1 of Chapter I that the measured area statistics of Aurangzeb's reign show a considerable increase over those of the *Ain* and yet indicate clearly that a very high proportion of the villages was left unmeasured in most of the provinces. A comparison with these statistics reveals that it was only in respect of the Agra and Dehli provinces that the measured area statistics of the *Ain* were in any sense complete.

G̱hulam Hazarat, writing in 1810, claims to have seen some of the *Muwazana* papers of the time of Akbar with some qanungos of the *chakla* of A'zamgarh and then adds that "the measurement (*ẓabṭ-i paimā'ish*) of the villages of the *chakla* of Gorakhpur had not been undertaken in that (Akbar's) time." (*Kawā'if-i Gorakhpūr*, Aligarh MS., f. 15b.) This may be one explanation of why many of the *mahals* of the *sarkar* of Gorakhpur (Awadh) are assigned very low area figures in the *Ain*.

13. Bāyazīd Bayāt was asked to undertake revenue duties in the *sarkar* of Ujjain in Malawa in A.H. 984 (the 21st regnal year of Akbar), and he describes his work as consisting of "measurement (*jarīb*), assessment (*jama'-bandī*), and (fixing) the *nasaq*." (Bayazid, p. 353). As we have seen, Todar Mal recommended in the 27th year that measurement was not to be carried out annually in the *Ḵhalisa*, and a local *Nasaq* was to be instituted. (*A.N.*, III, pp. 381-2).

14. *Ain*, I, pp. 285-6. It is curious that Moreland does not anywhere offer an interpretation of this passage, which in effect says the same thing as the preamble of Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas. Yet he did not hesitate in taking the latter as offering "decisive" evidence that Akbar's system by then had become "almost entirely obsolete" (*Agrarian System*, p. 124).

for a longer period, the choice was to rest with the peasant.[15] It seems to be assumed on the other hand that land, previously under Crop-sharing, would come under *Zabt*, if sown with cash crops.[16]

In its essentials this system seems to have continued unaltered in the 17th century. The preamble to the *farman* issued to Rasikdās[17] in the 8th regnal year of Aurangzeb recites that the current practice then prevailing was as follows:

"The assessors (*umanā'*) of the *parganas* of the imperial dominions assess the *jama'* of most of the villages of the *parganas* in the beginning of the year, keeping in view the revenue (*ḥāṣil*) of the *sāl-i kāmil* (the year of the maximum revenue)[18] and the previous year and the cultivable area and the capacity of the peasantry and other peculiarities; and if the peasants of some of the villages do not agree to this procedure (*'amal*), they assess the *jama'* at the time of the ripening of the crops by the method of *Jarib* or *Kankut*. And in some of the villages, whose cultivators and peasants they know to be in distress and indigent, they enforce the method of Crop-sharing at half or a third part or two-fifths or more or less (as revenue)".

We have thus, first, the form of *Nasaq* as established in the *Zabti* regions, then measurement, whether under *Zabt* (*Jarib*) or *Kankut*, and, in special cases, Crop-sharing. A similar statement is also made in the *Khulasatus Siyaq*, written in the Panjab near the close of Aurangzeb's reign.[19] The general prevalence of assessment based upon

15. *Ain*, I, pp. 301, 305.

16. *Ibid.*, 296. This has been discussed in a previous note.

17. There is only the strongest presumption, but no definite proof, that this *farman* dealt particularly with conditions in Hindustan. Nothing is known about the official position of Rasikdās or the province to which he was posted. In the copy of the *farman* preserved in Add. 19,503, q. 62a-63b, his name is replaced by that of Mīr Muḥammad Mu'izz, the *Diwan-i Khalisa* of Bihar. It might therefore have been circularised to a number of officials.

18. The term *sāl-i kāmil* occurs first in the text of Mir Fathullah Shirazi's recommendations made in the 30th year of Akbar (*A.N.*, III, p. 457). *Kāmil* literally means perfect, but is here used in the technical sense of the highest revenue ever realised. See the definition of *jama'-i kāmil* in Add. 6603, f. 57b. A controversy sprang up on the meaning of this term, used in the Treaty of Surat, 1776, between the Maratha and English authorities, the Marathas insisting that it should be interpreted strictly in the sense attributed to it in revenue literature. (Cf. Grant-Duff, *A History of the Mahrattas*, London, 1826, Vol. II, p. 333).

19. The *amin*, or assessor, was to prepare the *jama'* or *daul* at the beginning of the year separately for both harvests, on the basis of his knowledge of the capacity of the peasants, village by village. When the crop started to ripen, he was to take a fresh *qabūliyat* (affirmation of agreement with the assessed

area, whether actually measured year by year or maintained by *Nasaq*, is emphasised by the area statistics belonging to Aurangzeb's reign. Indeed, the area recorded in them is, generally, considerably in excess of that in the *Ain*. While the number of unmeasured villages given in these statistics constitutes a very high proportion of the total in the provinces of Bihar, Awadh and Multan, it is relatively unimportant in the Ilahabad, Agra, Dehli and Lahor provinces.[20]

The 18th century represented a period of administrative anarchy, but elements of the Mughal system of revenue assessment still survived. A report about revenue practices in other provinces prepared for the English authorities in Bengal, some time before 1788, declared that measurement was generally used by the *zamindars* for determining the demand upon the peasants in the Panjab, though some *zamindars* were employing crop-sharing methods. In the province of Shahjahanabad (Dehli) revenue was paid in some villages by Crop-sharing, in others by the *bigha*. In both Awadh and Ilahabad measurement, or, at any rate, payment of revenue by the *bigha*, was the general rule.[21] In Bihar, during the early period of the Nizamat, some *mahals* had fixed assessments, but in others *Kankut* was usually applied.[22]

Passing on to the other regions of the Empire, we have first the province of Kashmir. We have already touched upon the system followed here. Abu-l Fazl describes it in some detail and his information may be summarised as follows. Each village was supposed to contain a fixed area of revenue-paying land. A *rai'* for each *patta*, the local unit of area, was fixed for the major crops, the revenue-share being regarded as one-third of the produce. The amount thus determined (in terms of ass-loads of rice) was levied every year without variation. When Akbar's officers carried out a detailed investigation in the 34th year, it was discovered that the *rai's* declared to the administration

demand) from the peasants. If some, owing to an accident, were unable to pay the *jama'* assessed by him and requested actual assessment (*'amal*) he was to apply *Zabt* or Crop-sharing or *Kankut*, whichever he might think profitable for the authorities and not oppressive to the peasants. (*Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 73b-74a; Or. 2026, f. 22b). Cf. also Bekas, f. 70a-b.

20. These statistics have been discussed in Section 1 of Chapter I.

21. Add. 6586, f. 164a-b.

22. Report on the pre-British system of administration in Bengal by the Rai Rayan and the qanungos, 1777: Add. 6592, f. 112b, Add. 6586, f. 71b. *Kankut* is here considered a form of Crop-sharing (*Bhāoli*) though it is stated distinctly that the *jarib* was employed.

had no basis in actual fact and the revenue was actually being levied in accordance with much higher *rai's*—four times higher, for example, in respect of wheat and one-half in that of rice.[23] So that not one-third, but even more than two-thirds, of the produce was being collected. Akbar, therefore, fixed the share of the State at half the produce, but the new *rai's* are nowhere given.[24] In the late 18th century an apparently pure form of Crop-sharing prevailed in Kashmir,[25] but there is little information about the intervening period.

Bhakkar formed a *sarkar* of the Multan province. We are told that in 1575-6 a uniform *dastur-al 'amal* (expressing the demand in kind, however) was grafted upon the system of *Kankut*, and great oppression and disturbances resulted from this innovation.[26] Perhaps, in some modified form, this system was maintained. Thus although this *sarkar* is assigned no *dastur* in the *Ain*,[27] it is provided with area figures in the provincial statistics. The *Maẓhar-i Shāhjahānī*, written in 1634, declares that all the eight *parganas* of the Bhakkar *sarkar* had been under the "*Ẕabṭī*" system of revenue assessment, with *dasturs* fixed on crops of both the autumn and spring harvests.[27a] The *Chahar Gulshan* has no area statistics for either this or the *sarkar* of Multan,[28] and it may be assumed that the latter was also lost to *Zabt* in the course of the 17th century. In Sehwan *sarkar*, to the south, "*Zabti*" and Crop-sharing existed side by side.[28a] The *dasturs* set out in the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* for the various crops are, however, mostly fixed in kind, not cash, and therefore remind us of the modified form of *Kankut* introduced in Bhakkar in the previous century.[28b] The province of Thatta remained throughout under Crop-sharing, in the time of Akbar

23. *A.N.*, III, pp. 548-9.
24. *Ain*, I, p. 570; *A.N.*, III, p. 727.
25. Add. 6586, f. 164a.
26. Ma'sum, *Tarikh-i Sind*, p. 245.
27. This is not explicitly stated in Blochmann's text, though even this omission is supplied by Add. 6552. Bhakkar does not appear either on the lists of *mahals* carrying *dasturs* or on the tables of *dasturs* themselves. In the passage preceding the tables of revenue statistics for the Multan province, it is stated that three of its *sarkars* (presumably Multan, Dipalpur, and Bhakkar, and excluding Thatta) were all "*Ẕabṭī*' (*Ain*, I, p. 550). But perhaps *Zabt* is here loosely extended to cover *Kankut*, which also involved measurement.
27a. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 13-14.
28. See Chapter I, Section 1.
28a. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 155, 182-5, 203-30.
28b. *Ibid.*, 183-4.

as well as afterwards.[29] The same system also prevailed in the larger portion of the Ajmer province.[30]

The position in Gujarat presents certain difficulties. The *Ain* declared that it was "mostly *Nasaqī*, and measurement is rarely practised".[31] At the same time, excepting Sorath and some *mahals* elsewhere, the whole province is supplied with detailed area statistics. Moreover, Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, the Governor of Gujarat (1577-85), is said to have "made a measurement of the cultivable area a second time on the complaints of the peasants of the *pargana* of the environs (*ḥavelī*) of Ahmadabad and other *parganas*".[32] Early in the reign of Shahjahan, Geleynssen speaks of the crop being "measured and valued" for revenue purposes.[33] The only explanation seems to be that Gujarat had a *Nasaq* of the type practised in the *Zabti* provinces. The difference, to be inferred from Abu-l Fazl's words, was only that in Gujarat there was no provision for re-measurement in the ordinary routine of revenue administration, as was the case with the regular system. This is also implied in the account of Shihabuddin Khan's work, which shows that there had been only one survey before it and it needed widespread complaints to have the survey undertaken again.

Gujarat suffered grievously from the famine of 1630-32 and in the next decade the Court became cognizant of the extreme degree of oppression and distress borne by the peasantry. Mirzā 'Īsā Tarkhān was appointed Governor (1652-4) to remedy matters and he "established Crop-sharing" and "in a short time brought the country to prosperity".[34] It is probable that measurement was not entirely superseded, for in the statistics of Aurangzeb's reign nearly two-fifths of the villages are

29. *Ain*, I, p. 556; *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 51.

30. *Ibid*, 505. See also *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, pp. 114 & 448, for *parganas* of Mirta and Nainwa. A report from Jalor (*ibid*, 451-2) suggests that Crop-sharing was introduced there for the first time in the 23rd year of Aurangzeb.

31. *Ain*, I, p. 485. The initial word 'mostly' corresponds to *beshtar* in the original. Moreland and Yusuf Ali (*JRAS*, 1918, pp. 29-30), while admitting that the MSS do not show any variant reading, suggest nevertheless that we should read *peshtar* (formerly) instead, and interpret the sentence to refer to past conditions only. But in that case the words at the end, *kam ravad*, would have to be altered to *kam rafte* so as to carry the past tense; and this would certainly be going too far.

32. *Mirat*, I, p. 141.

33. *JIH*, IV, p. 79.

34. *Mirat*, I, pp. 217-18.

shown as measured.[35] Crop-sharing itself did not prove a lasting boon to the peasants. An imperial order issued in the 8th regnal year of Aurangzeb discloses an extraordinary perversion of this system. It recites that "owing to the high price of corn" in the earlier years of the reign "the *jama'* had reached the maximum (*kamāl*)". Thereafter the prices fell, but the *jagirdars* still demanded the same amounts by making arbitrary assessments. Thus even though formally following Crop-sharing, they would assume the produce to be 250 *mans,* when it was actually 100. Setting the demand at half of the imaginary figure, they would take away the whole crop and for the balance of 25 *mans* make the peasants work a whole year to provide it out of their wages.[36] It is doubtful how far the injunction to base the demand henceforth on the actual harvest was successful. In 1674-5 Fryer found that in the Surat region the peasants were not allowed to remove their crops from the fields unless they had surrendered three-fourths of the produce to the authorities.[37]

Concerning the Mughal Dakhin, the *Ain* provides us with no relevant information except for saying that Berar was under *Nasaq*.[38] Sadiq Khan, however, tells us that in the Dakhin provinces neither measurement nor Crop-sharing had been followed "since ancient times". "On the contrary", he says, "the established practice was that each of the villagers and peasants tilled as much land as he could with a plough and pair of oxen and grew what crop he liked, whether grains or pot-herbs, and paid to the authorities (*sarkār*) a little money on each plough, varying with the territory and the *parganas;* and there was no (further) enquiry about, or regard paid to, the quantity of the crop".[39] This might have been the general practice, but from a document prepared in 1642-3 it appears that in some *parganas* at least a kind of *Nasaq* based upon measurement was being applied.[40] It is probable

35. See Chapter I, Section 1.

36. *Mirat*, I, p. 268. This passage belongs to the *sharḥ-i ẓimn* ('explanation on the back') of a *farman* expressly directed to prohibiting illegal exactions (*abwāb-i mamnū'a*) in the Ahmadabad province (*ibid.*, p. 259).

37. Fryer, I, pp. 300-301.

38. *Ain*, I, p. 478.

39. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 185a-b, Or. 1671, f. 90b; Khafi Khan, I, p. 732 *n.*

40. This is entitled 'Memorandum on the Estimate of Land' (*Yāddāsht-i Tajwīz-i Zamīn*). It concerns twenty-eight *parganas*, but three of these had not sent the required returns. The total area amounted to 1,90,006 *bighas*, 13 *biswas*. Each *pargana* was assigned a certain area of land for ordinary land under cultivation and for *bāghāt*, literally gardens, but used in the Dakhin for fields irrigated from

:his and other practices were introduced by the Mughal adminis-
ı in various localities in the course of the five or six decades fol-
ıg Akbar's conquests. Writing from the Dakhin in 1653,
ngzeb declared that the "different methods" (*ẓawābiṭ-i gūnāgūn*)
.'ed by the revenue authorities were "a cause of the ruin of that
.ry".[41]

Vhen Aurangzeb was sent in 1652 for the second time as Viceroy
e Dakhin, he was specially charged with the task of improving
and revenue system.[42] This reform was largely carried out by
hid Qulī Khān, assisted for some time by Multafat Khan.[43] It
ı with the classic expedient of Crop-sharing, and Aurangzeb's
's make it clear that this applied to the entire territory under his
;e, including the assignments of the *jagirdars*.[44] The particular
of sharing which was used is said to have been an innovation of
hid Quli Khan himself.[45] The proportions in which the revenue
to be collected under it were based on a differential scale. Half
ıe produce was to be taken from crops raised on rainfall alone;
ı third from crops irrigated from wells, but in the case of sugar-
fruits and spices, the share was to range from one-third to one-
h, keeping in view the cost of irrigation and (with respect to fruits)
period the trees took to reach the fruit-bearing stage. Different
were also promulgated for crops irrigated from channels and
ls. Sadiq Khan adds that the old system of assessing the revenue
ıe number of ploughs was still retained in certain areas, while the

(cf. Khafi Khan, I, p. 735*n.*). Some figures are prefaced by the phrase,
:-i *ḥāl*, 'proposed currently', which means that they were being added to
rea assigned previously. It is not clear whether the document relates to
of the *Khalisa* or of Aurangzeb's *jagirs*. (*Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's*
, pp. 101-107).

Adab-i 'Alamgiri, f. 36a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, ed. Nadvi, p. 97.

Adab-i 'Alamgiri, f. 26b; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, p. 69.

In the beginning Murshid Quli Khan was the *diwan* of Balaghat and Mul-
Khan of Painghat. Subsequently the latter was transferred to other duties
Murshid Quli became the *diwan* of the whole of the Mughal Dakhin.

Adab-i 'Alamgiri, ff. 35a, 36a-b, 38b, 43a, 118a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 97.
2, 113 & 117.

This significant statement, which occurs in Sadiq Khan's account of Mur-
Quli's reforms, is omitted by Khafi Khan. Moreland was accordingly un-
: that this point had already been made by a contemporary historian. He
: out that this type of "differential sharing" was unfamiliar to Indian prac-
and was probably derived from Murshid Quli Khan's experience in Persian
nistration. (*Agrarian System*, p. 186).

practice of measurement was introduced in others. For the purposes of the latter, Murshid Quli is said to have determined the *rai'* for every crop and to have fixed the *dasturs* per *bigha* after taking account of the prices.[46] Aurangzeb says nothing about measurement, but since he declares that Crop-sharing had proved a very expensive method,[47] he could hardly have contemplated its becoming a permanent fixture. Sadiq Khan actually says that Murshid Quli measured the area of most of the *parganas*.[48] The revenue records of the Papal *pargana* of Berar relating to c. 1679 give detailed particulars concerning its measured area.[49] But the decisive evidence is furnished by the village and area statistics of Aurangzeb's reign. These show that nearly nine-tenths of the villages of Berar and Aurangabad had been measured, and nearly a half of those of Khandesh.[50] It would seem, therefore, that the major result of Murshid Quli Khan's reform was the introduction of measurement and that Crop-sharing was only employed at the beginning to help in fixing workable *rai's* for the different crops.[51]

In Bengal, says Abu-l Fazl, "the peasantry (is) obedient and revenue-paying. In each year during eight months they pay the (revenue) demand in instalments. They take the rupees and *muhrs* to the appointed place themselves. Crop-sharing is not practised. A state of low prices (*arzānī*) always prevails. They do not object to having it measured.[52] The revenue-demand is based upon *Nasaq*. The

46. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, ff. 185b-186a, Or. 1671, f. 91a; Khafi Khan, I, pp. 733-4n. Murshid Quli Khan is said to have devoted so much attention to formulating the *rai's* that in order to prevent any inaccuracy he would himself pick up one end of the measuring rope. The reference seems to be not to measurement in general for purposes of assessment, but to measurement made of a sample area, whose total yield was known, in order to determine the rate of yield per *bigha*, i.e., the *rai'* or crop-rate.

47. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 38b, 118a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, 117.

48. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 185b, Or. 1671, ff. 90b-91a; Khafi Khan, I, p. 733n.

49. See *IHRC*, 1929, pp. 81, 84-86.

50. See Chapter I, Section 1.

51. Essentially, this would be the same procedure as was attributed by Grant-Duff to Malik Ambar, viz., the collection of "a moderate proportion of the actual produce in kind, which, after the experience of several seasons, was commuted for a payment in money settled annually according to cultivation." (*History of the Mahrattas*, 1826, Vol. I, p. 95, cited in *Agrarian System*, p. 182).

52. This sentence is not by any means easy to render: In Blochmann's text it reads: "*wa dar paimūdan-i ān bāz nagoyand*". 'And they do not ask afresh (or, simply, insist) in regard to measuring it'. But Add. 7652 and Add. 6552 both agree in omitting the initial *wa* and reading *az* for *dar* and the rendering in the text

world-ruler out of benevolence retained this system (*ā'īn*)."[53] We have seen in the previous Chapter that in Bengal the authorities levied the revenue-demand not upon the peasants but upon the *zamindars*. It is not, however, immediately clear where in this passage Abu-l Fazl is speaking of the payment of revenue by the peasants to the *zamindars* and where of the payment by the *zamindars* to the State. The initial statements, since they contain an explicit reference to the peasants, would seem to be referring to them only. Even in the early days of the English administration the "ryots" in general paid their "rents" in cash, and Crop-sharing was used only in "some places."[54] The sentence relating to measurement, however, raises some difficulty. The *Ain* does not carry any area-figures in its statistics for Bengal; and in the statistics of Aurangzeb's reign also the measured villages constitute an infinitesimal proportion of the whole.[55] On the other hand, a 16th century poet of Bengal refers to fraud practised in measurement by a revenue official of a *jagirdar*, under the Afghan regime.[56] There is also a reference to "survey" as the means of checking the *jama'* of a revenue-assignment in the reign of Jahangir.[57] According to a late account, Murshid Qulī Khān on his appointment as Deputy-Governor of Bengal and Orissa in the last years of Aurangzeb, overhauled the whole revenue system and sent his revenue officials to measure the land, cultivated as well as waste, of every village.[58] It seems probable that the authorities sometimes resorted to measurement when the old *jama'* fixed on a *zamindar* was completely obsolete. A mid-18th century manual describes this as a recognised practice in Bengal.[59] This may really be the meaning also of Abu-l Fazl's rather vague statement that measurement was not objected to. It is possible that since such measurement was so rarely employed, and then with the use of local stand-

above follows this reading. Strictly speaking, the pronoun "it" should stand for *arzānī*, or cheapness, but this would not make sense and one must assume with Moreland (*JRAS*, 1926, p. 45) that by "it" here land must be meant.

53. *Ain*, I, p. 389.

54. Shore's minute of June, 1789, par. 226, *Fifth Report*, Madras, 1883, Vol. I, p. 140.

55. See Chapter I, Section 1 (Table of the Statistics of Aurangzeb's Reign).

56. Mukundaram in *Chandimangal*, quoted in Sukumar Sen, *History of Bengali Literature*, 124, 393; cf. Raychaudhuri, *Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir*, p. 25.

57. *Bahāristān-i Ghaibī*, tr. Borah, II, pp. 741-2. I regret I have not been able to check this passage with the original which has never been published, the unique MS. being in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

58. *Riyāzu-s Salāṭīn*, Bib. Ind., p. 252.

59. *Risala-i Zira'at*, ff. 9b-10a.

ards,[60] no regular area statistics could be compiled on its basis. Abu-l Fazl's statement that the revenue-demand was based on *Nasaq* must also refer to the demand imposed on the *zamindars.* We have good evidence, as shown earlier, that this demand normally remained unchanged for long periods of years in Bengal.[61]

4. The Basic Unit of Assessment : The Individual Peasant-holding and the Village

As we have noticed already, it is a recurring theme with official pronouncements that the domineering persons in a village would always seek to shift their own burdens on to the shoulders of their weaker brethren. The ideal before the Mughal administration, at least in 'Hindustan' where the *Zabt* system predominated, was to deal with each peasant separately, particularly when determining or levying the revenue-demand. The *'amalguzar* should not, says the *Ain,* "make *Nasaq* with the big men of the village, since indulgence and ignorance arise therefrom and it gives strength to the dominant men of oppressive bent. On the other hand, he should reach each individual cultivator and graciously give him a written document and take one from him."[1] A manual written a century later gives exactly the same reason for recommending the principle of individual assessment.[2]

The two documents referred to in the passage of the *Ain* just cited must respectively be the *paṭṭa* and the *qabūliyat.* A specimen copy of a *patta* given to an individual peasant has, as a matter of fact, been preserved for us in a manual,[3] and elsewhere we come across orders passed on the petition of a single peasant who had complained that the *patta* granted to him was not being honoured.[4]

The *Ain* requires of the *bitikchī,* or accountant, that he should record the name of each peasant, together with that of his ancestor,[5] the

60. In late 18th century in some localities the *zamindars* used to determine the rents payable by the peasants, on the basis of measurement, but Shore notes that the local standards differed widely. (Minute of June 1789, pars. 230 & 231, *Fifth Report, op. cit.,* I, pp. 140-41).

61. See Chapter V, Section 3.

1. *Ain,* I, p. 286.
2. *Khulasatus Siyaq,* f. 78a, Or. 2026, f. 30a.
3. *Farhang-i Kardani,* f. 35a.
4. *Durr-al 'Ulum,* f. 62a.
5. The word Abu-l Fazl uses for 'ancestor' is *niyāg* instead of the usual *niyā.* The addition of the name of the ancestor was probably necessary for the elementary

sown by him and the *jama'* assessed upon it, and then put down 'otal of the individual assessments as the revenue (*maḥṣūl*) of the ge.[6] Briefly, but in the same strain, Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasik- Art. 3, directs that the *jama'* of each village should be fixed after ssing the peasants individually (*asāmī-wār*). Similarly, in the :imen assessment papers reproduced in two manuals of the period the particulars are given, or required to be filled, separately for ı peasant (*asāmī*).[7]

Aurangzeb's *farman* also stresses that in making reductions to meet effects of natural calamities, the assessor should not make a lump remission, leaving the *chaudhuris, qanungos, muqaddams* and *ɔaris* to distribute it among the peasants, but should himself ins- the fields and estimate the amount of remission for each indi- .al cultivator.[8]

Lastly, when the revenue had been collected, the *bitikchi* was :xamine the *sarkhaṭs*, i.e. receipts or memoranda, given by the *ıaddams* and *patwaris* to the peasants, in order to see whether the :ctions had conformed to the assessments.[9] We have already seen the administration used to have the village accounts—the *kāghaẓ-i n*—inspected from time to time in order to detect misappropria- The details of payments made by the peasants came under scru- and it is specifically laid down that if if it was discovered that more been taken than was due, the excess was to be recovered and ited to the balance of revenue payable by the respective cultiva- [10]

The real question is how far these regulations were in practice :tive. The difficulties involved in assessing each cultivator sepa-

ɔses of identification, but would have the further significance, in a *bhaiyāchāra* ;e, of determining the status of the peasant.

. *Ain*, I, p. 288.

. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, ff. 182a-185a; *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 33b; *ınama*, 32-33; *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 75a-76b, Or. 2626, ff. 24b-28a.

!. *Farman* to Rasikdas, Art. 9. The *Ain's* instructions to the *'amalguzar* in 'ing for *nābūd*, or land affected by some calamity, also suggest that he was ssess the extent of the damage for each cultivator separately. He was to his estimate in writing to the "cultivator" and if the calamity occurred after rop had been cut, he was to call in the "neighbours" as witnesses (*Ain*, I, 286).

. *Ain*, I, p. 288.

. Fathullah Shirazi's recommendations: *A.N.*, III, pp. 457-8. If the cultivator :rned had no balance (*baqāyā*) to pay during the current year, the amount to be deducted from the demand assessed the following year.

rately every year can be visualised. Under Crop-sharing in its pure form the problem was perhaps automatically solved, since the revenue-share would be collected directly from the field or stacks of each peasant. But this was in itself a very cumbersome and expensive method for the authorities. Under any other system it would have been far easier to assess the whole village than each individual holding. In fact one manual implies that, although undesirable, it was the general practice to make collective (*sarbasta*) assessments for the villages.[11] Another goes into great detail about how a village ought to be assessed but does not make any reference to the need for assessing individual holdings.[12] Although Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas prescribes individual assessment, yet in the description, given in its preamble, of the current methods of revenue assessment and collection, it is the village not the peasant that appears as the primary unit of assessment. Moreover in Art. 6 the *diwan* himself, when on tour, is asked to see whether the *jama'* of the village he was visiting, conformed to its capacity and whether in the distribution of the *jama'* (*tafrīq-i jama'*) among the individual cultivators, the *chaudhuri, muqaddam* or *patwari* had not been guilty of oppression. It is thus assumed that as a general rule the *amin*, or assessor, contented himself with fixing the assessment of the village, leaving the detailed obligations of the peasants to be fixed by the headmen. Even in the regulations of Akbar's reign we can detect cases where the real assessee is the village, not the "*asāmī*". Todar Mal's recommendation that in the Khalisa each village should not be measured each year, but the area assigned to it be merely increased by estimate—under a form of *Nasaq*—suggests strongly that the increased area was not to be built up by a minute examination of each holding, but simply upon a view of the whole village.[13] Keeping these facts in view it cannot be ruled out as impossible that where the *asāmī-wār* entries appeared on the official assessment papers, these often were either completely fictitious or simply copied or adapted from the papers of the village accountants or headmen.

If this was the case with *ra'iyati* or peasant-held villages, the presumption would be strong that in villages held by the *zamindars*, the revenue officials would merely assess the whole village and require its *zamindar* to pay it, without bothering to distribute the assessment

11. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 78a, Or. 2026, f. 30a.
12. *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, ff. 10a-11a.
13. *A.N.*, III, pp. 381-2.

among individual peasants. There is, however, no proof that this was an authorised practice. The official view, as we have already seen in Chapter V, appears to have been that the *zamindar* was only an intermediary and the peasant was the real assessee.[14]

There existed certain arrangements, however, where no pretence of dealing with the individual peasants could be maintained even on paper. Abu-l Fazl tells us that a system known as *muqta'ī* was abolished by the Surs along with Crop-sharing.[15] The derivations from the Arabic root *qat'* have carried the most varied meanings in revenue literature, inside and outside India.[16] *Muqta'ī* is used at a number of places in the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* in the obvious sense of a 'fixed amount'.[16a] It is really a compound word, meaning a system in which *muqta'* prevailed. Now the word *muqta'* is never met with alone in 17th century revenue literature, but always in the phrase, *bi-l muqta'*. The dictionary meaning of this is 'stipulated, fixed',[17] but in our records it appears uniformly in the sense of a fixed amount to be paid periodically. It is used with reference to salaries paid to officials at a fixed rate.[18] And in Art. 4 of Aurangzeb's *farman* to Muhammad Hashim it is used to describe a fixed rate of revenue per *bigha*. In other documents, however, it signifies specially a fixed revenue-demand on the whole village, or a larger area.[19] We find it used in *ijāra* (revenue-farming) documents for indicating that the farmer was to pay a fixed

14. See Chapter V, Section 3.

15. *Ain*, I, p. 296.

16. *E.g.*, *iqtā'*, revenue-assignment, and *muqāta'a*, revenue-farming. Moreland is not sure with which of these to connect Abu-l Fazl's term (*Agrarian System*, 74). For *muqata'a* in the sense of revenue-farming, see Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz-shahi*, 487-8; Add. 7721, f. 14b; F. Lokkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, Copenhagen, 1950, pp. 102-8; Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, p. 435.

16a. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 134: "The Balūch of Bāricha, who live in the hills in the *pargana* of Būbkān, give a certain number of camels and sheep every harvest to the *jagirdar* of Sehwan. (Under Shamsher Khan) they started giving less than that *muqta'i*," &c. See also pp. 28, 29, 69, 85.

17. See Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, 151; Elliot, *Memoirs*, &c., ii, p. 24. I am not sure which spelling is the right one: *maqta'* (Steingass) or *muqta'* (Elliot). I have adopted the latter as being more likely to represent the Indian pronunciation.

18. *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, pp. 64, 179 *Waqai'i' Dakhin*, 49.

19. Cf. Elliot, *op. cit.* He says that *bi-l muqta'* means a fixed rate of "so much per plough or per Bigha" and also "an engagement stipulating to pay a fixed money rent for the lands under cultivation". He adds, finally, that "it is often used to mean 'in a lump sum', or 'on the whole'."

amount of cash to the *jagirdar* irrespective of the amount collected from the peasants.[20] Similarly, the revenue-assessment of a number of villages imposed on its proprietors (*māliks*) is said to be *bi-l muqta'* and the figures actually given show that the assessed amount remained fixed for two successive years.[21] A passage tacked on to the *farman* to Muhammad Hashim in a collection of documents of Aurangzeb's reign, suggests that there were also peasant-held villages which insisted on paying a fixed amount of revenue only and no more. "If there is a *pargana* or village, which is prone to defiance (*zor-ṭalab*), and the peasants of that village only pay something *bi-l muqta'* and do not consent to have the revenue assessed according to the actual conditions and it is not possible to enforce such assessment and (if it was enforced) it would lead to conflict and ruin of that *pargana* or village, then let them collect the revenue of that *pargana* or village as of old and not do anything which would result in conflict".[22] It was thus a method which was normally disapproved of and permitted only in exceptional circumstances. It is most likely then that this method is precisely what Abu-l Fazl meant by *muqta'i*, which after its abolition by the Surs would also have been placed outside the approved scheme of land-revenue administration. Here it is noteworthy that of the three modes of exacting revenue which are said to have been followed in or before the time of Sher Shah, the first was one where a "fixed sum" was levied on the headman of a village, who collected it from the rest.[23]

As a general practice *ijāra*, or revenue-farming pure and simple, lay under official disapproval.[24] Yet in actual fact the revenue officials

20. Allahabad 884; Add. 6603, f. 51b, also 49b.

21. Allahabad 1223. Compare the revenue-figures of this document with those of the previous year's assessment in Allahabad 1220.

22. *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 141b. The *muqta'i* arrangements mentioned in the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 28-9, 85, 134, were made with unruly tribesmen or unsubmissive peasants. The inhabitants of the villages around the Manchhar Lake also paid "*muqta'i*" on the fish and grass collected by them (*ibid*, 69). Here obviously the nature of the produce precluded any other kind of arrangement.

23. Hasan Ali Khan, *Daulat-i Sher Shahi*, tr. Dr. R. P. Tripathi, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 62. Unfortunately portions of the unique MS of this work, after being used and translated by Dr. Tripathi, were again lost and only a fragment of the original survives. The translation also discloses a lacuna here, for while three "ways of revenue administration" are mentioned, only one, the first, is actually described.

24. For prohibition of *ijara* in absolute terms both in respect of the *Khalisa* and *jagirs* see *Mirat*, I, p. 292 (Gujarat) and *Akhbarat* 37/38 (Kashmir).

did sometimes farm out the revenues of individual villages.[25] Orders passed on this subject, however, insist that only villages which had fallen into ruin, and whose peasants had no resources left, were to be given away on farm on the condition that the farmer should restore them to prosperity.[26] In no case was any revenue official, or *chaudhuri* or *qanungo* or *muqaddam* or a person in league with any of them, to be permitted to take any village on farm.[27] The revenue-farmer was moreover not to take anything beyond the equivalent of land-revenue from the peasants,[28] though there can be little doubt that the farmers would only rarely have respected this injunction.[29] It may be remarked in passing that we are here speaking only of the farming of the revenues of individual villages and not of farming, whether open or veiled, encountered at higher levels in the administration of the *jagirs* and the *Khalisa*.[30]

It is not easy to say how widespread the practices of *muqta'i* and *ijara* were during our period.[31] The general regulations for revenue

25. See *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 35a-b, for a statement to this effect and for the draft of a pledge from the farmer to pay the amount of revenue promised.

26. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 126b, 195a-b, Bodl. ff. 97b-98a, 154b-155a, Ed., 97-8, 149.

27. *Mirat*, I, p. 292; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 195a-b, Bodl., ff. 154b-155a, Ed., 149; Fraser 86, f. 93b. The *Nigarnama-i Munshi* also insists on the consent of the *mālik*.

28. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 119b, 195b, Bodl., ff. 92a, 155a, Ed. 92, 149.

29. A specific case of oppression at the hands of a revenue-farmer forms the subject matter of a *hasbu-l hukm* in *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 65a-b: "....At this time Dasondhi, Siyam, Phalad, &c., peasants of the village Hasanpur, in the jurisdiction of the *pargana* of Palwal, having reached the all-protecting Court, have complained that Bhaiya, *chaudhuri* of that place, having entered into league with the revenue-collector (*'āmil*) of that *mahal*, himself took the *ijara* of that village, which previously had been in the farm of one Dost Muhammad. He has seized Rs. 800 during the *kharif* season by force and violence, and having put an embargo (*qurq*) upon the harvesting of the *rabi'* crop, inflicts upon them all kinds of vexation and injury. Apart from this, within five years, he has taken for himself Rs. 1,300 out of the possession of the petitioners, besides the authorised revenue (*māl-i wājib*). And he has seized and taken away the village accounts (*kāghaz-i khām*)...." This last action, presumably, was to prevent his extortions from being detected.

30. For this see Chapter VII, Section 2.

31. It was a matter on which the Mughal administration itself was not apparently too well informed. Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas complains in its preamble that information about the number of the cultivators of each village, with "the separate classification (*tafriq*) of *mustājirs* (revenue-farmers) and peasants (*ri'āyā*)" was not supplied to the headquarters.

assessment, together with the express statement that the former had been superseded and the official orders inveighing against the latter, would seem to suggest that they could not have been very common in the *Zabti* provinces and such regions as Gujarat and (after Murshid Quli Khan's reforms) the Mughal Dakhin.[32] But there might have been a number of intermediate forms of group assessment. *Nasaq* 'made with the big men of the village', for example, would not really have been very far from giving the revenues on farm to *muqaddams*.

5. The Medium of Payment

The peasant of Northern India or, at least, of the central regions, paid his revenue in cash as early as the 13th century.[1] In the Mughal period the methods of assessment, chiefly used in Hindustan, namely, the *Zabt* and the form of *Nasaq* based upon it, involved the direct statement of the revenue demand in terms of cash. No provision is on record for allowing a commutation of cash into kind in any circumstances. On the other hand, when the methods of Crop-sharing and *Kankut*, both of which set the demand in terms of the produce, were used, commutation into cash was permitted at market prices "in case it is not burdensome for the peasantry".[2] In fact, the demand levied under *Kankut* is converted into cash in both the specimen accounts preserved in two manuals of the period, while the demand from Crop-sharing is commuted in one, though not in the other.[3] It is significant that Akbar passed special orders for collecting ten *sers* of grain from each *bigha* as part of the revenue, to be stocked against the threats of famine, but more specially, perhaps, to meet the needs of the animals of the imperial stables.[4] This clearly shows that the collection of revenue in kind was regarded as an exceptional practice. Original records from one part of Awadh show the revenue-

32. In the records of the Papal *pargana* in Berar during the reign of Aurangzeb, only 800 *takas* are shown as being derived from the one *hundisari* (contract) village, as against 25,877 *takas* in net revenue from land under regular administration (*IHRC*, 1929, p. 86).

1. Cf. *Agrarian System*, pp. 11, 37-8.

2. *Ain*, p. 286.

3. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, ff. 183b-185a; *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 76b, Or. 2026, f. 28a. Add. 6603, f. 62a, defines the term *damāu* as standing for the process of commutation of the revenue in kind into cash under Crop-sharing. It adds that "they always take it (the amount in cash) at more than the market rate".

4. *Ain*, I, pp 199-200.

demand being imposed on whole villages in cash.[5] A letter reporting actual facts about the collection of revenue in three villages belonging to a *jagir* assigned in Hariana may well be illustrative of the general conditions in the *Zabti* provinces. For two of the villages the revenue was assessed in terms of, and required to be paid in, cash. The third village was under Crop-sharing and the revenue had been collected in kind. Of the produce thus acquired, *bājra* was to be sold on the spot "after some days at a suitable price," while the rest, consisting of *moth,* rapeseed and cotton, was to be carted to the headquarters at Hisar.[6] It would, therefore, seem that even when the revenue was realised in kind, it was sometimes thought desirable to put it at once on the market and obtain cash instead.

Kashmir lay under the peculiar system of a '*Nasaq* of Crop-sharing'. Land revenue was calculated in terms of 'ass-loads' of rice and was never paid in cash. Even the amount obtained from the cesses was estimated for purposes of assessment in terms of quantities of rice.[7] Great oppression is said to have resulted, when the *jagirdars* began to "demand gold and silver from this land of Crop-sharing"; but Akbar firmly forbade this innovation in his 42nd year.[8]

Crop-sharing also prevailed in Thatta and portions of Ajmer and it was, probably, later extended to the *sarkars* of Multan and Bhakkar. If the usual practice was to commute the demand in kind into cash at market prices, the complaint made in the 44th year of Aurangzeb by Prince Mu'izzu-ddīn, Governor of Multan, becomes easily comprehensible. He represented that since, owing to a good harvest, there had been a very great fall in prices, the *jama'* in his *jagirs* had fallen considerably.[9]

5. See Allahabad 897, 1206, 1220, 1223.
6. Balkrishan Brahman, f. 63a-b. The villages lay in the *pargana* of Sirsa.
7. *Ain,* I, p. 570.
8. *A.N.*, III, p. 726.
9. *Akhbarat* 44/162. There is, perhaps, a subtle difference between the problem as stated here and as it would have been in a *Zabti* province. Under *Zabt* the *jama'* itself would have been unaffected by the fall in prices, though it could not then, of course, have been actually collected. In Crop-sharing the demand being commuted into cash by the assessor himself at market prices, a fall in the latter would automatically reduce the *jama'*.

The *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir,* 114, contains a report that 23 villages in the *pargana* of Mirta, where imperial officials enforced Crop-sharing, yielded about 15,000 *mans* of grain in revenue, but in the *pargana* of Jodhpur in the same region the land-revenue was either directly collected in cash or commuted, at some stage, into

It may be assumed that in Gujarat, under the older system of measurement and *Nasaq*, the demand would have been set in cash, but under Crop-sharing, in kind. Yet here again in January 1703 we come across a complaint that the 'amount of revenue' (*zar-i maḥṣūl*) could not be collected in the *pargana* of Patlad, because grain was cheap and duties and exactions levied on the routes impeded its export to Ahmadabad.[10]

In the Mughal Dakhin, the payment of revenue in cash, based upon a very summary assessment, is described as an old practice.[11] After the brief interval of Crop-sharing introduced by Murshid Quli Khan, payment in cash was re-established though it was now founded on assessment by measurement.[12]

In Garh, in Central India, the peasant, according to the *Ain*, paid the revenue in gold *muhrs* and copper pieces.[13] Eastward in Orissa, however, the villagers were unfamiliar with metallic currency and used cowries instead,[14] though we do not definitely know how they paid the revenue.

In Bengal, as we have seen, the peasants usually paid the revenue in cash, and Crop-sharing was but rarely practised. Jahangir declares, however, that in Silhat (Sylhet), the peasants used to offer their children as eunuchs in satisfaction of the revenue demand:[15] In view of the great market for them that the harems of the Muslim aristocrats provided they were doubtless as good as liquid cash.

From the above information it may, perhaps, be safely concluded that apart from such isolated territories as Kashmir and Orissa, or the

cash. For here, on 294 villages a total revenue-demand of Rs. 13,400, 13 as., was assessed (*ibid*, 184).

10. *Akhbarat* A 77.

11. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 185a-b, Or. 1671, f. 90b; Khafi Khan, I, p. 732 *n*.

12. See Section 3. If one is to judge from evidence relating to Bombay and the island of Salsette, the Konkan (which was not included in the Mughal Dakhin in the time of Murshid Quli Khan) formed an exception, the land revenue being paid in 'Morais' of rice. (*Factories*, *1668-9*, pp. 216-7; Careri 179).

13. *Ain*, I, p. 456. The text reads *muhr o pīl*, but I take it that *pīl* is a mistake for *pul*. Jarrett (ed. Sarkar, II, p. 207) renders the sentence, apparently without any qualms or misgivings, as: "The cultivators pay the revenue in muhurs and elephants."

14. Master, II, p. 85; Bowrey, 199.

15. *T.J.*, 71-2. Jahangir says he prohibited this practice, but one may be sure that this could not have been more than a gesture.

desolate portions of Rajputana, the cash nexus was firmly established in almost every part of the Empire. Its prevalence meant simply that the peasant was normally compelled to sell a very large—in not a few cases, the larger—portion of his produce in order to meet the revenue-demand. We have already discussed in Chapter II the conditions under which his relations with the market were conducted and it is clear that the demand in cash introduced and increased the share of another class in the surplus produce, namely, the village money-lender and the rural merchant. On the other hand, once agrarian commerce had developed sufficiently to allow the peasant to grow his crop with an eye to the market, it might well have been a hardship for him if the authorities insisted upon receiving their share in kind in all the crops raised by him.[16]

Itself a product of a relatively highly developed commercial or mercantile society, the 'cash nexus' provided in its turn the real basis on which the structure of the Mughal imperial system, with its insistence not on the possession of land, but on the right to collect the land revenue, by members of the governing class, was founded. It also explains why serfdom and compulsory labour are not found in Mughal India as elements in agricultural production on a scale comparable with that of feudal Europe. Thus when we do come across slavery, it is usually domestic slavery, and when we meet forced labour or *begār*, it is as a rule an exceptional form of labour imposed upon some inhabitants by the authorities, rather than a regular part of productive work.[17]

Before closing this Section a few remarks may be made concerning a question raised by Moreland and only half answered by him. This is whether the demand upon the peasant in the 17th century was calculated in terms of *dams* (copper coins) or rupees, and whether it was paid in the former or the latter.[18] The question is of some interest

16. Suppose, for instance, that a peasant grew for the *kharif*, cotton in one part of his land and *juwār* in the other, the former for the market, the latter for his family's consumption. If he was required to pay the revenue in cash, he would pay simply from the proceeds of the former. But if a share was taken from both the crops, he would have little left to eat and be compelled to buy the grain back from the authorities, who might name their own price. Methods such as these were apparently used to provide yet another means of extorting money from the peasants in Coromandel. (Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Dutch in Coromandel*, pp. 332-3).

17. See Section 6 for the forms of *begar* imposed by the authorities.

18. *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 260-61.

because the silver-price of copper rose considerably in our period,[19] and if it could be shown that the revenue was still paid in *dams*, it would signify in terms of silver an increased burden on the peasantry. In the *Ain*, it is true, the *dasturs* are set down in *dams* and *jītals*, but from the evidence of the succeeding period it becomes obvious that when the copper-silver ratio as fixed under Akbar became obsolete, the demand upon the peasant came to be stated, almost without exception, in terms of rupees, the fractions being expressed in annas.[20] This is true equally in the case of the cash-rates and calculations of the *jama'* assessed upon the peasants, and the accounts of receipts and disbursements—including even the village accounts—[21] as well as of all the incidental references, in contemporary records, to the *jama'* fixed upon the peasants.[22] The *farman* to Rasikdas, Art. 8, when dealing with the actual coins to be accepted from the peasants in payment of revenue, make no reference to any other unit than the rupee. It is only the *jama'*, used for assigning *jagirs*, that is always expressed in terms of *dams* (and, therefore, called *jama'-dāmī*), but this was, as we shall see later on, solely because the salaries of *manṣabdārs* were stated in terms of *dams*, which, again, were used there only as money of account. In fact whenever the revenue actually realised, termed *ḥāṣil*, is given, even when stated alongside the *jama'-dāmī*, it is invariably expressed in rupees, showing that this was the real currency used.[23]

6. Collection of Land Revenue

Except under Crop-sharing, the collection of revenue and its assessment were quite different operations. In Crop-sharing the State's

19. See Appendix C.

20. In Berar, perhaps, the local *takas* or *tankas* continued to be used, but this was entirely a money of account. See Appendix C.

21. These various kinds of documents may be seen in such accountancy manuals of the 17th century as the *Khulasatus Siyaq*, written in the Panjab, the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisinaagi*, written in the *sarkar* of Sambhal (Dehli province), the *Siyaqnama*, in the Ilahabad province, the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, in Bihar, and the *Farhang-i Kardani*, in Bengal.

22. Cf. Balkrishan Brahman, f. 63a-b (Hariana); *Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 54b-55a; Add. 24,039, f. 36b (Bengal).

23. Cf. Lahori, II, pp. 330, 397; *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 31b-32a, 49a-b; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, ed. Nadvi, pp. 88, 103-4; *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 179a-b. The *jama'-dami* figures are followed by *hasil* in rupees in the revenue statistics contained in the *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Add. 6598, ff. 131a, 132a, Or. 1641, ff. 44a, 6b; Fraser 86, ff. 57b-61b; *Intikhāb-i Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Pādshāhī*, ff. 1b-3b, 8a-11b.

share of the grain was directly seized from the field or the threshing floor at the time of division so that assessment was totally dispensed with. In other systems, assessment could take place between the time of sowing and harvesting. But collection, whether the medium of payment was cash or kind, took place invariably at the time of the harvest.

The revenue-collector (*'amalguzār*), says Abu-l Fazl, "should begin the collection for the *rabi'* (season) from Holi (the festival day falling in March) and that of *kharif* from Dasehra (falling in October)". It was also laid down that "he should properly collect the revenue upon the crop which is being harvested and not delay it for another crop".[1] In the *kharif* season, the harvesting of different crops was done at different times and the revenue had accordingly to be collected in three stages.[2] Thus in *kharif*, at least, the revenue could only be collected in instalments, a method for which Art. 4 of Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas provides in general terms.

The *rabi'* harvest was all gathered within a very short period and the authorities seem to have been usually anxious to get the revenue collected before the harvest was cut and removed from the fields.[3] Out of this anxiety grew the practice of preventing the peasants from reaping their fields until they had paid their revenue. This method of coercion, actually prescribed in two administrative manuals of Aurangzeb's reign,[4] had probably become so widespread only in the 17th century. Mundy, visiting Koil (the present Aligarh) in the Agra province in 1631, found that it was regarded as an innovation. "Here now are in this Castle about 200 of them (villagers) prisoners because they cannot pay the Tax imposed on them, which heretofore, was paid when their Corne was sold; but now they must pay for it in the ground. This is the life of Hindoes or Naturalls of Hindustan".[5] There come to us through the records of Aurangzeb's reign two complaints against

1. *Ain*, I, p. 287.
2. First on *sanwan* (*shāmākh*), then on *bājrī* and, finally, on sugarcane (*Siyaqnama*, 48-9).
3. *Siyaqnama*, 49.
4. The *Siyaqnama*, 49, prescribes this for the *rabi'* harvest only, but the *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 80a, Or. 2026, f. 35a, states without reference to the seasons that "when the crops ripen, he (the revenue-collector) should set horse and foot on guard so that until the peasants paid the revenue of the current year, the *taqāvī* loans and the revenue arrears from the past, they might not be permitted to gather the harvest."
5. Mundy 73-4. Since he visited Koil in December, the revenue-demand must have been for the *rabi'* crops.

this practice, one against a *chaudhuri,* who "having put an embargo upon the harvesting of the *rabi'* crop, inflicts upon them (the peasants) all kinds of injury",[6] and the other against a revenue-collector, who realised a large amount of money, "selling the sons and cattle of the plaintiffs (who were *zamindars*) at a time when the fields were green".[7] These references show how oppressive it was to demand the revenue from the peasant before the harvest, when he would have absolutely nothing left. The practice was at the same time the mark of a well developed money economy, for it would have been impossible to attempt it unless the officials expected that the peasants would pay up by pledging their crops beforehand to grain-merchants or money-lenders.

The revenue was paid into the treasury usually through the *'āmil* or revenue-collector, though Akbar's administration sought to encourage the peasants to pay direct.[8] The peasants, or rather their representatives or village officials, were entitled, whether they paid directly or indirectly, to obtain proper receipts for their payments; the treasurer, on the other hand, was also asked to get the village accountant, *patwari's* endorsement in his register to establish the amount of payment.[9] These regulations were, largely in the nature of precautions that the administration took to protect itself, and incidentally, perhaps, the revenue-payers, from fraud and embezzlement.

6. *Durr-al 'Ulum,* f. 65a-b.

7. Balkrishan Brahman, ff. 63b-64a.

8. Todar Mal's Recommendations, Art. 6: "In the case of the peasants of trusted villages who conform in word and deed, the revenue officials (*'ummāl*) should lay down time-limits for payment of revenue to the treasury, so that they might themselves, within the said time-limits, deposit their revenue in the treasury and obtain receipt. There is no need for a collector (*tahsildār*) (to be sent to such villages)." (*Akbarnama,* Add. 27,247, f. 332b; Bib. Ind., III, p. 382, contains an abridged and polished version of this).

9. As seen in the preceding note, Art. 8 of the original version (in Add. 27,-247, f. 332a-b) of Todar Mal's Recommendations requires that receipts be given to peasants when they paid directly into the treasury. Art. 9 of the same version prescribes that the *'amil* (revenue-collector) "should deposit the revenue (*māl*) he has collected into the treasury and the treasurer should give the receipt for this to the peasants. If the accountant (*kārkun*) or treasurer fails to give the receipt or the peasants fail to take it, whosesoever be the fault, the responsibility shall be that of the *'amils;* and if the peasants complain (about the amount of arrears?), the *'amils* will not be heard." The corresponding passage, much abridged and lacking important particulars, will be found in *Akbarnama,* Bib. Ind., III, pp. 382-3. The *Ain,* I, p. 289, also provides for a receipt to be issued to the peasants and adds a clause about the *patwari's* endorsing the treasurer's register.

7. Rural Taxes and Exactions other than Land Revenue

The fiscal burden borne by each village did not by any means ·ist entirely of land revenue. There were a number of other ·s which were known as *wujūhāt*.[1] These were divided into *jihāt*, ·s on certain trades,[2] and *sā'ir-jihāt*, market and transit dues.[3] In ·tice, however, the distinction between the two seems to have ı obscure. In one list that we have, for example, the *sā'ir* taxes ·r almost all the major taxes apart from the land-revenue.[4] There ı in addition exactions and perquisites appropriated by officials ·onally and by *zamindars*, &c., and, accordingly, excluded from *jama'*. These were known as *farū'at*,[5] but more commonly as ·*ājāt*[6] and *abwāb* and *ḥubūbāt*.[7]

.. *Ain*, I, pp. 294, 301.
2. *Ain*, I, p. 294.
3. *Ibid; Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 77a, Or. 2026, f. 28a-b.
4. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 23b-24a. In the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navi-ıgi*, f. 185a, the *sā'ir-jihāt* listed consist entirely of the various perquisites of ·als, but such use of the term seems unjustifiable.
·n the revenue accounts given in the manuals and elsewhere the *jama'* is usually ·ed into *māl-o-jihāt* and *sā'ir-jihāt*, the former mainly comprising land-revenue the latter the other taxes. See especially *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 77a; Or. 2026, ·a-b.
5. *Ain*, I, p. 294.
6. The best means of determining the sense in which the word *ikhrājāt* (mean-·ordinarily, expenses) was used in revenue literature, is a study of the *madad-i* ·*sh farmans* which generally have a standard text. These usually contain the ·e "*ikhrājāt*, such as...."; and the list of exactions which follows consists ·ely of non-fiscal extortions.
See also Todar Mal's Recommendations, Arts. 1 & 9 (*malba* and *ikhrājāt* in excess ·*al-o-jihat*) and Art. 2 (increase in *ikhrājāt* owing to presence of two ·ıntants in a *pargana*) (Original version, *Akbarnama*, Add. 27, 247, ff. 331b, 332b); Fathullah Shirazi's Memorandum ("*malba*, which is called *istiṣwābī* and *ikhrājāt* ·nen of the pen" being recovered from officials) (*Akbarnama*, III, p. 458). ·*ājāt* is also used in Art. 11 of Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas. The significance ·ıe term *malba* is discussed in a note in Chapter IV, Section 2. It meant all ·was spent by a village, apart from the payment of land-revenue and so ·ed the exactions of officials and *zamindars* and the 'village expenses'. The ·*ājāt* were thus part of *malba*, but an administration, whose eyes were con-·ated on exactions of its officials alone, might naturally use *malba* in the ·icted sense of *ikhrājāt*.
·owe guidance on this sense of *ikhrājāt* to Prof. S. A. Rashid.
7. Cf. Add. 6603, ff. 49b, 59b. For the use of the term *abwāb-i malba* in the ·sense, see *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 175b, 189a, Bodl. ff. 140b, 150a, Ed. 145; ·*āṣatu-l Inshā'*, Or. 1750, f. 111b.

The two major objects of taxation in an ordinary village, apart from the cultivated fields, were, probably, the cattle and the orchards. The *Ain* lays down that if a man kept land otherwise liable to land-revenue (*kharājī*) under pasture, a tax of 6 *dams* per buffalo and 3 per cow (or bullock) should be imposed upon him. But a cultivator having up to four bullocks, two cows and one buffalo to each plough was to be exempted. Moreover, no tax was to be levied upon the *gaushālas*, or herds of cows kept for religious or charitable purposes.[8] It is curious that *gāu-shumārī* (tax on cows) is included among the taxes remitted by Akbar.[9] It is impossible to say whether this was a different tax from the above, or whether Abu-l Fazl thought the exemptions a sufficient justification for putting it on the list of remitted exactions.[10] The tax was remitted again by Jahangir and the remission stood at least till 1634.[10a] In addition there was a pastoral levy known as *kāh-charā'ī*, which seems to have been imposed upon herds driven into 'public' pastures.[11] From some of our authorities it would appear that Aurangzeb had abolished both *gau-shumari* and *kah-chara'i*[12] but in the case of the latter, at least, we have a *hasbu-l hukm* exhorting local officials to collect it according to the regulations.[13]

Jahangir declares with the greatest emphasis that all orchards were exempted from taxation, even when land previously cultivated was planted with fruit trees, and that never had the tax on trees, known as *sardarakhtī*, been levied in "this everlasting State".[14] This tax also figures on the list of taxes remitted by Akbar.[15] Nevertheless from a number of documents belonging to Aurangzeb's reign

8. *Ain*, I, p. 287.

9. *Ibid*, 301.

10. A specific order (*hukm*) from the Khān-i Khānān, during the 33rd year of Akbar, forbids the imposition of *gau-shumari* in the pastoral grounds of the village of Sāvī, &c., used for 'the cows and bulls of Gobardhan'. (Jhaveri, Doc. III A).

10a. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 155, which protests against the imposition of this illegal tax by a *jagirdar* of Sehwan in the early years of Shahjahan.

11. A very interesting order issued on March 14, 1658, with two *tughrās* styling it simultaneously a *farman* of Shahjahan and *nishān-i 'ālīshān* of Dara Shukoh, forbids the exaction of *kah-charai* from the herds of cows attached to the *devāla* of Govardhan *Nāth*, which used to be brought to the pastures in a village. (Jhaveri, Doc. XII).

12. *Mirat*, I, pp. 275, 286; *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Ethe 415, f. 181a, Or. 1641, f. 136a; Add. 6598, f. 189a; *Waqā'i'-i Ajmir*, 63-4, 173.

13. *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 53a-b.

14. *T.J.*, 251-2.

15. *Ain*, I, p. 301.

it seem clear that it was then being levied on all orchards, except for those containing graves or yielding no profit. The quantity of the crop was assessed per tree: a fifth thereof was taken from the Hindus and a sixth from the Muslims.[16]

The imposition of the *jiziya,* or the poll tax on non-Muslims, in 1679 by Aurangzeb meant an important increase in the magnitude of rural taxation. A separate organisation of collectors (*umanā'*) was created for this purpose.[17] The tax was directly collected from individual subjects in the cities. For the villages it was first ordained that a flat rate of Rs. 100 upon 100,000 *dams* (of the *jama'* presumably), i.e. 4 per cent. of the total revenue assessed, was to be paid by the officials of the *Khalisa* and the holders of *jagirs,* who were then to collect the tax at the authorised rates from the peasants.[18] A manual compiled in the later years of Aurangzeb shows, however, that detailed censuses of the men liable to pay this tax. were prepared in both towns and villages.[19] The specimen accounts reproduced in it show also that the incidence was not light by any means. Out of 280 males in a village, 185 were held assessable and of these 137 paid the minimum rate of Rs. 3, as. 2, per annum,[20] which at that time would have meant a month's wages for an unskilled urban labourer.[21]

16. *Mirat,* I, pp. 263-4; *Nigarnama-i Munshi,* ff. 127a-b, 200a, Bodl. ff. 98a-b, 158a-b, Ed. 98; *Durr-al 'Ulum,* ff. 55b-56a.

17. Isardas, f. 74b; *Mirat,* I, p. 296; Manucci, II, p. 291; *Dilkusha,* f. 139b.

18. *Mirat,* I, p. 298; but, especially, *Nigarnama-i Munshi,* f. 98a-b, Bodl., f. 74a, Ed. 77 (the British Museum MS. omits several crucial lines at the beginning of this document). In Hugli in 1683 "Parmesuradas", agent of Bulchund, the 'Chief Customer" or "Governor of Hoogly and Cassumbazar", "calling all men before him demanded 3 years' Gigeea or head money, whom he pretended they are in arrears to him, and forced it from them with all the Barbarous Rigour imaginable". (Hedges, I, p. 136). Thus we have the incongruous sight of a Hindu agent of a Hindu *jagirdar* extorting *jiziya,* a tax the theoretical purpose of which was to show the superiority of the faithful over the infidels.

19. *Khulasatus Siyaq,* Aligarh. MS. ff. 38b-41b; Or. 2026, ff. 53a-56b. Cf. also *Nigarnama-i Munshi,* f. 98a-b, Bodl. f. 74a, Ed. 76.

20. *Khulasatus Siyaq,* Aligarh MS. ff. 40a, 41b, Or. 2026, f. 56a-b. The Shari'at lays down the three rates for the *jiziya* in terms of *dirhams* and Aurangzeb's administration had to convert them into rupees. The equivalents given in the authorities vary slightly. For example the minimum rate given in the accounts just cited may be compared with Rs. 3, as. 4, in Isardas, f. 74b, and Rs. 3, as 8, in Manucci, II, p. 234.

21. Within roughly the same period we have evidence of wages being paid at the rates of Rs. 4 in Surat (Ovington, p. 229), Rs. 2, as. 10, at Ahmadabad (*Mirat,* I, p. 291), and Rs. 2, as 13, to Rs. 3, as. 12, at Hugli (Master, II, p. 41).

As a tax, the *jiziya* was extremely regressive and bore the hardest on the poorest.[22] A specimen copy of a *sanad* shows that peasants of a particular area could be granted exemption in cases of acute distress.[23] In 1704, in view of the distress caused by famine and the Maratha War, Aurangzeb remitted the *jiziya* throughout the Dakhin for the duration of the War.[24] Nevertheless Aurangzeb's general policy was to discourage *jiziya* remissions.[25] Other authorities emphasise that the collections were accompanied with the greatest oppression and most of the amount actually collected was embezzled by the officials, so that only a very small part of it used really to reach the imperial treasury.[26]

Another source of revenue was the property of those who died without heirs.[27] In Bengal this was given a rather liberal interpretation and if any peasant or stranger died without leaving a son, all his possessions together with his wife and daughters were seized for the benefit, depending upon the locality, of the *Khalisa*, the *jagirdar* or the "dominant *zamindar*". This "abominable practice" was called *ankora* and is said to have been abolished by Shaista Khan.[28]

The exactions and perquisites of the revenue officials were numerous. These officials were paid for their services out of the revenue collected either at a fixed rate or by percentage. From a *farman* of Aurangzeb it appears that the men sent to collect the revenue and

22. This may be judged from the fact that the rich who had 10,000 *dirhams* or over were asked to pay no more than 48 *dirhams*, while the poor with no more than 200 had to pay 12 (*Mirat*, I, pp. 296-7. Cf. also Isardas, f. 74a-b).

23. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 180a-b, Bodl. ff. 143b-144a, Ed. 139. This document was published by the late S. Sulaiman Nadvi in *Ma'arif*, XL (1937), No. 4, pp. 294-6, having been extracted from a later collection, the *Nigarnama* of one Munshi La'l Chand. There is a serious error in the first few lines of the published text, where it reads *zamīndārān* in place of *Zimmī-i nādār*, 'the indigent non-Muslim' of the original. The *sanad* is addressed to a *diwan* and recites that the *jiziya* should not be imposed upon destitute persons. Since the poor peasants (*reza ri'āyā*) who had to engage in cultivation were found to be in debt even for their seeds and cattle (the *Ma'arif* text reads differently here), the cultivators were to be exempted from paying the *jiziya*, but it was nevertheless to be realised from the *ta'alluqdārs*, *chaudhuris*, *qānūngos*, *tarafdārs* and other inhabitants of the towns and villages.

24. *Akhbarat* 48/36 & A 245. Cf. also *Akhbarat* 47/323.

25. Cf. Ma'muri, f. 179a, Khafi Khan, II, pp. 377-8.

26. *Dilkusha*, f. 139b; Manucci, II, p. 291.

27. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 23b.

28. *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 131b.

guard the crops were paid their daily expenses by the villages, but these were deducted from the revenue demand.[29] In the case of the measuring party, however, as we have already seen, a levy of one *dam* per *bigha*, known as *zabitana*, used to be imposed. But there were, probably, only a very few officials who contented themselves with the allowances granted by the administration. In any case, illegal exactions from the peasants by officials were the subject of repeated and, perhaps, ineffectual imperial prohibitions. Among such forbidden extortions were customary or compulsory gifts like *salāmī*[30] and *bhenṭ;* fines and bribes, collectively called *bālādastī;* payments expected on the performance of certain definite acts by the officials, e.g. *paṭṭadārī*, on the grant of a *paṭṭa, balkaṭī*, when permitting the crop to be cut, and *taḥṣīldārī*, when, presumably, accepting the payment of revenue; and, finally *k͟harj-i ṣādir o wārid*, expenses to meet the needs of the officials during their visits.[31] There were other exactions still, but perhaps little can be gained by cataloguing them here.[32] The exact rates set for these cesses cannot be known and in any case they could hardly have been uniform. But together they could have sometimes amounted to pretty large sums. This may be illustrated by the complaint of the inhabitants of a village that the "*patta-dari, bhent* and other forbidden *abwāb*" imposed upon them by the revenue officials

29. *Mirat*, I, pp. 275-6.

30. *Ain*, I, pp. 287, 301. Abu-l Fazl explains that *salāmī*, lit. salutation money, was the name given to the gift of a *dam*-coin which the *muqaddam* and *patwari* proffered to the *'amalguzar* whenever they came to see him. Besides this, another item on the list of exactions forbidden by Akbar (*ibid*, 301) is one called *qunalg͟ha*. It also occurs constantly in *madad-i ma'ash* documents among the taxes and cesses the officials were prohibited from extorting from the grantees. The word is of Turkish origin and its exact sense was unknown when Charles Elliott conducted his investigations. (*Chronicles of Oonao*, p. 119). Add. 6603, f. 75a-b, however, defines it as a gift made to the *ḥākim*, more particularly the pot of yogurt which the *zamindar* was expected to take with him to the *ḥākim*, when paying him a visit.

31. All these exactions, with the exception of *salami* and *balkati* are prohibited together in *Mirat*, I, p. 304; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 102a, 175b, 177a, 189a, Bodl. ff. 78a, 140b, 150a, Ed. 80, 136, 145; *K͟hulasatul Insha*, Or. 1750, f. 111b. For *balkati* see *Ain*, I, 287, 301. *Ain*, I, 301, also mentions *tahsildari*. For the definitions of *bhent* and *pattadari* see Elliott, *Chronicles of Oonao*, pp. 120-21; for *baladasti*, Add. 6603, f. 57b.

32. They are listed in *Ain*, I, 287, 301, and *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, f. 185a. Two other items *chiṭṭhīāna* (from *chiṭṭhī*, letter) and *faṣlāna* (from *faṣl*, crop) are added in *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 189a, Bodl. f. 150a.

(*'ummāl*) came in all to nearly a third of the total *jama'* fixec the village.[33]

Abu-l Fazl tells us with apparent disapproval that in Kasl according to an old practice the saffron flowers obtained in rev were redistributed among the peasants who were compelled *grati* pick out the seeds; furthermore, they were required to bring w from distant places. Akbar is said to have abolished both these p tices,[34] and from this it may be inferred that *begār*, or compul labour, was not usually a part of the fiscal system in Hindustan. the other hand, it is probable that labour impressed to carry the bagg of touring officials is no innovation of recent days.[35] In an off document we find the inhabitants of a town complaining that "be and (the task of) carrying bed-cots" were among the odious burc imposed upon them by the revenue officials.[36] In *madad-i ma'* documents, the standard list of impositions remitted to the grant included "*begār* and *shikār*".[37] The latter word means a hunt chase, but it must here refer to the labour required from the peasa when a hunt was organised for the benefit of some potentate or other. Jungles might have to be cut down, paths cleared, the ca baggage carried, animals rounded up, all in the preparation of a sin chase.[38]

33. The *jama'* amounted to Rs. 1,350, and the illegal exactions to Rs. 400 (*Di al 'Ulum*, ff. 54a-55a). In the specimen *barāmad* accounts reproduced in *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 41b-42b, the total receipts of the treasury amour to Rs. 4,427 as against Rs. 172 appropriated by the various officials. In the *Khi satus Siyaq*, ff. 91b-94a, Or. 2026, ff. 59a-64a, the corresponding figures for village Ḥamīdpur are Rs. 1,011 and Rs. 92, as. 12; and in the *Siyaqnama*, 77 Rs. 106 and Rs. 27. However, it is difficult to judge how far the village accou as submitted to the auditors revealed the real state of affairs.

34. *A.N.*, III, pp. 727, 734.

35. The *Tashrih-al Aqwam*, ff. 181b-182a, tells us that the *Chamars* were ca *Begāris*, because they used to be compelled to carry baggage without paym Cf. Charles Elliott, *Chronicles of Oonao*, p. 119; Elliot, *Memoirs, &c.*, ii, p. 23

36. *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 53a-b. The township was Muradabad, now a well-knc city. It then belonged to the *sarkar* of Sambhal.

37. Cf. Elliott, *Chronicles of Oonao*, p. 119.

38. The subject of *jangal-barī* (jungle clearance) by the *jagirdars* and offic in connexion with Prince A'ẓam's hunting expedition in Gujarat crops up f quently in the news-letters from his headquarters (*Akhbarat I.* 49 & *passim*). *parwana* reproduced in the *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 196a-b, Bodl. f. 155b, Ed. orders all the smaller rivers from Dehli to Khizrabad near the foot of the mounta to be bridged in preparation for the prince's (Mu'aẓẓam's?) hunting tour and officials of the *parganas* concerned were asked to provide materials and lab to the official deputed for the task.

8. Methods of Relief and Agricultural Development

The basic object of the Mughal administration was to obtain the revenue on an ever-ascending scale. However, agricultural production, dependent as it is on a number of natural phenomena, undergoes so many fluctuations every year that the surplus produce, of which the land revenue formed the larger part, could never have remained constant in volume, let alone in its rate of increase. The cash nexus, it is true, considerably reduced the fluctuations in terms of money, since, generally speaking, prices should have moved in an inverse direction to the output. At the same time this introduced problems of its own, and long before the age of capitalist crises and 'recessions' the Mughal administration was being embarrassed from time to time by abnormal falls in prices, so that "low prices", in official regulations, took their due place alongside the "decrease in produce, drought and blight", the natural "calamities".[1]

As we have seen in some detail, under all methods of revenue assessment there was some provision for relief in the case of bad harvests. In Crop-sharing and *Kankut* this was automatic in that the State's share would rise and fall with the amount of yield obtained in the year concerned. A commutation of the demand at market-prices meant that the authorities would also shoulder part of the risk from price-fluctuations. In the *Zabt* and the form of *Nasaq* associated with it, there had to be a deliberate provision for crop-failure in the form of the reduction of *nabud* from the assessed area; but revenue could be adjusted to drastic changes in price-levels only through special action by the Court.

Once the final assessment had been made, the duty of the revenue-collectors or *'amils* was to collect it in full, leaving no balance (*bāqī*) behind.[2] Sher Shah is said to have declared that concessions could be permitted at the time of assessment, but never at that of collection.[3] The suspicion is expressed in the preamble of Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas that the large remissions granted from the assessed figure for pretended losses from calamities were largely fictitious. Another *farman* of the same emperor lays down that no remissions were to be allowed once the crop had been cut.[4] Nevertheless in practice it could hardly

1. Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas, Preamble.
2. Todar Mal's Recommendations, *A.N.*, III, p. 382; *Farman* to Rasikdas, Art. 4.
3. 'Abbas Khan, f. 12a.
4. *Farman* to Muhammad Hashim, Arts. 10 & 18.

have been possible always to collect the entire amount; and the balance was generally carried forward to be collected along with the demand of the next year. A bad year, therefore, might leave an intolerable burden for the peasants in the shape of such arrears.[5] These had a natural tendency to grow and this led to a distinction being made between the arrears from the immediately preceding year, which were scheduled to be collected in full during the current year, and those arrears, technically known as *sanwāt bāqī*, which dated from earlier years.[6] A manual recommends that the latter should be recovered gradually in annual instalments, not exceeding five per cent. of the current *jama'*.[7] It also seems to have been a common practice to demand the arrears, owed by peasants who had fled or died, from their neighbours. A *hasbu-l hukm*, issued in the 16th year of Aurangzeb, seeks to check this practice in both the *Khalisa* and the assignments of the *jagirdars*: No peasant could be held liable for arrears contracted by any other. And only arrears from the year immediately preceding were to be recovered, all older arrears being written off.[8]

In conditions of famine remissions had sometimes to be granted on a large scale, which in most cases might have meant really little more than maknig a virtue of necessity. The most liberal on record are those made in Gujarat and the Dakhin, in the 4th and 5th years of Shahjahan during the Great Famine of 1630-2. Seventy *laks* of rupees were remitted in the *Khalisa* lands whose total *jama'* amounted to 80 *karor dams*.[9] The *jagirdars* had to award similar remissions, and in this they were helped ' y a reduction in the *jama'dami*, amounting for the Dakhin provinces alone, to thirty *karor dams*.[10] During the same reign when a

5. The *Karori* of Navsari, near Surat, pleaded delay in dealing with a *muqaddam* and villagers who had pilfered the wreckage of an English ship *Whale* in 1623, alleging: "now was the cheife time of their harvist and that mocadam had not paid in his last years hassell (*hāṣil*)." It is added that 'the Karori is afraid to beat these people because they owe him money and would probably run away.' (*Factories 1622-3*, pp. 253-4).

6. *Farman* to Rasikdas, Art. 5.

7. *Khulasatul Insha*, Or. 1750, f. 112a.

8. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 194b-195a, Bodl. f. 154a-b, Ed. 149; *Mirat*, I, pp. 290-91.

9. Lahori, I, p. 364. The total *jama'* figure apparently belongs to the *Khalisa* of the whole Empire. Qazwini, Add. 20734, p. 444, Or. 173, f. 221a-b, gives a lower figure for the remission in the *Khalisa* (Rs. 50 *laks*) and none at all for the total *jama'*.

10. Sadiq Khan, Or. 171, ff. 31b-32a, Or. 1671, f. 18b. Khafi Khan I, p. 449, reads '30 or 40 *laks*'. The remissions made by the *jagirdars* are referred to in

famine occurred in Kashmir it was ordered that the *jama'* assessed on the peasants be reduced;[11] and in the Lahor province the *jama'* in the *Khalisa* lands was once especially reduced as a result of scarcity conditions.[12]

Apart from relief measures of this kind, which were meant to help the peasants tide over situations of exceptional distress, it must have been obvious that steps taken in aid of the development of agriculture could offer an effective means of increasing the revenue. The Mughal conception of development is frequently stated in documents and consists simply of two objectives: the extension of the area under cultivation and increase in the cash crops (*jins-i kāmil*).[13] The first objective derived its importance from the presence of large areas of land lying untilled, and the second held its attraction because the land under cash crops was taxed at higher rates and an increase in their cultivation would have naturally enhanced the revenue.

The collection of such statistical information as the Mughal administration possessed was, at least in part, motivated by the desire to discover the possibilities of extending and improving the cropping and to judge how far any progress in this direction was taking place. The *Karori* Experiment under Akbar, which involved area-measurement on an extensive scale, is interpreted by three contemporary authorities as chiefly an effort to bring the uncultivated land under the plough.[14] Shahjahan used to be personally provided with information relating to the state of cultivation in both the *Khalisa* and the *jagirs*.[15] And from an extant document it appears that reports about newly settled villages and the number of their peasants were called for by the

general terms also in Qazwini and Lahori, *op. cit.* The reduction in *jama'dami*, technically known as *takhfif-i dāmi*, entitled the *jagirdars* affected to claim assignments bearing equivalent amounts of *jama'* elsewhere.

11. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 99b, Or. 1671, f. 54a.

12. Waris, a: f. 445a, b: f. 76a-b.

13. See Akbar's general order (*dastur-al 'amal*) to officials in *Insha-i Abu-l Fazl*, 60, & *Mirat*, I, p. 165; *Ain*, I, pp. 285-6; *Farman* to Rasikdas, Preamble & Art. 2, &c.; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 98b, 104a-b, Bodl., ff. 74a-b, 79b-80a, Ed. 77. 81. Both of these objectives were recognised by Muhammad bin Tughlaq and lay behind his attempt to reorganise the agrarian administration of the Doab country during his last years (Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz-shahi*, pp. 498-9).

14. 'Arif Qandahari, 177; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, pp. 300-301; Badauni, II, pp. 189-90.

15. *Char Chaman-i Barhaman*, A: f. 32a-b; B: f. 28a-b.

headquarters.[16] But in Aurangzeb's reign the complaint is officially voiced that the *qanungos* and *chaudhuris* provided the administration with only the figures for the cultivable area and not with particulars about land under actual cultivation as well as the position of the cash crops, so that little check could be kept upon the pace of development—or decay.[17]

Revenue concessions were the chief instrument devised by the Mughal administration to encourage development in the two directions recognised by it. Land which had been out of cultivation for some years was, for example, charged half or less than half the standard rate of revenue in the first year of its being brought under the plough; the rate was thereafter raised annually, till in the fifth year the full amount was finally reached.[18] If the peasants sowed more land than was fixed for the year by the revenue officials (under *Nasaq*), no revenue was to be levied for the additional area.[19] In the case of a village where the wells had fallen in, a royal order prescribes that the person who

16. *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, pp. 244-5.

17. *Farman* to Rasikdas, Preamble; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 99a, Bodl., ff. 74b-75a, Ed. 77. It is probable that the meticulous distinction in the revenue accounts between *aṣlī* (original) *iẓāfa* (additional, newly settled) and *dākhilī* (new village whose *jama'* was still considered part of the *jama'* of an *aṣlī* village) was also maintained for a similar purpose. (See *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 77a, Or. 2026, ff. 28a-29a; & Add. 6603, f. 80a).

18. After setting out Sher Shah's *rai'* for the *polaj* and *parauti* lands the *Ain* says that in the case of *chachar* (land untilled for three or four years) 2/5ths of the standard demand should be realised in the first year, 3/5ths in the second, 4/5ths in the third and the full amount in the fifth. Under the *banjar* land (uncultivated for five years or more) the revenue rates for the different years are given in kind for different crops, but the full amount (i.e. the amount set for *polaj*) is reached in the fifth year. The initial rate is nominal; it is one-eighth that of *polaj*, for example, in the case of wheat. (*Ain*, I, pp. 301-3). It is not absolutely clear if these proportions were also followed while applying the final cash *dasturs*. In the 27th year of Akbar, Todar Mal recommended that land which had been untilled for three or four years should be charged half the standard rate in the first year, 3/4ths in the next and the full rate in the third (*Akbarnama*, Add. 27,247, f. 231b; Bib Ind., III, p. 282). Does this mean that he was altering the proportions previously sanctioned for the *chachar* land?

In Kashmir one-sixth of the crop was to be demanded in the first year on land unploughed for ten years; one-fifth, on land unploughed for four to ten years; and one-third, on land left fallow for two to four years. The maximum proportion of one-half was to be reached in the fourth, third, and second years respectively (*A.N.*, III, p. 727.)

19. *Ain*, I, p. 285; *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, f. 10b.

offered to repair them should not be asked to pay any land revenue, but a tax at flat rates per well. These were to be increased annually till the fifth year, whereafter they were to remain constant till the tenth, when the normal land-revenue was at last to be imposed.[20] After the 1630-2 famine extraordinarily low rates are said to have been offered in some of the affected areas so as to encourage resettlement.[21] Similarly, with regard to cash crops, it was ordered that land newly brought under them should initially be charged lower rates than usual.[22] Thus if land previously under Crop-sharing was sown with a high-grade crop, the revenue in the first year was to be one-fourth less than under the normal *dastur* for that crop.[23]

A number of non-monetary concessions were also prescribed in order to provide incentives for development. The cultivator of *banjar* land could have his choice concerning the method of assessment.[24] If a village had no *banjar* land left and its peasants had the capacity to cultivate more, the *'amalguzar* or revenue official was to transfer to it land from some other village.[25] If during any year the cultivation of cash crops was extended, but the total area under the plough fell off, the *'amalguzar* was not to raise any objection, so long as the *jama'* remained unaffected.[26]

The advancing of *taqāvī* (lit. strength-giving) loans to the peasants was another important method of encouraging cultivation. Abu-l Fazl states simply that the *'amalguzar* should assist the 'empty-handed pea-

20. The revenue per well in the first year was to be Rs. 10, then rising annually, Rs. 15-23-34, to Rs. 50 in the fifth (*Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 181a-188a, Bodl., ff. 148b-149a, Ed. 144.).

21. Sadiq Khan tells us that Ganga Ram, the *'amil* of Saiyid Khān-i Jahān Bārha, settled new peasants in the *sarkar* of Nadurbar and Sultanpur by giving them a *qaul* to charge only 100 or 200 *tankas* instead of the previous 1000 or 2000. (Or. 174, ff. 31b-32a, Or. 1671, f. 18b. It is possible to read *bigha* for *tanka*.) An English letter, however, paints a different picture in respect of Gujarat. The famine had passed, yet "the villages fill but slowly" and "if the excessive tiranny and covetousness of the governors of all sorts would give the poor people leave but to lift up their heads in one yeares vacancye from oppression, they would be enabled to keep cattle about them, and so to advance the plenty which the earth produceth", &c. (*Factories, 1634-36*, p. 65).

22. *Ain*, I, p. 285.

23. *Ibid*, 286.

24. *Ibid*, 303.

25. *Ibid*, 285.

26. *Ibid*, 286.

sants' by advancing them loans.[27] Todar Mal was more specific in his Recommendations and suggested that *taqavi* should be given to cultivators who were in distressed circumstances and did not have seeds or cattle.[28] A later manual recommends that the assessor (*amīn*) should see whether the ploughs in a village are sufficient for the land belonging to it; if not, he should give *taqavi* to the cultivators for the purchase of bullocks and seeds.[29] The distribution of *taqavi* for similar purposes also formed an important part of Murshid Quli Khan's reforms in the Dakhin.[30] Indeed, we know that his colleague, Multafat Khan, was the author of an ambitious proposal to advance Rs. 40,000 to 50,000 "as *taqavi*" from the imperial treasury for financing the construction of dams ('*bands*') in the provinces of Khandesh and Berar (Painghat) region, to be disbursed in the *jagirs* as well as, presumably, in the *Khalisa*.[31]

The *taqavi* loans were, as a rule, advanced through the *chaudhuris* (or *deshmukhs*) and *muqaddams* (or *paṭels*), who distributed them among the individual peasants and stood surety for their repayment.[32] It seems that loans given to the peasants by the headmen on their own account were also known as *taqavi*.[33]

Abu-l Fazl recommends that the loan should be recovered "slowly".[34] On the other hand, Todar Mal laid down that the repayment was to be exacted in part at the first harvest and fully by the next.[35] Later evidence also suggests that it was in fact the general practice to try to collect the whole amount at the very first crop, and failing that,

27. *Ain*, I, p 285. Cf. *Farman* to Muhammad Hashim, Art. 2.

28. See the original version in Add. 27,247, f. 231 b. In the final text of *Akbarnama*, III, p. 382, the details are missing.

29. *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, f. 10b.

30. "For the purchase of bullocks, buffaloes and other necessaries of cultivation" (Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 185b, Or. 1671, f. 91a; Khafi Khan, I, p. 733 *n.*).

31. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 53a-b; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 131-2.

32. Todar Mal's Recommendations, Art. 3 (Original version, Add. 27, 247, f. 231b: "and bonds should be taken from the *muqaddams*" for repayment of the *taqavi* loans. In the corresponding passage in *A.N.*, III, p. 382, the words, "*taqavi*", "bonds" and "*muqaddams*", are omitted and "help", "written paper" and "respectable men" substituted); *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 123b; Sadiq Khan and Khafi Khan, *op. cit; Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 35b; *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, f. 10b.

33. *Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 43a, 55b.

34. "*ba-āhistagī*". *Ain*, I, p. 285.

35. Recommendations, Art 3 (*Akbarnama*, Add. 27,247, f. 231b; Bib. Ind., III, 382).

within at least the same year.[36] Multafat Khan had promised that if his scheme was accepted the whole amount advanced could be realised within two years.[37] But sometimes collection in annual instalments was also sanctioned,[38] and a manual declares that the *taqavi* arrears should be added to the *sanwat baqi* and collected as part of these revenue arrears.[39] There is no reference anywhere to interest being charged on *taqavi* loans, and it is possible that, under theological influences, the authorities considered the practice disreputable. It is nevertheless quite likely that the *chaudhuris* and headmen, who offered themselves as sureties on behalf of the peasants, duly exacted their commissions or bribes from them for this favour.

In case any of the peasants died or fled, these two officials, who had stood surety, were required to repay the amounts advanced to them. But in at least one letter of instructions, it is ordered that the loan was to be completely written off, if the peasants, though present, were in conditions of such extreme distress as to be in no position to repay it.[40]

It may not perhaps be strictly accurate to say that the Mughal methods of agrarian development were confined solely to the fiscal sphere. The idea that the administration itself should undertake the construction of irrigation works is expressed, for instance, in the instructions issued to revenue officials to repair and dig wells as a part of the effort to extend and improve cultivation.[41] In the Multan province, the 'canal superintendent' was required to dig new channels and build dams.[42] There is, then, the striking memorandum, containing proposals for deepening the Chutang in order to provide irrigation up to Hansi.[43] Moreover the canals actually excavated in

36. *Khulasatu-l Insha*, Or. 1750, f. 112a; *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 35b; *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, f. 10b. Murshid Quli Khan is said to have asked for repayment at the time of the harvest, but in two instalments. (Thus Sadiq Khan, *op. cit.* The latter clause is omitted in Khafi Khan).

37. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 53a-b; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 131-2.

38. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 123b.

39. *Khulasatul Insha*, *op. cit.*

40. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 123b.

41. *Farman* to Rasikdas: Preamble.

42. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 198b-199a, Bodl. f. 157a-b, Ed. 151-2. See also *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 17-18, for the need of construction of canals in the Bhakkar *sarkar*, either by the peasants themselves or by the *jagirdars*.

43. Balkrishan Brahman, ff. 107a-109b.

the reign of Shahjahan were no mean enterprises. All the same this was not an aspect on which much attention was really bestowed. The main purpose of Shahjahan's two great canals was evidently not to provide water for the fields, but, in the case of one, to irrigate his gardens at Lahor and, in that of the other, to supply water to the fort at Shahjahanabad. What is decisive is the fact that though two or three instances can be cited where the administration took some interest in irrigation, complete silence prevails on this subject in the mass of the revenue literature of the period. Despite Marx, it is impossible to believe that the State's construction and control of irrigation works was a prominent feature of the agrarian life of Mughal India.[44]

44. This is a point which Marx makes in his brilliant articles on British Rule in India written in 1853 (reprinted in Marx & Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, pp. 314-5). He returns to it in *Capital*, I, p. 523 *n.*, where he says: "One of the material bases of the power of the state over the small disconnected producing organisms in India, was the regulation of the water supply. The Mahomedan rulers of India understood this better than their English successors. It is enough to recall to mind the famine of 1866 .... of Orissa, &c." It is possible that Marx was misled by information relating to the tank system of the Dakhin and the extensive irrigation works in medieval Persia and Central Asia.

CHAPTER VII

REVENUE ASSIGNMENTS

1. JAGIRS AND KHALISA

The peculiar feature of the State in Mughal India—indeed, in Medieval India—was that it served not merely as the protective arm of the exploiting classes, but was itself the principal instrument of exploitation. We saw in the preceding Chapter how closely the revenue demand approximated to the surplus produce, i.e. everything produced in excess of the minimum needed for the peasant's subsistence. It rested with the Emperor's will to dispose of this enormous tribute. Over the larger portion of the Empire, he transferred his right to the land-revenue and other taxes to certain of his subjects. The areas whose revenues were thus assigned by the Emperor were known as *jāgīrs*.[1] *Tuyūl* and *iqṭā'* were established synonyms of *jāgīr*, but not as commonly used.[2] The assignees were known as *jāgīrdārs* ('holders of

1. Moreland in his *Agrarian System* was the first of modern writers to appreciate the essential aspects of the system of *jagirs*. He rejected the word 'fief' by which *jagir* had till then been rendered and substituted for it 'revenue assignment' or simply 'Assignment'.

Jāgīr is really a compound of two Persian words and should strictly be, though is most often not, spelt *jāi-gīr*. Literally, it means '(one) holding or occupying a place'. *Bahār-i 'Ajam*, the great Persian dictionary completed in 1739-40 in India, offers a definition of its technical sense: "*Jāigīr, jāgīr*. A tract of land which Kings grant to *manṣabdārs* and (persons) of that kind, that they might take its revenue (*maḥṣūl*) from cultivation, whatever it be". (Nawal Kishor ed., p. 283). The use of *jagir* as a technical word with this sense seems to have been confined to India. It does not appear, for example, in the Glossary of terms in Prof. Lambton's *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*. In India too it came into use only in the 15th century; Barani and other early writers invariably use *iqṭā'* instead. (The word '*jāgīr*' does occur at one place in the Bib. Ind. ed. of Barani's *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi*, p. 40, but in the sense of military contingent. Prof. S. A. Rashid's ed., Aligarh, p. 48, reads *chākar* instead and this exactly meets the sense).

2. *Iqṭā'* is an Arabic word, almost as old as Islam. It first denoted a piece of landed property received from the State, but gradually came to signify revenue assignments "in which the State has the real rights of property." (Cf. F. Lokkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, 14 ff.) It was purely in the latter sense that the word was used in the literature of the Dehli Saltanat. But by the

jagirs'); also as *tuyūldārs* and *iqṭā'dārs*, which, again, like the terms they were derived from, were not very often used. The governing class of the Mughal Empire obtained its income mainly from these assignments. The *jagirdars* were usually *manṣabdārs*, holding ranks (*manṣabs*) bestowed upon them by the Emperor. These ranks were generally dual, viz. *ẓāt* and *sawār*, the former chiefly meant to indicate personal pay, while the latter determined the contingents which the officer was obliged to maintain.[3] The pay scales for both ranks were minutely laid down[4] and the *mansabdars* received their emoluments either in cash (*naqd*) from the treasury or, as was more common, were assigned particular areas as *jagirs*. Lands held on the same basis as *jagir*, but not against any rank or with any obligation, were known as *in'ām*.[5] Areas due for assignment, but not yet assigned in *jagir*, bore

Mughal period, *iqta'* had completely given way, in ordinary usage, to *jagir* and was now used mostly when a formal style was affected and then deliberately to avoid the more mundane word, *jagir*. If *iqta'* was thus archaic, *tuyūl* was an exotic. It was a term used in Persia, from the 14th century onwards (Lambton, *Landlord & Peasant in Persia*, 101-2). In India its use became perhaps more common than of *iqta'*, but it still remained a secondary synonym of *jagir*.

The author of *Mir'āt-al Iṣtilāḥ*, f. 26a, indeed, seeks to make a distinction between the exact technical senses of *tuyul* and *jagir*. According to him, the former was used for assignments held by princes of the royal blood and the latter for those held by *umarā'* (nobles holding high *mansabs*) and *mansabdars*. There is no evidence for the existence of such a refinement in the literature of the 17th century and both the terms are used there indifferently for all assignments. The princes' assignments are generally indicated by formulas such as *tuyūl-i* (or *jagīr-i*) *wukalā-i sarkār-i a'lā* (or *sarkār-i daulat-madār*, &c.). See specially the documents in *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, many of which are concerned with Prince Mu'azzam's *jagirs*.

3. This is discussed at length in Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*. See also Moreland, 'Rank (*mansab*) in the Mogul State Service', *JRAS*, 1936, pp. 641-65.

4. The pay scales under Akbar are given in the *Ain*, I, pp. 178-185. In the *Iqbalnama*, II, Or. 1834, f. 233a, we have the scales as they stood at the time of Jahangir's accession. The scales as promulgated in the 11th year of Shahjahan under the signature of Afẓal Khān are reproduced in *Farhang-i Kardani*, ff. 21a-24a (Edinburgh No. 83, ff. 19a-21b); those issued in the 14th year under the signature of Islām Khān are given in *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, pp. 79-84; and those still later under the signature of Sa'dullāh Khān in *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 121a-123a. Unlike those of the *Ain* and the *Iqbalnama* these scales are given in terms of *dams*. Those belonging to Aurangzeb's reign (as given, for example, in the *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Add. 6598, f. 149b-152a, Or. 1641, ff. 43a-47b) are almost identical with the scales of Shahjahan's reign.

5. Cf. Lahori, II, p. 397, on the assignment of Surat as *in'ām* to Princess Jahanara: & *'Alamgirnama*, p. 618, where it is explained that since Jai Singh

technical name of *Pāibāqī*.[6] Finally, the *Khāliṣa*, or more properly *ūliṣa-i Sharīfa*, comprised the lands and sources of revenue reserved the imperial treasury.[7]

The assignee was entitled to collect the entire revenue due to State;[8] and though this consisted principally of land revenue, it also braced the various cesses and petty taxes which were probably cted even in the remotest rural areas.[9] Generally speaking, the rkets of the larger towns and the ports were constituted into sepa- e *mahals* (as distinct from the *parganas*, or territorial *mahals*), these again were as frequently assigned in *jagirs* as the others.[10]

been granted the maximum rank permitted to any noble, he could be honoured her only by *in'am*-assignments. The *Mirat-al Istilah*, f. 26a, says that the gnments held by royal princesses were termed *barg-bahā*, but I have not found instance of the use of this term in the 17th century. The princes usually held e *in'am*-assignments in addition to the *jagirs* assigned to them against their s.

6. *Pāibāqī* is an accountants' word for the balance shown at the bottom of account. From this, apparently, it derived the peculiar sense of land available *jagirs* or, as defined in an administrative manual, of "a *jagir*, which has been n from a person and whose revenues, till its assignment to another person, appropriated by the Imperial Government" (*Khulasatu-s Siyaq*, f. 89a-90a, 2026, f. 51a-52b). See *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 74, 375-6; *Akhbarat* 47/167; *Dastur-al al-i Agahi*, f. 31a; & Ma'muri, ff. 156b-157a, 182b, Khafi Khan, Add. 6574, f. , Bib. Ind. ed., II, pp. 396-7, for obvious use of the term in this sense.

7. See *Mirat-al Istilah*, f. 26a, for a definition of this term, although it is so known that the need for citing one hardly arises.

8. According to the standard formula employed in the assignment orders, the *udhuris* (or *deshmukhs*), *qanungos* (or *deshpandias*), and *muqadda ıs* (or *ls*) and the peasants and the cultivators were to be answerable to the assignee the whole of the *māl-i wājib* (revenue) and *ḥuqūq-i dīwānī* (the fiscal ands). (Cf. Har Karan, pp. 53, 54; *Selected Documents &c.*, pp. 4, 5, 17, 18, 21, 147, 151, 158, 171, 175-6; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 118a-121b, Bodl. ff. 91a-93a, 91-2).

9. See Section 7 of Chapter VI. Apart from other burdens on the peasants, e were the taxes on the artisans (*muḥtarifa*) and tradesmen and the transit , which were all comprehended under the general name of *sā'ir*. (Cf. *Dastur-al al-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 23b-24a).

10. From a letter in Balkrishan Brahman, ff. 103b-104b, it appears that the ket dues (*maḥṣūl-i sā'ir*) of the *parganas* of Hansi and Hisar were regarded separate charge from the general revenue of the *parganas*. They had been ined with the *Khalisa*, while the latter had been assigned to Prince Muazzam (?). it was sometimes assigned in *jagir* and sometimes held under the *Khalisa* lsaert, 42), and so also was Hugli (Master, II, pp. 79-80). Cf. Foster, *Supp.* 69, for Cambay.

The *jagirs* were constantly transferred after short periods so that a particular assignment was seldom held by the same person for more than three or four years.[11] Akbar seems to have, in his own view, decisively established this practice when in his 13th regnal year he dislodged the officers of the Atka family from their *jagirs* in the Panjab.[12] From that time to the end of our period the practice continued to be rigorously followed. The only exceptions were the *watan jagirs* of the *zamindars*[13] and, on a far smaller scale, the *āl-tamghā* assignments of which in India we hear first under Jahangir and only rarely afterwards.[14]

11. The *taghaiyur*, or transfer, of a *jagir* after short periods was such a common administrative practice at the time that it is usually assumed, and only rarely described, in our Indian authorities. Abu-l Fazl philosophises about it in one passage and describes it as similar in virtue to the transplantation of plants which a gardener practices for the good of the plants themselves (*A.N.*, II, pp. 332-3). References to transfers of particular *jagirs* are so numerous in our sources of all types, chronicles, collections of letters, records, &c., that any attempt to list such references will extend to pages and can never be complete. But an example may be cited from the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*. In its detailed account of the administrative history of the *sarkar* of Sehwan, which was usually assigned whole to *jagirdars*, we find the *jagir* of the *sarkar* to have been transferred seventeen times within forty-three years (1592-1634). The average period for which it was held in *jagir* by any assignee (including the *Khalisa*) was, therefore, only two and a half years. (*Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, pp. 90-171). European travellers were generally struck by this practice and offer descriptions of it. Among these Hawkins and Geleynssen happen to be more specific about the period for which a *jagir* was normally held by the same person. According to Hawkins, "A man cannot continue half a yeere in his living, but it is taken from him" (*Early Travels*, 114). Geleynssen's statement is a little more moderate. "Some" of the assignments, he says, "are transferred yearly or half-yearly, or every two or three years" (*JIH*, IV, p. 72). There was apparently no fixed period for which a *jagir* might be held. If we discount Bernier's statement that the *jagirdars*, whom he calls Timariots, were afraid of being deprived of their *jagirs* "in a single moment" (Bernier 227) as the exaggeration of a foreigner who had an axe to grind, we have an identical statement from a native writer during the last years of Aurangzeb. "The agents of the *jagirdars*", says Bhimsen, "having apprehension concerning the niggardly behaviour of the clerks of the Court, who on every excuse .... effect a transfer, do not have any hope of the confirmation (*baḥālī*) of the *jagir* for the following year". (*Dilkusha*, f. 139a).

12. Bayazid 253; *A.N.*, II, pp. 332-3.

13. See Chapter V, Section 4.

14. Jahangir says that following his ancestors he instituted the *āl-tamghā*, or *altūn-tamghā* as he named it, with the specific purpose of allowing every noble to have his native place — or, perhaps, the place where he would like to keep his family — under a permanent assignment. (*T.J.*, p. 10; Tr. I, p. 23 & *n.*) Later

Since a *jagir* was usually assigned in lieu of pay, it was necessary to determine in each case an area that would yield in revenue an amount equivalent to the sanctioned pay.[15] A standing assessment, or *jama'*, was, therefore, prepared for each unit of territory, the village and, more especially, the *pargana* or *mahal*.[16] To serve best this *jama'* should have approximated as closely as possible to the actual collection or *ḥāṣil*. As Abu-l Fazl makes quite clear, the working out of such a *jama'* was one of the chief objectives of Akbar's revenue policy.

The *jama'* figures inherited from the previous régime and used in the early years of Akbar's reign were known as *jama'-i raqamī*.

in Aurangzeb's reign we find an officer, stung by suspicions about intrigues of members of his family with Prince Akbar in Persia, asking that an assignment of "ten *lak dams* in the province of Lahor be granted to him as *āl-tamghā* that he might summon his relatives from Persia and settle them there." (*Matin-al Insha*, ff. 99b-100a). For *In'am āl-tamghā* see Ch. VIII.

The *Farhang-i Rashīdī*, Bib. Ind., I, p. 71, says *āl* is used in Turkish for the red seal which was used in grants remitting the revenue (*tamghā*): hence, *āl-tamghā*. Jahangir sought to alter the initial word, because he used a golden (*altūn*) seal. Yasin's glossary of revenue terms, Add. 6603, ff. 48b-49a, says *āl* meant descent through the daughter and therefore *āl-tamghā* in the beginning was given to women only. This explanation may, however, be safely rejected.

15. *The Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign* contains a large number of assignment orders. In these the rank of the assignee is invariably given first; then the pay sanctioned for the ranks, which by referring to the pay scales given on pp. 79-84 of the volume, would be seen to accord with it in all cases. These are stated in *dams*. Finally comes the *jagir*, or *jagirs*, the *jama'* of which is exactly equal to the sanctioned pay.

16. The village-wise *jama'* was known as *deh-ba-dehī* and a record of it was kept at the Court (Fraser 86, f. 63a; Manucci, II, p. 70). It was laid down that a single village should not be assigned to more than one person (Fraser 86, f. 63a). But another manual gives the method for calculating the shares of four *jagirdars* in the revenue of a single village, if each had been assigned a portion of its *jama'* (*Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, f. 179a-b). Where two or more *jagirs* were assigned in the same *pargana*, the procedure seems to have been, first, to state the amount of the *jama'* of each *jagir* ("so many *dams* from *pargana* ——") and, then, to work out the *qismat* or division of the villages of the *pargana* among the *jagirs* to correspond to the *jama'* of each. The paper laying down this division, known as *qismat-nāma* or *chitthī-i qismat* was prepared by the office of the provincial *Diwan*. (*Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 242a, *Waqa'i'-i* Ajmir, 470,637). Allahabad 888, dated March 2, 1653, shows that the *jagirdars* could make adjustments in the villages assigned to them under the official *qismat* through mutual consent. It was. however, generally recognised that the best practice was to assign whole (*dar bast*) *parganas* to single assignees so far as their total salary claims allowed it (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 117a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, 126-7; *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 117a-b).

These figures were, however, grossly inflated owing to purely arbitrary enhancements.[17] In the 11th year a revision was attempted by collecting information from the *qanungos* and "knowledgeable men." But the new *jama'*, though acknowledged to be an improvement, is still said to have been "a long distance away from the *hasil*".[18] Eight years later came perhaps the boldest step of Akbar's career, when he simultaneously undertook a number of important measures of reform.[19] He resumed all *jagirs*, except those held in Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat. He then fixed permanent local cash rates for the different crops and worked out a new *jama'* for assignment purposes. We have seen in the preceding Chapter how the *jama'-i dah-sāla* was determined by striking the average of the annual revenue, calculated on the basis of retrospectively fixed annual cash rates, multiplied by measured area figures of the previous ten years (15th to 24th year). This *jama'* was, however, prepared only for the *Zabti* provinces. Abu-l Fazl tells us of the repeated attempts to determine an accurate *jama'* for Kashmir, and this seems to have been based ultimately on the discovery of the real rates at which the revenue was customarily paid, and on an investigation into the prevailing levels of prices at which the assignees sold their stocks.[20] Todar Mal was twice (1574 and 1576-7) deput-

17. *A.N.*, II, p. 270 (Add. 27,247, f. 292a); *Ain*, I, p. 347; *Iqbalnama*, Lakhnau ed. II, p. 213. Abu-l Fazl calls the *jama'*, *raqamī-i qalamī* in the *Akbarnama* (the final version) and *raqam-i raqamī* in Add. 27,247, but, simply, *raqamī* in the *Ain*. In the latter work it is stated that "according to whatever reached their heart, they (the officials of the revenue ministry) used to make an enhancement by a stroke of the pen (*ba-qalam afzūda*) and assigned it in pay (*tan namūdand*)." *Qalamī* would, therefore, seem to bear an idiomatic sense equivalent to that of 'paper' in English. The *jama'-i qalami*, that is to say, was merely a paper assessment. *Raqamī*, on the other hand, seems to have been a technical term, for a village confirmed in *suyūrghāl* by a *farman* of Babur, is assigned a "*jama'-i raqamī* of 2,000 *tankas*." (I.O. 4438: 1). *Raqam* means notation or writing and its conversion into a technical term for a particular kind of fiscal record should not be surprising (Cf. *Agrarian System*, pp. 240-41). It is interesting to note that in Bodl. O. 390, ff. 9a ff. the *jama'-dāmī* of the different provinces is stated again in terms of rupees at the accountant's rate of 40 *dams* to a rupee, and these figures are called *jama'-i raqami*. It is to be feared that Sir Richard Burn's explanation of the origin of the word *raqamī* from the term *raya-rekha-mar*, meaning assessment by measurement in the Vijayanagara Empire, is impossible. (*JRAS*, 1943, pp. 260-61.)

18. *A.N.*, II, p. 270; III, p. 117: *Ain*, I, pp. 347-8.

19. That this was the motive in instituting the *jama'-i dah-sala* is brought out in Moreland, *Agrarian System*, p. 98.

20. *A.N.*, III, pp. 548-9, 595, 617-8, 620, 626-7; *Ain*, I, pp. 570-71.

ed to settle the *jama'* of Gujarat, but the methods used by him are obscure.[21] In Bengal the *jama'* seems to have been directly adapted from the "*qānūngoī*" papers of the previous government,[22] and from what we have already seen of the conditions of this province, its *jama'* probably consisted of fixed annual claims of the administration against local *zamindars*. A very summary procedure was apparently adopted in the Dakhin provinces, for Akbar enhanced the *jama'* of Khandesh by fifty per cent, a step hardly to be conceived of if there had been any detailed investigation of actual receipts.[23]

In the 17th century the *jama'* used for the purposes of assignments came to be known as *jama'-i dāmī*, or *jama'-dāmī*, from its being expressed in terms of *dāms*. The statistics for it are available in some profusion (see Appendix D); and they show that it was subject to constant revision in almost all the provinces except Bengal. We know from the administrative documents of this period that reports of the revenue collection (*ḥāl-i ḥāṣil*) in the *jagirs* were called for by the imperial administration, as a matter of routine, and the decennial record of area and revenue (*muwāzana-i dah-sāla*) was also maintained at the Court for the purpose of checking the standing *jama'*.[24] Record was kept also of

21. *A.N.*, III, pp. 65, 67; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, pp. 275, 330; *Mirat*, I, pp. 131-2, 134-5. According to 'Arif Qandahari, 210, it was ordered in 1577-8, that Muẓaffar Khān and "some clerks" accompanying him "should check (*muwāzana numāyand*) what was the amount of the *ḥāṣil* of the country of Gujarat and Mandu"; and presumably on the basis of the figures so established, he was to assign *jagirs* in Gujarat.

22. See *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 164a, where the explanation is given of why Chatgaon continued to appear on the *jama'* records of the Mughal administration, though it was not reconquered till the time of Shaista Khān. Cf. also Moreland in *JRAS*, 1926, pp. 48-50, and *Agrarian System*, pp. 196-7.

23. *Ain*, I, p. 474. From the account of the *jama'* of Berar in *ibid*, 478, one also gains the impression that the *jama'*-figures established under the previous régime served as the basis and the enhancements made by the Mughal administration were purely arbitrary.

24. For evidence that the *hāsil* reports were called for, see *Selected Documents*, &c., pp. 88-90, 194-5; *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 31b-32a, 43a, 49a-b, 104b-105a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 88, 107, 163-4. Fraser 86, f. 162b, says that for the purposes of *jagir*-assignments "the register of the *hasil* of ten years, together with the maximum revenue received...from the beginning of the reign to the current year, was to be maintained" in the central secretariat. The *Siyaqnama*, 102, lists among the papers maintained by the office of the *Diwan* of the Empire "the *muwazana-i dah-sala* for determining (lit. knowing) the *jama'* from year to year so that they might recommend the pay-assignment of every one according (to it)." "A register showing an increase and decrease in the *hal-i hasil*", &c., was also maintained

the maximum revenue realised in the different *mahals*, which was known as *ḥāṣil-i kāmil*.[25] This information was used by Akbar's administration to check the collections of the *karoris*,[26] and it is possible that it was also borne in mind when a revision was made of the *jama'* of any place.

Neither the *jama'-i dah-sāla* nor the *jama'-dami* figures could for all time and in all places exactly represent the actual receipts. Even in Akbar's reign we find the *jama'* of a *jagir* in the Dehli province subject to bargaining between the administration and the prospective assignee.[27] In the next reign, the low revenue-yielding capacity of Hawkin's *jagirs*, as against the pay formally sanctioned for him, forms the burden of his complaints;[28] and Pelsaert declares that only half the nominal assessment was generally realised by the assignees.[29] At last, during the reign of Shahjahan we come across a new method for overcoming the difficulties and injustices involved in the variations between the *jama'dami* and the actual receipts in the different *jagirs*. It was not now attempted to make the *jama'dami* correspond exactly with the *hasil*. On the other hand, the divergence between them was recognised for a fact, and the annually changing ratio between the receipts and the standing assessment was worked out for each *mahal* and expressed in terms of 'month-proportions' (*māhwār*). Thus where the current *hasil* equalled the *jama'*, the *jagir* was styled 'twelve-monthly' (*doazdah-māha*), where it was half, 'six-monthly' (*shash-māha*) and so on.[30] As a natural corollary, the system of month-proportions was

(*ibid*, 101). We read incidentally in the *Mirat*, I, pp. 326-7, that in 1691-2 a *mansabdar* was deputed to Gujarat from the Court to obtain the accounts of the revenue-collections (*hal-i hasil*) of the *parganas* and the *muwazana-i dah-sala* of the province from the *desais* and *muqaddams*. He, however, complained that the *jagirdars* were preventing the *desais* from co-operating with him. From a letter from Aurangzeb to Shahjahan (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 32b; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, p. 118) it seems that the *hasil* accounts received from the *jagirs* were not always considered reliable. Aurangzeb, believing that such a suspicion was entertained at the Court concerning the accounts of his *jagirs*, offered to place them all under the *Khalisa*, and accept cash-pay instead.

25. Fraser 86, f. 162b.

26. *A N.*, III, p. 457.

27. Bayazid, 363-4, 372-3. The *pargana* concerned was Sanām and the incident occurred in 1584.

28. Hawkins: *Early Travels*, pp. 91, 93.

29. Pelsaert, 54.

30. This interpretation of the 'month-ratios'—or, what Moreland calls 'the Rule of the Month'—has not, so far as I am aware, been advanced by any other

instituted for the payment of emoluments in cash as well.[31] Since *mansabdars*, holding the same ranks, but assigned *jagirs* or cash emolu-

writer. The administrative literature upon whose evidence this is based is too extensive to be quoted, but the main documents are cited below: *Selected Documents, &c.*, pp. 64, 248; *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 8a, 31b-32b, 40b, 42b-43a, 49a-b, 51a, 52b-53a, 58b, 104b-105a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 10, 88, 107, 118, 121-2, 130-31, 135, 163-4; Waris, *a*: f. 497a, b: f. 143b; Allahabad 884, 885; *Akhbarat*, 38/145. As for the annual variation in the month-ratio of each *jagir* (consequent upon variations in the receipts) see Fraser 86, f. 162b, where it is laid down that the record of the month-ratios year by year (*māhwār sāl-ba-sāl*) was to be maintained at the Court, along with that of *ḥāṣil-i dah-sāla* and *sāl-i kāmil*. Thus also in *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 104b: "The *hasil* of the *pargana* of Bir was nearly eight-monthly (*hasht-māha*) in the 28th regnal year and would be set higher than that in the 29th." Elsewhere in the same collection (*ibid*, f. 8a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, p. 10) we read of a *jagir*, which "this year" had a *hasil* no higher than '5-monthly'.

The *dam* used in the *jama'* records was only a money of account and as such was reckoned as equal to one-fortieth of a rupee. Thus if the *jagir* was 'twelve-monthly' a *jama'* of one *lak dams* would imply a *hasil* of Rs. 2,500. (See, for instance, Lahori, I, ii, p. 205; *Selected Documents*, &c., p. 77). In Allahabad 885 & 884 (both belonging to Aurangzeb's reign) the relation between the *dams* of the *jama'* of the *jagir* and the amount in rupees and annas which the revenue-farmer promised to pay annually to the *jagirdar*, is defined in terms of the month-scale:—*Dams* 4,40,000; Rs. 7,333, as. 4; Month ratio: "8-monthly". *Dams* 2,10,000, Rs. 3,162; Month-ratio: "7 months, 7 days". Both the ratios are arithmetically exact. In the *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 40b, *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 121-2, it is said of the provinces of Mughal Dakhin that their *hasil* of Rs. 88 laks did not amount to "3-monthly" (*sih-māha*) of their *jama'*, which was 1,44,90,00,000 *dams* and so practically four times the *hasil* figure.

Although the 'month-ratios' seem to have come into general use in Mughal administration only in the reign of Shahjahan, a passage in the *Tārikh-i Ṭāhirī*, a history of Sind written in Jahangir's reign, suggests that the practice had an earlier history. In 1605-6, Mirzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān, the Governor of Sind, who was practically a subordinate ruler, ordered that the pay for his contingents be reduced from "8-monthly" to "6-monthly". This greatly annoyed his officers for they declared that this would reduce their *jagirs* by a fourth (*Tarikh-i Tahiri*, Or. 1685 ff. 118a-119b).

31. Cf. *Selected Documents, &c.*, pp. 64, 76-7; *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 8a, 32b, 42b-43a, 202b, 328b-329a; *Ruq'at i 'Alamgir*, 10, 105-7, 117-8, 228; *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, p. 88. The *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Ilm-i Navisindagi*, ff. 147b-148a; Bodl. O. 390, ff. 40a-41a; Or. 1840, ff. 143b-144b; and the *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 24a-b, contain tables giving *naqdī* (cash) equivalents per *lak dams* for each month in rupees, with the express statement that this was to be used for determining the pay for *zat* ranks. This suggests that there was some other method for determining pay for *sawar* ranks of the *naqdi mansabdars*. A suggestion about what this method was is made in the next note. However, a table similar to the one referred to above is given by the *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Add. 6598, f. 149-a-b, Or. 1641, ff. 42a-43b, without specifically limiting its application to the pay for *zat* ranks.

ments of different 'month-ratios', would have widely different incomes, the military obligations were also laid down separately for each month-ratio, so as to make an allowance for these differences.[32]

In normal circumstances the imperial administration seems to have left the *jagirdar* to bear the risk of fluctuations in revenue collection and to have neither refunded any loss nor recovered any excess receipts.[33] In certain cases, however, if the *jagirdar* complained very

32. This is to be seen most clearly in the particulars given by Lahori, II, pp. 506-7, about the contingents to be provided by the *mansabdars*, under the various month-scales, for service in the Balkh and Badakhshan campaigns. This, however, was an exceptional service where the so-called 'Rule of the Fifth Part' applied, i.e., the *mansabdars* had to provide cavalry amounting in number to a fifth of their *sawar* ranks. In the *Intikhab-i Dastur-al 'Amal-i Padshahi*, ff. 7a-9b, and the *Khulāsatus Siyāq*, Aligarh MS, the contingents to be supplied under all the months, are given both for *mansabdars* serving in the *rikāb* (outside the province of their *jagirs*: the cavalry to come up to a fourth part of their *sawar* ranks) and as *ta'nāt* (*jagirs* and service in the same province: cavalry, a third of the rank). See also *Selected Documents*, &c., p. 249; *Farhang-i Kardani*, Edinburgh 83, ff. 22a-23a.

In Shahjahan's *farman* of the 27th year (*Mirat*, I, 227-9) and some administrative manuals (Bodl. O. 390, ff. 42b-43a; Or. 1840, ff. 143b-144b; *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 24a-b, Edinburgh 83, ff. 21b-22a) the pay of the contingents of the *naqdi mansabdars* is given in a peculiar way: Rs. 40 per horse (or, horseman) under '12-months'; Rs. 30 under '8-months' and so on. Shahjahan's *farmān* of the 27th year recites that formerly the *mansabdars* of 7- & 6-months also used to get Rs. 30 per horse (man?), which it was the object of the order to change to Rs. 27½ and Rs. 25 respectively. See also *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 38a-b, 45b-56a, 117b-118a; *Ruq'at-i Alamgir*, 116-17, 129, for Aurangzeb's protest against the enforcement of this order in the Dakhin and a modification of its terms by Shahjahan, apparently to be applied in the Dakhin only. It seems then that the *naqdi mansabdars* were not paid at the rate of 8,000 *dams* per unit of *sawar* rank as the *jagirdars* were, but were paid per horseman, the rate falling with the month-scale in view of the smaller number of remounts, and lower quality of the horses and their riders.

33. This is the clear impression one gains from a study of complaints and official orders concerning the income from *jagirs*. See for example, *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 199. An officer complains that the revenue in the *jagir* newly assigned to him had already been collected by the imperial revenue-collector (*karori*), it having been previously under the *Khalisa*, presumably. The amount so collected did not correspond to his pay and he refused to accept the *jagir*. The Governor of Ajmer, however, told him that this was "a matter of luck" and it did not behove him to refuse his assignment though he might petition to the Court (for a better *jagir*?).

That the excess income from the *jagir* was for the *jagirdar* to retain or dispose of is shown by an order of Shaista Khan that all excess collection over the

strongly of the inflated nature of the *jama'dami*, a reduction in it, known as *takhfif-i dāmī*, was sanctioned by the Court. For this amount the *jagirdar* was admitted to have a claim (*ṭalab*) that could be satisfied either by a grant from the treasury or the assignment of a *jagir* with a *jama'* of an equivalent amount.[34] At the same time if the actual receipts were discovered to be substantially in excess of the *jama'dami*, or of the ratio to the *jama'* set by the 'months' sanctioned for the *jagirdar*, the excess amount could be recovered from the latter directly, or added to the *muṭālaba*, i.e., the State's financial claims again him.[35] Akbar had, however, approved the suggestion that any increase in revenue brought about by the good administration of the assignee was to be left with him through a corresponding increase in his rank.[36]

The system of periodic transfers had its own complications and inconveniences for the *jagirdar*. For instance, it was assumed for assignment purposes that, except for Bengal and Orissa, the *kharif* and *rabi'* crops were of equal value everywhere.[37] This was, however, hardly the case in reality. If a *jagirdar* held an assignment during the *kharif* harvest in one place and during the *rabi'* in another and neither happened to be the important crops in the respective localities, he might be a heavy loser during that year.[38] Moreover, transfers occurred not only with effect from the beginning of the harvest, but from that of any month. In case the transfer was ordered in the course of the harvest season, the old and the new assignee (either of them being, possibly, the *Khalisa*) had to share the collections of the whole season according to the number of months the assignment had been in the

jama'-i muqarrari of his *jagirs* be returned to the peasants, a step hardly possible if it belonged to the Emperor. (See *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 127a-b).

34. *Selected Documents*, &c., p. 177; *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 31b-32b, 36a-b, 39a-b, 42b-43a, 47b-48a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 88, 95-6, 98, 107, 111-12, 136; *Akhbarat* 38/30; *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 92b-93a; *Karnama*, ff. 208b-209a.

35. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 52b-53a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 130-31; *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, p. 170; *Akhbarat* 38/145. Bayazid was obviously given a concession when Akbar offered him the *jagir* of Sanam with a *jama'* of 29 *lak dams* with the permission to keep any excess revenue to himself. (Bayazid, 363). When in Bengal several *jagirdars* were given *jagirs* with a *jama'* higher than their sanctioned pay, they were required to pay back the balance to the *Khalisa*. (*Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 117a-b.)

36. *A.N.* III, p. 459.

37. Cf. *Selected Documents*, &c., pp. 76-77. For the exception made in the case of Bengal and Orissa, see Or. 1840, f. 140a-b; Fraser 86, f. 60b.

38. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 58b. Cf. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 37a-b, Bodl. ff. 28b-29a, Ed. 29.

hands of either.[39] A sudden transfer could also place a *jagirdar* in some difficulty, if he had not yet been able to collect the full revenue owed to him.[40] At the same time an assignee might be required to collect the previous arrears of revenue (*baqāyā*) and hand them over to the *Khalisa*.[41]

The *jagir* did not always pass from one hand into another without discord. The Mughal administration seems to have taken care, as a rule, to assign a particular area in *jagir* to only one person at a time.[42] But the transmission of transfer or assignment orders took time: The agents of one *jagirdar* might have collected revenue to which another was entitled.[43] Sometimes even physical force was used by one assignee against another, though it seems usually to have happened when one of them had received the transfer orders, while the other had not.[44]

A man would seem to have been exceptionally lucky if he obtained a *jagir* with effect from the date of his appointment to a *mansab* or of his promotion to a higher *mansab*.[45] Sometimes also a *jagirdar* might not immediately get a fresh assignment after the one he held previously had been transferred from him.[46] For the period that a *mansabdar* remained without a *jagir* he could submit a claim for his pay. i.e., *talab*, to the treasury; but in the later years of Aurangzeb, it was ordered that no claim would be honoured for the period immediately after appointment, and in practice the *talab* even in other cases was now seldom met.[47]

39. See especially *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 89a-90a, Or. 2026, ff. 51a-b; also, *Mirat*, I, p. 305; *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, f. 180a-b; Fraser 86, f. 76a-b; *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 24b-25a, Edinburgh 86, f. 19a; Allahabad 890.

40. *T.J.*, 22; *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 413.

41. *Ibid*; *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 130b; *Mirat*, I, p. 305.

42. The great sin of the Bijapur government, says Ma'muri, f. 119b, was that it assigned the same *mahal* in *jagir* to more than one person at the same time, leaving the assignees to fight it out among themselves.

43. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 186b-187a, Bodl. f. 148a-b, Ed. 143; *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 199.

44. *'Arzdasht-ha-i Muzaffar*, Add. 16,859, ff. 3b-4a; Balkrishan Brahman, ff. 64b-65a; *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 37, 42, 187; *Matin-al Insha*, ff. 32b-33a, 44b-45a; *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 169a.

45. Bayazid, 372-74; *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 405-6. Mirzā Yār 'Alī, the Clerk of Aurangzeb's *Bakhshi*, was reputed to have said at the Court that a youth at the time of appointment to a *mansab* would have grown a white beard by the time he received *jagir* for his pay (Khafi Khan, II, p. 379).

46. Ma'muri, f. 182b, Khafi Khan, II, 396; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 46a, Ed. 35.

47. Ma'muri, f. 182b, Khafi Khan, II, 396-7. Cf. *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 19a.

The assignments were often subject to temporary resumption for the satisfaction of the *mutālaba*, the claim of the imperial exchequer for amounts owed to it by the *jagirdars*.[48] These amounts accumulated in a number of ways: from unpaid loans (*musā'adat*),[49] from the *jagirdars'* failure in discharging various obligations imposed upon them as *mansabdars* (e.g. not bringing to the brand the required number of horses of standard breeds,[50] or not bringing them within the stipulated period,[51] failing to supply provisions for the animals of the imperial stables,[52] &c.), from pay-reductions enforced with retrospective effect,[53] and, as we have seen, from excess revenue receipts, and from revenue arrears of the previous years.

The system of assignments, with its rigid and complicated regulations, could only be worked with the aid of an enormous army of scribes and accountants. In the eyes of the *jagirdar*, therefore, the petty clerk employed by the imperial administration appeared as the root-cause of all his troubles, anxious to wreck his interests, both when allotting him his *jagir* and determining the *mutalaba* against him.[54] At the same time the bureaucratic method had its counterpart in the almost universal practice of bribery, so that much of the rigorous system of inspection and checks to ensure the fulfilment of their obligations by the assignees probably existed on paper only.[55]

A crisis in the assignment system developed in the last years of Aurangzeb. From 1682 to his death Aurangzeb carried on an unending war in the Dakhin, in which the concentration of the entire military

48. Waris, *a*: f. 400a-b, b: f. 15a-b; *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 58b, *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 122-3; *Dilkusha*, f. 139a; *Matin-al Insha*, ff. 48a-b, 49b, 50a, 52b-53b.

49. *Ain*, I, pp. 196-7; *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 22; *Dilkusha*, f. 139a. Cf. also *Factories 1655-60*, p. 67.

50. *Tafāwat-i dāgh*. *Selected Documents, &c.*, p. 195; *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 38a-b, 118a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 116-17.

51. *Der-tashīh*. *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Add. 6598, f. 148a, Or. 1641, f. 39b; Fraser 86, f. 68a-b.

52. *Khurāk-i dawābb*. For the numbers and species of animals to be supplied with provisions, see *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, ff. 146a-147a; Fraser 86, ff. 75b-76a. For an actual case where the supplies were demanded, see *Matin-al Insha*, ff. 71a-b, 74a-b. The demand for supplies in kind was later commuted into a cash levy (*Akhbarat* 46/267; Khafi Khan, II, pp. 602-3).

53. Cf. *Matin-al Insha*, f. 55a-b.

54. Cf. *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, ff. 129b-131a; *Dilkusha*, ff. 139a-140b.

55. *Dilkusha*, f. 140b. For bribery practised in checking the cavalry brought to the brand, see Manucci, II, pp. 377-8; *Matin-al Insha*, ff. 66b-67a, 70a-b, 80a-b.

power of the Mughal Empire failed to give him success. During these years there was an enormous influx into the ranks of the *manasabdars* of 'Dakhinis' or officers of the Dakhin kingdoms and the Marathas who had to be bought over in order, at least, to be neutralized. The number of the *mansabdars,* as a result, increased to such an extent that the existing *jagirs* could no longer suffice for their pay.[56] In one of his letters, Aurangzeb himself refers to "the scarcity of *Pāibāqī* and the crowds of men claiming pay" and declares that everything, "flesh and bone", had been assigned and no further demands for assignments could be entertained by the Court.[57] Ma'muri and Khafi Khan make similar statements. "Large numbers (lit. 'a world')", we are told, "had become *jagir*-less (*be-jāgīr*)". Persons appointed to *mansabs* could not obtain *jagirs* for years; and if a *jagir* was transferred from the hands of anyone, he might not get another.[58] The older nobility (the so-called "*khāna-zādān*") were extremely indignant at the way their claims were disregarded to provide for the Dakhinis.[59] But the real victims of the crisis were the small *mansabdars*, who possessed neither the money nor the influence to induce the officers of the Court to assign them *jagirs*.[60]

Essentially, the *Khaliṣa* ought to be conceived of as a group of assignments held directly by the imperial administration. Quite apart from the areas that remained under *Pāibāqī* for short periods pending their re-assignment,[61] we come across constant references to the transfer from, or assignment to, the *Khalisa,* of various *mahals.* It seems, however, to have been an accepted policy to keep for the *Khalisa* the most fertile and conveniently administered lands.[62]

56. Ma'muri, ff. 156b-157a; Khafi Khan, Add. 6574, ff. 106b-107a. This striking passage, inveighing against the influx of the Dakhinis, is omitted in the Bib. Ind. text of Khafi Khan.

57. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Agahi,* f. 31a; Add. 18,422, ff. 17b-18a.

58. Ma'muri, f. 157a; Khafi Khan, Add. 6574, f. 107a.

59. Ma'muri, f. 182b; Khafi Khan, II, pp. 379, 396-7.

60. Ma'muri, ff. 156b-157a; Khafi Khan Add. 6574, ff. 106b-107a. Aurangzeb himself admitted that in this situation, "great injustice is done to the small men (*reza-hā*)." (*Dastur-al 'Amal-i Agahi,* f. 31a; Add. 6574, f. 107a).

61. *Khulasatus Siyaq,* f. 89a-b; Or. 2026, f. 51a-b. Cf. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir,* 375-6.

62. Bayazid, when deputed to manage the revenue administration of the *sarkar* of Sarangpur in Malawa in 1576, reported that it was not "suitable" for inclusion in the *Khalisa* and it was accordingly assigned in *jagir* (p. 353). Similarly Aurangzeb ordered certain *parganas* to be re-assigned in *jagir* since they were not "fit" for the *Khalisa* (*Akhbarat* 42/14). What the main criterion for the suitability or fitness of an area for inclusion in the *Khalisa* was may be judged from Hawkins'

Certain *parganas* were, therefore, kept almost permanently attached to it.[63]

The extent of the *Khalisa* varied from time to time. Akbar in his 19th year brought the whole of his Empire, as it then was, with the exception of Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat, under the *Khalisa*.[64] This turned out — and was, probably, from the beginning meant — to be only a temporary measure and the *jagirs* began to be granted again after a time.[65] From an incidental reference it may be deduced that

statement that "the King taketh" any land "for himselfe (if it be rich ground and likely to yield much)" (*Early Travels*, 114), and from Qazwini's deprecation of the fact that only desolate tracts remained in the *Khalisa* in the later years of Jahangir's reign (Or. 20,734, p. 444; Or. 173, f. 221a-b). *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 4-5, suggests that the *parganas* near the fort of Ranthambor be taken into the *Khalisa*, being easy to keep in order, while in respect of another *pargana* it considers its being "*sair-ḥāṣil*", or yielding revenue fully as assessed, as an adequate reason for its retention in the *Khalisa*. Cf. *Riyazu-s Salatin*, 245-6, which, declares that in the last years of Aurangzeb the "*sair-hasil*" *jagirs* in Bengal were resumed to the *Khalisa*.

63. Bernier 224. When Hindaun was transferred from Prince Mu'azzam's *jagirs*, Aurangzeb ordered it to be retained in the *Khalisa* as it always had been from old times (*Akhbarat* 42/14).

64. *A.N.*, III, p. 117; 'Arif Qandahari, 177-8. Akbar probably had a precedent in the action of Islam Shah, who also had put all his dominions under his own direct administration (*khāṣa-i khud*) and paid his nobles in cash (Badauni, I, p. 384; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, 165).

65. Cf. *Agrarian System*, 96-8. What was done is perhaps, best illustrated by the case of the *sarkar* of Sarangpur just referred to above. Its *jagirdar*, Shihābuddīn Aḥmad Khān, was transferred to Gujarat and it was brought under the *Khalisa*. Bayazid was appointed to 'settle' its revenue arrangements and he took charge late in 1576 or the 20th year. On his deciding against its retention in the *Khalisa* it was re-assigned (Bayazid 353). This *sarkar* is put under the *dastur*-circle of Ujjain and carries measured area statistics in the *Ain*.

It is possible, however, that the restoration of *jagirs* was hastened by the events of 1580-81. Akbar's position had become critical owing to a rebellion in all the eastern provinces and Mirzā Hakīm's invasion from the north-west. His highest nobles took this opportunity to conspire against Shāh Manṣūr, the *Diwan* at the time and one of the architects of the *Karori* Experiment, and the unfortunate man was executed on framed-up charges, during Akbar's march against Mirza Hakim. In the meantime, according to Badauni, II, p. 296, Shahbāz Khān Kambū, the *Mīr Bakhshī*, who had taken charge of the administration at Agra, "during the absence of the Emperor, gave away all the country right from Garhi to the Panjab in *jagirs* to men on his own authority ... When the Emperor (on his return) asked him the reason for his having dared to do this, he answered that if he had not conciliated the troops (i.e. officers, obviously), they would have all rebelled immediately." We are not told whether Akbar acted on the submission by the

in Akbar's 31st year the *jama'* of the *Khalisa* in the provinces of Dehli, Awadh and Ilahabad amounted to about a fourth of their total *jama'*.[66] During the reign of Jahangir the *Khalisa* is said to have suffered considerable reductions till its *jama'* fell to even below five per cent. of that of the whole Empire.[67] Shahjahan, however, embarked upon a deliberate policy of expanding its area and revenues, and by the 4th year of his reign its *jama'* is said to have amounted to a fifteenth of the whole.[68] The proportion rose to one-eleventh within, perhaps, the course of the next few years[69] and was nearly one-seventh by the 20th year.[70] The assessed revenues of the *Khalisa* were put at a slightly lower figure in the 31st year,[71] but the early years of the next reign saw another increase. By the tenth regnal year of Aurangzeb its *jama'* amounted to almost one-fifth of the total for the Empire.[72] We have

Mir Bakhshi that he could take away all the *mansabs* and *jagirs* that the latter had distributed. Apparently such a repetition of the action taken in 1575-6 was no longer considered expedient.

66. Akbar is said to have remitted one-sixth of the *jama'* in these provinces this year and the remission in the *Khalisa* is said to have amounted to 4,05,60,596 *dams* (*A.N.*, III, p. 494), so that the total *jama'* of the *Khalisa* in the same provinces, must have exceeded 243 million *dams*. In the provincial statistics given in the *Ain*, the total *jama'* of the three provinces amounts to nearly 1016 million *dams*. The other cases of revenue remission mentioned in the *Akbarnama* do not offer such a straight-forward opportunity for comparison as this.

67. Qazwini (Add. 20734, pp. 444-5, Or. 173, f. 221a-b) says it was reduced to 28 *karor dams*. The total *jama'* of the Empire about 1627-29 was 630 *karor dams* (*Majalisu-s Salatin*, ff. 115a-b).

68. Qazwini, Add. 20734, p. 444, Or. 173, f. 221a-b. He makes this statement while referring to the remissions, amounting to Rs. 50 *laks*, granted during the great famine of 1630-32. He adds that after his accession Shahjahan ordered the *Khalisa* to be expanded so as to have a *jama'* of 60 *karor dams*.

69. Lahori, I, p. 364, states this in the same context as Qazwini. But he raises the figures of both the remission and the *jama'* of the *Khalisa* to, respectively, Rs. 70 *laks* and 80 *karors* of *dams*. The difference between the figures of the two authorities can perhaps be explained only by supposing that Lahori has also used information relating to later years. Dr. Saran in his *Provincial Govt.*, &c., pp. 432-3, has already pointed out that the proportion of one-eleventh in Lahori has reference not to the magnitude of the revenue remitted, but to the ratio between the total *jama'* and the *jama'* of the *Khalisa*. In fact, Lahori gives the total *jama'* as 880 *karors* under the 20th year (II, p. 710) and this is exactly eleven times the figure here given by him for the *Khalisa*.

70. It now amounted to 120 *karor dams*, compared with the *jama'* of the Empire, put at 880 *karors*. (Lahori, II, 710, 712-13).

71. Being put at a little over 118 *karor dams* in the *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Add. 6598, f. 187b; Or. 1641, f. 133a.

72. *Mirat-al 'Alam*, Add. 7657, f. 445b.

also the figure of the actual revenue receipts for the *Khalisa* for the 35th year of Aurangzeb and this is about 33 per cent. higher than that for the 31st year of the previous reign.[73]

No later information is available for the size of the *Khalisa* under Aurangzeb. But it is probable that, under the great pressure upon available assignments which developed during his last years, the *Khalisa* lost some ground in order to release lands for assignment as *jagirs*.

2. The Machinery of Revenue Administration

The administrative arrangements, under the assignment system, were geared mainly to cope with two problems. The first was that of imperial control. The assignee was entitled to assess and collect the revenue, but in both these matters he was required to conform to imperial regulations. Although certain orders and rules were framed specifically for the *Khalisa*, most of the really fundamental regulations were set in general terms, applying, by implication, to both the *Khalisa* and the *jagirs*. Abu-l Fazl's statements show that even in the early years of Akbar's reign the *jagirdars* were obliged to collect the revenue due to them in accordance with the annual cash-rates sanctioned by the Court.[1] Todar Mal headed his regulations of the 27th year by an article requiring all collections, whether by the *jagirdars* or the officials of the *Khalisa*, to be in strict accordance with the authorised rates: Everything extorted in excess of these was to be recovered together with such fines as might be imposed.[2] When in the late years

73. *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Add. 6598, f. 187b, Or. 1641, f. 133a. The amount shown is Rs. 3,33,12,480, compared to Rs. 2,48,79,500, the figure for the *hāsil* of the *Khalisa* in the 31st year of Shahjahan. In his 13th regnal year Aurangzeb issued instructions that the income from the *Khalisa* should not be less than Rs. 4 *karors* per year (*Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, pp. 99-100). Comparative statistics for the *Khalisa* are given for the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb at another place in the *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Ethe 415, f. 177a-b, Or. 1641, f. 81a-b, but here the exact years are not indicated.

	Number of *mahals*	Number of villages	*Jama'* (*dams*)	*Hasil* (Rs.)
Shahjahan's	.. 407	78,000	1,34,46,03,245	2,81,21,227
reign	.. 478	75,000	1,25,76,60,947	2,47,16,983
Aurangzeb's	.. 950	958?	1,31,35,61,364	2,61,18,079
reign	.. 787	938?	1,24,54,64,650	2,34,51,956. as. 6

1. *Ain*, I, p. 348; *A.N.*, III, p. 282. Cf. also *Agrarian System*, 91-2.
2. *A.N.*, III, 381. (Add. 27,247, f. 331b).

of Shahjahan, a reform was undertaken in the revenue system of the Dakhin, the change-over to Crop-sharing was enforced not only in the *Khalisa*, but also in the assignments of the *jagirdars*.[3] The *farman* of Aurangzeb addressed to Rasikdas also directs its recipient to require all "the revenue-collectors (*'amils*) of the *mahals* of the *jagirdars*" to follow the regulations published in this edict. There must, then, have been some machinery by which respect for imperial orders could be secured in the assignments.[4]

Secondly, there would be the problem faced by the *jagirdar* who had to manage a new assignment after every short interval. Neither he nor his staff could have hoped to be familiar with the details of the revenue-paying capacity and the local customs of each of the new *jagirs*. Nor would his short tenure at any one place enable the *jagirdar* or his agent to build up a local administration from scratch. The assignment system would therefore have resulted in complete anarchy, had there not been some arrangement for ensuring a continuity in local records and revenue practice.

To meet these two ends, the administrative structure consisted of three distinct elements. First, there were the officials and agents of the assignee, whether the assignee was the *Khalisa* or a *jagirdar*. Then there were the permanent local officials, owing their position partly to birth and partly to imperial authority, but unaffected by the transfers of assignees. Finally, there were the full-fledged officials of the imperial administration who could be used both to help and to control the assignees.

We possess detailed information in respect of the *Khalisa*. But no more than a summary description can be offered here. Under Sher Shah each *pargana* used to have a *shiqqdār*, who had the charge of revenue collection as well as of maintaining law and order.[5] He had

3. This appears from *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 118a.

4. Moreland, who recognises that the imperial regulations concerning land revenue affected the assignees as well, seems to think that their enforcement solely depended upon the personality of the emperor: Under Akbar "no open disregard of his orders in regard to assessment" could, probably, have gone unchallenged. (*Agrarian System*, 92). But even Akbar must have had some administrative instrument for detecting irregularities and enforcing his will.

5. Mushtaqi, f. 49a; 'Abbas Khan, ff. 106a, 113b. The *madad-i ma'ash farmans* of Sher Shah, published in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. IX, No. 3, May 1933, pp. 121-2, 125-8, are addressed to "the present *shiqqdār* and the future *'āmils*",

also a colleague known as *munṣif* or *amīn*,[6] whose duties do not appear from the authorities, but from the significance attaching to his name later on, it may be conjectured that he was in charge of assessment.

These arrangements probably continued in the early years of Akbar's reign, and there are explicit references to *shiqqdars*.[7] The *munsif* or *amin* at the *pargana* level is, however, no longer heard of; and it is possible that his position had declined in importance. A radical change in the organisation of the *Khalisa* administration was brought about in the 19th year, when all but three provinces of the Empire were placed under it. The whole land was divided into districts, each of which was expected to yield one *karor* of *tankas*. To each district was appointed an *'āmil* or *'amalguzār*, who came to be known as *karoṛī*.[8] These revenue-collectors seem to have been allowed the greatest latitude in action, for they are said to have been guilty of much oppression.[9] When the '*Karori* Experiment' was wound up and the assignments began to be granted again, the name *karori* still stuck to the *'amil* or *'amalguzar* of the *Khalisa* set over a *pargana* or group of *parganas*.[10] His duties, as described in the *Ain*, show this official to be in charge of both assessment and collection of the revenue.[11] The term *shiqqdar* probably continued to be used synonymously with

suggesting thereby that the *shiqqdar* and *'amil*, or revenue collector, were synonymous terms. Cf. also Allahabad 318 and 'Abbas Khan, ff. 112b-113a. One of the two *farmans* (*op. cit.* p. 127) requires the grantees to go to the aid of the *shiqqdar* in the case of disorder, thus indicating the military or police aspect of his position. Bayazid held for some years (from 1561 onwards) the post of the *shiqqdar* of Hisar on behalf of one of Akbar's premier nobles, Mun'im Khan. In this capacity he claims to have increased the revenue considerably and to have once successfully defended Hisar against rebels (Bayazid, 278-9, 299).

6. Mushtaqi, f. 49a, reads *munṣif*, while 'Abbas Khan, f. 106, has *amīn*. Badauni, I, p. 385, explains that the two terms were identical. Cf. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 79a, Or. 2026, f. 33a. That the *munsif*, under Sher Shah, was an officer of some importance, appears from *Laṭā'if-i Quddūsī*, extracts tr. S. N. Hasan, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 56.

7. E.g. Bayazid, 278, 303.

8. *A.N.*, III, pp. 117; 'Arif Qandahari 177-8; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, pp. 300-301; Badauni, II, p. 189.

9. Badauni, II, p. 189.

10. This is nowhere explicitly stated, but is clear from the numerous references to the *karori* in the records of the subsequent period.

11. *Ain*, I, pp. 285-8.

'amil,[12] but subsequently seems to have been used rather for a subordinate collector under the *karori*.[13] The *amin* now appears merely as the head of the survey party sent by the *karori* to carry out measurement for purposes of assessment.[14] The *karori* also employed troopers known as *sih-bandis* for enforcing revenue-collection.[15]

The next important change came under Shahjahan. His *diwan*, Islām Khān set up an *amin* in every *mahal*, transferring the work of assessment from the *karori* to his new colleague.[16] The *karori* hencefor-

12. In the *Ain*, the *shiqqdar* seems to have been mentioned in two passages only. On pp. 300-301 of Vol. I, the reference is probably to the old *shiqqdar*, before the installation of the *karori*. On p. 289 it has been obviously used as an alternative name for the *'amil*: thus the treasurer is required to establish the treasury with the advice of the *shiqqdar* and the *kārkun*; but he should not open its door without the knowledge of the *'amil* and the *karkun*. Similarly, he is not to make any disbursements without authority and in an emergency must take written orders from the *shiqqdar* and *karkun* for any payment; but it is the *'amil* who was to put his seal on his accounts, which he ought to compare with those of the *karkun*.

13. The *shiqqdar* appears with the *karkun* among the subordinate associates (*muta'alliqān*) of the *karori* in the specimen *bar-āmad* accounts reproduced in the *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 91b-94a, Or. 2026, ff. 59a-64a. In Add. 6603, f. 67a, the *shiqqdar* is defined as an agent sent by the *'amil* to enforce collection.

14. Cf. *A.N.*, III, p. 383. In the similar provisions made in the *Ain*, I, p. 286, the word *amīn* seems to have been omitted out of confusion with the preceding word *ā'īn*, but he is referred to in the same context in *ibid*, pp. 300-301. The name *amin* was also given to the official sent down from the headquarters to check on the *'amalguzar's* report of the damage caused by any natural calamity (*Ain*, I. pp. 286-7; *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 79a, Or. 2026, f. 33a).

15. *A.N.*, III, p. 458; Asad Beg's Memoirs, Or. 1996, f. 4a; *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, f. 11a; Khafi Khan, Add. 6573, f. 83a, Add. 26226, f. 60a. The *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 79b-80a, Or. 2026, f. 34a-b, requires the *karori* to post "horse and foot" to enforce the full sowing of the area fixed under *Nasaq* and to prevent the grain from being lifted before the revenue was paid in full.

The actual meaning of *sih-bandī* seems to be that of troops hired for the occasion, as distinct from troops permanently employed. See, for example, *Baburnama*, tr. Beveridge, II, p. 470 (the translator has not succeeded in deciphering this word properly and has transliterated it as "b:d-hindī"). Yasin's Glossary in its article on this term (Add. 6603, f. 66a) says that *sih-bandi* is the name given to the servants of men in authority and adds that "*faujdars* and officials follow the custom of hiring horse and foot at the harvest season only· they dismiss them on the coming of the rains and re-employ them from the Dasehra day, so that the saying in Dehli is: 'The *koel* (Indian cuckoo) sings and the *sih-bandi* wanders (un-employed)'." The koel is supposed to herald the rainy season in India. The etymology of the word is obscure. Yasin's suggestion (*ibid.*) that it is derived from *sipah-i Hindī*, 'Indian troops', is not convincing.

16. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 79b, Or. 2026, ff. 33a-34a.

ward concerned himself chiefly with collecting the amount which the *amin* had assessed.[17] Islam Khan's successor, Sa'dullāh Khān is said to have further reduced the powers of the *karori* by putting an end to the practice of combining the office of *karori* and *faujdar* (commandant) in the same person. A new territorial unit, *chakla*, comprising a group of *mahals* was introduced,[18] and an *amin-faujdar* was appointed over it, the *karori* becoming really a subordinate of this official.[19]

The practice of giving the revenue of whole *parganas* or large areas on farm (*ijāra*) seems to have been very rare, or at least the exception, in the *Khalisa*.[20] If two foreign observers nevertheless assert that the

17. The duties of the *amin* and *'amil* (or *karori*) after this separation of the two offices are described in various documents. See, e.g., *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 33a; *Farman* to Rasikdas, Preamble; *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, ff. 153b-154a; *Nigranama-i Munshi*, ff. 175a-187a, 188b-189a, Bodl. ff. 140b-141b, 149b-150b, Ed. 135-7; *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 29a-b, Edinburgh No. 83, ff. 39a-40a; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 136b-137a; *Siyaqnama*, 26-28, 48-50; *Khulasatu-s Siyaq*, ff. 73b-74a, Or. 2026, ff. 21b-22b; *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, ff. 10a-11a. The concern of the *amin* with assessment and of the *'amil* with collection is throughout emphasised.

The separation of the two offices seem to have become a dogma with Mughal administrators. When one Sa'dullah, who was at once the *faujdar*, *amin* and *karori* of Mirta, was suspected of embezzling large sums of money, the Governor of Ajmer remarked that this was to be expected when these three offices were combined in the same person (*Waqa'i' Ajmir*, 311).

18. The statement in the *Khulasatus Siyaq* (see the note below for reference) that Sa'dullah Khan was responsible for establishing the *chaklas* seems borne out by the fact that this territorial division is first mentioned in the chronicles and records of Shahjahan's reign. The *chaklas* were often identical with the *sarkars*, as in the case of the *chaklas* of Hisar and Sirhind (as would appear from the geographical information in Balkrishan Brahman, f. 180a-b & *passim*), but in general a *chakla* was considered a smaller unit than a *sarkar* (Add. 6603, f. 65b). In Bengal, however, the area of individual *sarkars* being very small, a *chakla* consisted usually of a group of *sarkars*. (Cf. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Khalisa Sharifa*, f. 9a). The *sarkar* of Satgam, for example, was a part of the *chakla* of Hugli (Add. 24,039, f. 36a).

19. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 79b, Or. 2026, f. 34a-b. Cf. Lahori, II, p. 247, for reference, under the 15th year, to Rai Todarmal, "the *faujdar* and *amin* of the *chakla* of Sirhind", who had the charge of the *Khalisa* lands in that district (*zila'*). The *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 33a, declares that the *amin* was superior in authority to the *'amils*.

20. This statement is based on the extreme paucity of references to actual cases of *ijara* of this type in the 17th century. In *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 209 & 359, we have two instances where *jagirdars*, who lost an assignment, obtained, or sought to obtain, the same areas on farm from the *Khalisa*. An order issued by Aurangzeb declares that the *parganas* of the *Khalisa* in Bengal were being rented out to revenue farmers. It forbids this practice entirely. The usual term for farming

whole of the *Khalisa* was held by farmers,[21] this is probably due to the general impression derived from the system of *ta'ahhud*, which meant a pledge given by a prospective official about the amount he would assess or collect. Thus the *karoris* were originally expected to collect a *karor* of *tankas* from their charges; and in the 30th year of Akbar the current practice, as officially described, was to hold the *'amils* answerable for any failure to collect the amount set out in their undertakings (*nuskha-i karoṛ-bandī*) or that of the revenue of the best year (*sāl-i kāmil*). This was now held to be unfair and it was laid down that they should only be questioned if there was any decline in the revenue as compared to the receipts of the previous year.[22] With the separation of the office of the *amin* from that of the *karori*, the latter only promised to collect what the former had assessed,[23] while the *amin* usually pledged himself to raise the assessment, presumably by claiming to employ more rigorous and efficient methods.[24] It is said, however, that many *amins* made heavy assessments initially, simply to fulfil the terms of their pledge, and then made large deductions on all sorts of pretexts.[25]

was *ijāra*, but this document notes that in Bengal it was known as *māl-ẓāminī*. (*Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 207a-b).

It was probably in the reign of Farrukhsiyar, under the aegis of the Saiyid Brothers, that the *Khalisa* was first given out on farm on a large scale (Khafi Khan, III, p. 773). The very first item of reform in the scheme submitted by Nizamul Mulk to Muhammad Shah was the abolition of "the farming out of the *mahals* of the *Khalisa* that had brought about devastation and ruin of the country". (*Ibid*, 948). Cf. Shah Waliullah, *Siyāsī Maktūbāt*, 43.

21. J. Xavier, tr. Hosten, *JASB*, N.S., XXIII (1927), p. 121; Bernier, 224.

22. *A.N.*, III, p. 457 (Mir Fathullah Shirazi's recommendations). Three years earlier Todar Mal took care to lay down that if an *'amil* was successful in raising the total *jama'* of his charge he was not to be held answerable for the decrease of the *jama'* in some individual *mahals* under him (*ibid*, 382).

23. See the text of a *karori's ta'ahhud* in *Siyaqnama*, 50. See also the authorities cited in note no. 17 for the duties and functions of this official, in most of which there is an explicit statement on this point.

24. In the text of the *amin's ta'ahhud* set out in *Siyaqnama*, 28, no amount is mentioned, the *amin* only promising to carry out assessment in conformity with "the actual conditions (*maujūdāt*) and the (established) crop-rates (*rai'-i jins*)."

25. The preamble to Aurangzeb's farman to Rasikdas states that the officials (*mutaṣaddiyān*) usually made natural calamities an excuse for making heavy deductions from the *jama'*. The *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 86b-87a, Bodl. f. 64a, Ed. 69, contains a letter addressed to 'Inayat Khan, *diwan*, complaining against the dismissal of two *amins* who had fulfilled their pledges. It adds that "no reliance should be placed on the pledges of good service given by men, who make a pledge of enhancement (*iẓāfa*) in the beginning, but by the end of the year turn the accounts upside down". It is not clear if this refers to the *Khalisa* or Prince Mu'azzam's *jagirs*.

Moreover, one document suggests that, according to the *Khalisa* regulations, the difference between the amount of the *ta'ahhud* and the actual revenue collected was not recoverable from the *'āmil*, though a failure to live up to his undertaking might result in his removal.[26]

No indication about the pay allowed to the *'amalguzar* is given in the *Ain*, but one learns from a later source that before a change was introduced during the reign of Shahjahan, the *karori* used to be allowed 8 per cent of the total receipts for himself and his staff.[27] After the creation of the separate office of the *amin*, this was reduced to 5 per cent., subject still to some further deductions.[28] But the rate seems to have varied also according to localities.[29] A fifth part of it[30]—or, as stated elsewhere 1 per cent of the revenue[31]—was held over, out of the allowance, pending audit. Under Akbar a fourth part of the *'amil's* allowance used to be held over pending the collection of revenue arrears,[32] but

26. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, Bodl. f. 53a, Ed. 58. This letter protests against the claim made by officials of Prince Mu'azzam's *sarkar* against an *amin* for the difference between the *ta'ahhud* and the collection. This is denounced as being "no audit"; and it is asserted that "the demand for receipts in accordance with the *ta'ahhud* had not been made upon any *'amil*". Finally, it asks that the rules of the *Khalisa*, along with those of the Prince's *sarkar*, should be followed, and one assumes that the former supported the view-point of the writer.

27. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 79a, reads 20 per cent., which is obviously too high a figure. Or. 2026, f. 33a, has 8 instead and since in Persian writing the words for these two numbers are easily interchangeable, the latter reading has been accepted. The *karori's* allowance was technically known as *huqūqu-t taḥsīl*.

28. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 79b, 84b, 86b; Or. 2026, ff. 34a-b, 42a, 45b-46b. The principal deduction seems to be one called *sā'ir*, amounting to 17 per cent. of the total allowance. This is not so clear from the text of the manual, but is plainly shown in the specimen accounts. Cf. also *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, Bodl. f. 94b, Ed. 94. The accounts in the *Khulasatus Siyaq* show also that out of the allowance remitted to the *karori*, one per cent. of the revenue was meant for his personal pay (*zāt*) and four per cent for the staff (*māhiyān*) employed by him.

29. Thus the rate, after the *sa'ir* deduction, is put at 7 per cent. of the receipts, specifically for a particular *pargana*. (*Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 122a, Bodl., f. 94a-b, Ed. 94.) In the *Farhang-i Kardani*, Edinburgh No. 83, f. 55a-b, it is put at Rs. 3, as 5½ per cent.

30. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 86b, Or. 2026, f. 46a.

31. *Khulasatu-l Insha*, f. 112a. Cf. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 122a-b, Bodl. f. 94b, Ed. 94, where it is stated to be "in accordance with the regulations of the *sarkar*" of Prince Mu'azzam.

32. *A.N.*, III, p. 458. Fathullah Shirazi recommended that the payments for the staff of the *'amalguzar* should not be debited to arrears left by previous *'amils*, which were difficult to collect (*ibid*).

in the subsequent period it seems to have become the practice to assign the whole allowance to arrears (*baqāyā*) of previous years.[33] It is not very clear how the *amin* got his pay. One manual suggests he too drew a small percentage of the revenue receipts,[34] but an earlier document shows that under the rules of the *Khalisa*, the *amin* was given a fixed salary per month.[35]

The accounts of the actual collections of the *'amils* and their agents were audited in many cases by the help of the village *patwaris'* papers.[36] This practice was recommended by Mir Fathullah Shirazi under Akbar, chiefly with a view to preventing illegal exactions.[37] Shahjahan's officials seem to have been concerned, on the other hand, rather with ensuring that all such collections (whether authorised or not) should be brought into the imperial treasury. In any case they are said to have made this method of audit, known as *barāmad*, a part of the routine of administration.[38]

The *'amils'* accounts were always subjected to rigorous auditing after their removal. But it took time and meanwhile the wretched officials languished in prison awaiting the settlement of the claims against them.[39] Aurangzeb ordered that if thqy were found guilty of mis-

33. *Khulasatu-l Insha*, f. 112a. This merely says 'arrears', but the *sanad* in *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, *op. cit.*, goes further and declares that the allowance was first to be deducted from the arrears of the previous years (*baqāyā-i sanwāt*) and then only from the current arrears. This is explicitly said to be in conformity with the rules of the *Khalisa*.

34. *Farhang-i Kardani*, Edinburgh No. 83, f. 55a. The rate shown is Re. 1, as. 10½ per cent.

35. *Selected Documents, &c.*, p. 179. The pay amounted to Rs. 120 per month "in accordance with the regulations of the *Khāṣa-i Sharīfa*." *Khāṣa* and *Khāliṣa* were often used interchangeably.

36. It is not to be assumed, of course, that the village papers always revealed the true state of affairs. Sher Shah is said to have recommended that the person sent to audit the *'amil's* accounts should seize the village papers before the *muqaddam* had any warning of it ('Abbas Khan, f. 18a-b). Cf. also Elliott, *Chronicles of Oonao*, 108-9n.

37. *A.N.*, III, pp. 457-8.

38. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 79a, 91b, Or. 2026, ff. 34a, 59a-b. Cf. also *Farman* to Rasikdas, Art. 11; *Siyaqnama*, 75-76; *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 27-28, 32, 38, 44-45.

39. For the fate of the *karoris* at the hands of Todar Mal, see Badauni, II, pp. 189-90; III, 279-80. Fathullah Shirazi reported in the 30th year that many *'amils* were in prison from failure to collect the maximum revenue or the amount they had undertaken to collect (*A.N.*, III, p. 457). After the death of Sa'dullah Khan, Shahjahan ordered the release of some *karoris* who had been in prison for

appropriation, the whole of their personal allowance, and three-fourths of that of their staff, should be resumed.[40]

There were, besides the *karori* and the *amin*, two other officials who were posted independently of them to each *pargana*, namely, the *foṭa-dār* or *khizāna-dār*, the treasurer,[41] and *kārkun* or *bitikchī*, the accountant.[42] Under Sher Shah there were two *karkuns*, one for keeping the records in Hindi and the other for those in Persian.[43] Todar Mal is reputed to have made Persian the sole language of accounts[44] and to this may well be attributed his action in Akbar's 27th year, when he replaced the two *bitikchis*, associated with the *'amil*, with a single one.[45]

The *Pāibāqī*, consisting of lands earmarked for re-assignment to *jagirdars*, was essentially a part of the *Khalisa*, though for administrative convenience it was kept a separate charge. However, its administration followed the same pattern as that of the *Khalisa*. The same three principal officials, *amin*, *karori* and *fotadar*, were appointed and the regulations of the *Khalisa* were followed in preparing all records and accounts.[46] Moreover, the whole administration of the *Paibaqi* was under the control of the central *Diwan-i Khalisa*.[47]

more than twenty years (*Char Chaman-i Barhaman*, Add. 16,863, f. 32a). Aurangzeb urged in his orders that the cases of the *'amils* and others imprisoned on the suspicion of having misappropriated the funds of the *Khalisa* should be speedily settled. (*Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 58a-59b; *Mirat*, I, pp. 264, 282-3).

40. *Mirat*, I, p. 264; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 83a-b.

41. For his duties see *Ain*, I, p. 289; Harkaran, 54, 56; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 177a-b, Bodl., ff. 141b-142a, Ed. 137; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 137b.

42. *Ain*, I, p. 288; Harkaran 56, 58; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 137a-b.

43. Mushtaqi, Or. 1929, f. 49a; 'Abbas Khan, f. 106a-b. It is a curious feature of Sher Shah's *farmans* granting *madad-i ma'ash* lands that, as appears from the two published in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. IX, No. 3, May 1933, the Persian text is followed by a transcription of it in the *Nagari* characters, obviously for the convenience of those unable to read the Arabic script.

44. Sujan Rai, 409; *Khulasatu-l Insha*, f. 115a; *Khulasatu-s Siyaq*, f. 65a, Or. 2026, f. 4b.

45. *A.N.*, III, p. 381 (Add. 27,247, f. 331b). It is significant that the complete shift to Persian is put in the 27th year of Akbar in the *Khulasatu-s Siyaq*, *op. cit.*, and the 28th year in the *Khulasatu-l Insha*, *op. cit.*

46. *Khulasatus Siyaq*, f. 89b, Or. 2026, f. 51a. Cf. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 27-28, 32, 401: officials who are stated to have held the charge of *Paibaqi*, on pp. 27-28 & 32, are described indifferently as officials of the *Khalisa* on pp. 27 & 38.

47. The affairs of the revenue officials of certain *mahals* of *Paibaqi* in the Ajmer province were investigated by an auditor (*bar-āmad navis*) of the accounts

Next in size to the *Khalisa-i Sharifa* were the *jagirs* of the princes of royal blood. The princes held the highest *mansabs*, often many times higher than the maximum permitted to any of the nobles; and the *jagirs* assigned to them were, therefore, naturally very large in extent.[48] In general the administrative structure of a prince's *sarkar*[49] was closely modelled on that of the *Khalisa*. Its *'amils* were generally known as *karoris*[50] and were accompanied by the same officials, the *amin*, the *fotadar* and the *karkun*.[51] There are also explicit statements in some documents belonging to a prince's secretariat that the rules of the *Khalisa*, on specific points, were to be applied in his *sarkar*.[52] Nevertheless, certain variations from the practice of the *Khalisa* can be detected here and there. For example, we come across an order (*amr*) issued by Prince Mu'azzam requiring that the offices of the *amin* and *karori* be combined and held by one person only in his *jagirs*.[53]

of all the officials of the *Khalisa* in the province. When he found the conduct of the *Paibaqi* officials unsatisfactory, he sent a report to the central *Diwan-i Khalisa*, who was expected to convey its contents to the Emperor. (*Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 11, 27-28).

48. In the 20th year of Shahjahan Dara Shukoh held the *mansab* of 20,000 *zat*, 20,000 *sawar*, 10,000 *do-aspa sih-aspa*, and his pay amounted accordingly to 40 *karor dams* (Lahori, II, p. 715), i.e., a third of the *jama'* of the *Khalisa* at the time. By the thirtieth year of the reign his rank had been raised to 40.000 *zat*, 20,000 *sawar*, 20,000 *do-aspa sih-aspa*. By then his brothers, Shuja' and Aurangzeb, were both holding the ranks of 20,000/15,000/10,000, while Murad's rank was 15,000/12,000/8,000 (Waris, *a*:f. 523b, *b*:f. 200a). The highest rank permitted to a noble was 7,000 *zat*, 7,000 *sawar*. (Lahori, II, p. 321; *'Alamgirnama*, p. 618).

49. The word *sarkar* was widely used in the literature of our period for the administration of a prince or noble (Cf. *Mirat-al Istilah*, f. 167b). It ought not to be confused with the territorial unit of *sarkar*.

50. Cf. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 169a; *Selected Documents, &c.*, p. 121; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 111a-112a; Bodl. ff. 85b-86b, Ed. 86-87 & *passim*. It may be mentioned in passing that the orders issued on behalf of the princes can be identified by the formula *hasbu-l amr*, as distinct from imperial orders issued through Court officials, which were called *hasbu-l hukm*.

51. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 110a-111a, Bodl. ff. 53a-b, 85a-b, Ed. 58, 85-6, for the *amin*; *ibid*, f. 114b, Bodl. f. 88b, Ed. 87, for the treasurer; and *ibid*, f. 116b, Bodl. f. 90b, Ed. 90, for the *karkun*. The combined office of the *amin* and *faujdar* was established in the princes' *jagirs* also. See *ibid*, ff. 101a-102a, Bodl. ff. 76b-78a, Ed. 79-80; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, ff. 138b-139a. For the exaction of *ta'ahhud* in the princes' *jagirs* see *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, Bodl. f. 53a, Ed. 58; *Matin-al Insha*, ff. 38b-39a.

52. E.g. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 107b, 122b, Bodl. ff. 53a, 83a, 94b, Ed. 58, 84, 94.

53. *Ibid.*, ff. 98b-99a, Bodl. f. 74b, Ed. 77.

Out of their assignments, the princes sometimes granted *jagirs* to their own officials.[54] There is no reason to believe that such sub-assignments required imperial sanction: they were probably transferred from place to place according as the princes' *jagirs* were transferred.

The arrangements made by ordinary assignees for the management of their *jagirs* could hardly have followed a uniform pattern. In general, since his assignment was transferred from time to time and he himself could be posted at different places, a *jagirdar* usually sent his agents, or *gumāshtas*, to arrange for the collection of revenue on his behalf.[55] Scattered assignments must naturally have been more difficult and expensive for the assignee to administer, than those concentrated in single or adjacent *mahals*.[56] Indeed, the assignment of a *pargana* in several *jagirs*, a phenomenon technically known as *mutafarriqa 'amal*, was held to be ruinous in its results, and the official preference was for granting whole (*dar bast*) *parganas* to single assignees, so far as it was possible.[57] This rule was laid down especially for *mahals* containing refractory elements[58] and, as a corollary to this, small assignees were not granted *jagirs* in disturbed or rebellious areas.[59]

54. See *T.J.*, 238, for the assignment of a *pargana* in *in'ām* to Prince Shahjahan to enable him to assign it in *jagir* to "one of his leading servants" (*banda-hā-i 'umda*), Rāja Bikramājīt. For orders of assignment and resumption of *jagirs* issued in Prince Mu'azzam's *sarkar*, see *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 118a-121b, Bodl. ff. 91a-93a, Ed. 91-93.

55. Cf. Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p. 91; Pelsaert, 54.

56. Cf. *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 117a-b. It says that at the time of Shaista Khan's appointment to Bengal, the assignments held by the *jagirdars* were generally distributed over several *mahals*, so that they were put to great loss from being compelled to employ a large number of *shiqqdars* and *'amils*. In a letter in *Jami'-al Insha*, Or. 1702, f. 53a, one Mukhlis Khan expresses the hope that the *jagir* granted to him against an increase of pay would not be assigned "at some other place" for this would put him to the trouble of having a number of *'amils*.

57. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 117a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 126-7; *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, f. 117a-b.

58. The *Kalimat-i Taiyabat*, f. 98a, preserves a remark of Aurangzeb to the effect that since Mirta contained only Rajput peasantry, it had always been assigned *dar-bast* and never been subjected to *mutafarriqa 'amal*.

59. *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, f. 3b. The *jagir* of the *nāzim* or Governor should, it says, consist in the fourth part of *zor-talab*, i.e., seditious, *mahals* and, for the rest, of medium *mahals*. Half of the *jagirs* of the *diwans*, *bakhshis* and the big *mansabdars* was to be granted in medium and half in the *ra'iyatī mahals* (i.e. apparently those which contained submissive, revenue-paying peasantry). The fourth part of the *jagirs* of the small *mansabdars* was to be assigned in medium and the rest in *ra'iyati mahals*.

The principal agent employed by the *jagirdar* was the *'amil,* also known as *shiqqdar.*[60] Very few assignees could have been able to imitate the *Khalisa* and the princes in the number of officials maintained by them. The *shiqqdar* was probably often saddled with the work of the *amin*[61] and/or of the treasurer.[62] A specimen *parwana* goes so far as to show a single person being appointed to "the duties of the *amin, shiqqdar, karkun* and *faujdar* of the *mahals* of the *jagir,*" leaving only the treasurer as his colleague.[63]

It is probable that the *jagirdars* exacted pledges from their agents concerning future collections, as was the case in the *Khalisa.* But they generally took in addition a certain amount—termed *qabz*—in advance, and it was apparently common for one person to displace another as the *'amil* of a *jagirdar,* by offering a bigger *qabz* to the latter.[64] On the other hand, it was sometimes extremely difficult for the *jagirdars,* specially if they were serving in some other province, to keep a check on their *'amils* and prevent embezzlement of the revenue due to them.[65]

Many of the assignees therefore found it simpler to farm out their assignments.[66] This practice, called *ijāra,* was regarded as the source

60. I.O. 4434 is a *parwana* issued by one Lashkar Khan in November, 1658, appointing a *shiqqdar* to a *pargana* assigned to him in the Multan province. Cf. also Hadiqi, Br. M. Royal 16 B XXIII, f. 14a; *Riyāz-al Wadād,* f. 11a; *Durr-al 'Ulum,* f. 137a. These documents, as well as the evidence already cited for the position o the *shiqqdar* in the *Khalisa,* show beyond doubt that he was chiefly a revenue official. It is not, therefore, possible to accept Dr. Saran's contention that he was an "executive officer...not directly concerned with" revenue collection (*Provincial Government, &c.,* p. 291).

61. Hadiqi, *op. cit.,* ff. 15a-16a. The *shiqqdar* or *'amil* in this case was accompanied by a *karkun* and *fotadar.* He applied for an *amin* to be sent to make the assessment, but was asked to do the work himself.

62. See I.O. 4434: Its contents suggest that the *shiqqdar* was to act both as the assessor and treasurer.

63. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi,* ff. 194a-195a.

64. *Dilkusha,* f. 139a.

65. The dishonest behaviour of his *'amils* is frequently referred to by Izad Bakhsh 'Rasa' in his letters, *Riyāz-al Wadād,* ff. 3b-4a, 5b, 10b, 16b. One specifically mentions his inability to deal with the affairs of his *jagirs* since he was posted with the imperial army, presumably in the Dakhin (ff. 3b-4a). In another letter he declares that "the boat of his *jagir* was floundering in the flood of misappropriation raised by his tempestuous *'amils*" (f. 5b). Cf. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir,* 679.

66. "Some of the grantees (*jagirdars*)...send some of their employees to represent them or else hand over their grants to *karoris* (*sic!*), who have to take the risk of good or bad harvests." (Pelsaert 54).

of great oppression, for the farmers, after giving very high bids to get the contracts, would still seek to make handsome profits by extorting money from the peasants by every means imaginable.[67] It is not easy to determine the extent to which revenue-farming was resorted to in the *jagirs*. Instances of it are not very often met with in administrative literature and there could certainly have been nothing like the conditions prevalent in the Kingdom of Golkunda.[68] Still some documents relating to farming of *jagirs* in Awadh have come down to us.[69] It is possible, moreover, that farming existed in many cases in a concealed form and that in reality, if not in name, many *'amils* were no better than revenue-farmers.[70] It was probably not prudent for the assignees to call for bids openly, since the practice of *ijara* was disapproved of at the Court. An illustration of this is provided in the Court-news of Aurangzeb's reign. It was reported to the Emperor that the *mansabdars,* who had *jagirs* in Kashmir, were giving them on farm to local men, who were extremely oppressive. Aurangzeb thereupon ordered that the *diwan* of the province should prohibit this practice and insist that the assignees send their *'amils* to collect the revenue.[71]

There was nothing to prevent a *jagirdar* from sub-assigning a part of his *jagir* to any of his officials or troopers. In the reign of Jahangir, we find the Tarkhan governor of Sind, who held a considerable part of that province in his own *jagir*, granting *jagirs* to his officials and

Shah Waliullah, recommending that "small *mansabdars*" should be paid in cash, points out that such people "could not themselves collect revenue from their *jagirs* and were compelled to farm them out." (*Siyasi Maktubat*, 42).

67. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 11a; Or. 1671, f. 6b.

68. For the prevalence of revenue-farming in Golkunda, see *Relations*, 10-11, 57, 81-82; *Factories*, *1665-67*, p. 245, *Master*, II, p. 113. Two Persian documents, relating to revenue-farms in the Karnatik, are copied in Br. M. Sloane 4092, ff. 5b-6a, 8b-9a. One of these is dated 1653 and the other relates to the years 1677-79.

69. Allahabad 884-887, 889-90. The terms of the *ijara* as set out in Allahabad 884 & 885 are that the farmer was to pay a fixed sum annually in two seasonal instalments. If a natural calamity occurred, he was to receive a reduction in his obligation according to the rate sanctioned (by the imperial administration?) for the *pargana* (*sharh-i pargana*). If, on the other hand, the farmer was able to collect more than the amount stipulated, the excess was to remain with him.

70. In this connexion, it is interesting to read Khafi Khan's passage on the contrast between the days of Todar Mal and his own (the reign of Muhammad Shah) when the land was being laid waste by *'ummāl-i ijāradār,* i.e., by *'amils* who took the land on *ijara* or farm. (Khafi Khan, I, p. 157).

71. *Akhbarat,* 37/38.

resuming them at will.[72] In the same reign, Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan is said to have usually rewarded his protégés and officials by granting them cash allowances as well as *jagirs* out of his own assignments.[73] A document of the reign of Shahjahan, from Awadh, states that when a particular village had been assigned in pay (*tankhwāh*) to a noble, he in turn assigned it to four of his troopers.[74] Another source, belonging to the next reign, refers to a Rajput officer, serving in the Dakhin, who had assigned all the villages of a *pargana*, held by him in *jagir*, to his Rajput troops in "*tankhwāh*". Here it is made quite clear that such sub-assignments lapsed with the transfer of the main *jagir*.[75]

When the *jagirdars* farmed out their *jagirs*, the revenue-farmers seem usually to have been local men.[76] But as a rule the revenue officials employed by the assignees—the *jagirdars* as well as the *Khalisa*—did not have any local interests or connexions.[77] This was, per-

72. *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, Or. 1685, ff. 102b-103b, 118a-119b.

Referring to a *jagirdar* of Sehwan (Sind) early in Shahjahan's reign, the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 164-5, tells us that he "assigned the whole country in *jagir* to his troopers, except for a few *mahals* which he kept in his own *khālisa*". *Khalisa* here obviously means the lands reserved for the *jagirdar* himself, not for the Emperor.

73. See the notices of the poets, musicians, artists, soldiers, &c., patronised and employed by this grandee, in *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, Vol. III, *passim*. See p. 1634, for example, where it is said of an officer of the Khan-i Khanan, that "the whole year he obtained large sums, by way of *jagir* and allowance, from this *sarkar*".

74. Allahabad 789.

75. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 359. Mānsingh, the *jagirdar*, represented that the resumption of a portion of his *jagir* in the *pargana* would cause his men, whom he had assigned all its villages, great distress and suggested that he be allowed to hold the area in *ijara* (revenue-farm), so that the sub-assignments he had made could continue.

76. This can be seen from the Allahabad documents (884-7, 889-90) cited above: Muhammad 'Arif contracts the *ijāra* of *jagirs* in *pargana* Ḥisāmpūr (Bahraich *sarkar*, Awadh), where he himself possessed a number of villages in *zamindari*. Similarly *Akhbarat* 37/38 refers to "men of Kashmir", who took the *jagirs* assigned in that province, on *ijara*.

77. Cf. Elliott, *Chronicles of Oonao*, p. 106: "The Amil, the Crorie, the Tehseeldar (revenue-collector)....were hardly ever natives of the Pergunnah". Elliott's statements are generally deserving of great respect, since he had examined a very large number of *sanads* and other administrative documents of the Mughal period and was at the same time closely familiar with local history. A study of the Allahabad documents leads to a similar conclusion, for it is very rare that any of the local men whose records have come down to us became (in the 17th century) agents of any *jagirdar*.

haps, partly because each *jagirdar* had his own trusty agents whom he would send to his *jagirs*, wherever they might be situated.[78] But in a number of cases it was probably a matter also of deliberate choice. *'Amils* with any local links were more likely to enter into league with *zamindars* and others to the detriment of the assignees' interests.[79] Thus Jahangir on his accession issued an order, which is clearly designed to prevent these officials ("the *'amils* of the *Khalisa* and (of) the *jagirdars*") from forming family-ties with the local gentry.[80]

The local element was therefore almost entirely excluded from the assignees' administration. It was, however, represented by two officials, who were independent of the assignee, but were indispensable for him. These were the *qānūngo* and the *chaudhurī*. Despite the the fact that these are very well-known terms, it would seem that the position and functions of these two officials in Mughal times have not been adequately appreciated in modern studies.[81]

78. We can see this from the personal details in the narrative of Bayazid, 248-50, 299. He took service under Mun'im Khan, who appointed him the *shiqqdar* of the *sarkar* of Hisar Firoza which lay in his *jagir*. When his *jagirs* were transferred to the eastern provinces, he appointed Bayazid *shiqqdar* of Banaras *sarkar*. From Bhimsen (*Dilkusha*, f. 80a-b) we learn of one Kekārām Nāgar, a native of Gujarat, who rose to the position of *diwan* (steward) in the *sarkar* of Khān-i Jahān Bahādur. When the latter was sent to the Dakhin in the 14th year of Aurangzeb, he sent Kekaram to manage his *jagirs* in Bihar. From the names of revenue officials which appear frequently in Allahabad documents, it is obvious that they changed with every new *jagirdar*.

79. The *Risala-i Zira'at*, written, c. 1750, says, with reference to the practice of "the *nazims* of the past" in Bengal, that under them "the officials (*mutasaddiyān*) of the *Khalisa*....did not possess any *ta'alluqa* or *zamindari*, &c. If an official had any *ta'alluqas* or villages, the *nazims* of former times, as a further safeguard, never appointed him to any office to the *Khalisa*, for it is unwise to set up the thief as the watchman. As a matter of fact, they never appointed the natives of Bengal to such posts, for most of them are related to the *zamindars*....." (f. 19b).

80. They were not to do so, says the order, without permission (*be-hukm*). (*T.J.*, p. 4). The reading of the printed text of the Memoirs is supported by the earliest known MS of the Memoirs, in the Central Record Office, Hyderabad, f. 9a, and by Add. 26,215, a 17th century MS. In the *Ma'āṣir-i Jahāngīrī*, Or. 171, f. 25a, however, the text reads *ba-tahakkum* ('by force') for *be-hukm*. This would alter the whole sense of the order and suggest that the intention of Jahangir was to prevent not the *'amils'* collusion with the local population, but rather their oppression of the latter. The authority of the *Tuzuk* must, however, prevail over this work.

81. Charles Elliot in his *Chronicles of Oonao*, p. 116, undoubtedly emphasised the contrast between the "Canoongoe and Chowdrie" and the temporary officials,

The *qanungo* (or, as he was known in the Dakhin, the *deshpāndia*)[82] generally belonged to one of the 'accountant-castes' (*kāyasths, khatris*, &c.).[83] The office usually ran in the family,[84] but an imperial order was necessary for the recognition of the rights of any incumbent.[85] It seems to have been usual for the heirs of a deceased *qanungo* to apply to the Court for an order, or *sanad*, confirming them in succession.[86] And once conferred, the office was normally for life.[87] Nevertheless a *qanungo* could be removed by an imperial order. This might be done for a number of reasons. First, as a punishment for malpractices or dereliction of duty.[88] Secondly, in order simply to reduce the number of the incumbents of this office, which owing to the division

"the Amil, the Crori, the Tehseeldar". But he held the mistaken belief that "no material difference existed between the work done by the Canoongoe and the Chowdrie" and that the only purpose of the double office was for one to be a check on the other (*ibid*, p. 112.). Moreland adopted this opinion and suggested that the *qanungo* and *chaudhuri* only rose in importance when 'group assessment' (as he thought) replaced the 'regulation system' of Akbar (*JRAS*, 1938, p. 521).

82. Ain, I, p. 476; *Ma'lūmat-al Āfāq*, f. 174a.

83. Cf. Elliott, *Chronicles of Oonao*, 112; *Ma'asir-al Umara*, II, p. 350. Hemūn, the minister of Adil Shah Sur, is said to have replaced all the *qanungos* and *chaudhuris* by new appointees belonging to the caste of grain-merchants, to which he himself belonged. (*Tarikh-i Daudi*, 200).

84. Thus the *qanungos* of Sahasrām in Bihar, deposed during the reign of Farrukhsiyar, successfully sought reinstatement in the 3rd year of Muhammad Shah on the ground that the office of the *qanungo* of the *pargana* "had been the privilege of their ancestors since the time of 'Arsh Āshyānī (Akbar)"; and the new *sanad* conferred the office upon them "in heredity as of old". (Documents translated by Qiyamuddin Ahmad in *IHRC*, XXXI, Part ii, 1954, pp. 142-47). Concerning Ikhlās Khān, an official under Aurangzeb, we are told that "his ancestors" had held the '*qanungoi*' of the *qasba* of Kalanaur. (*Ma'asir-al Umara*, II, p. 350).

85. *Char Chaman-i Barhaman*, Add. 16,863, f. 23b, Or. 1892, f. 13a; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*. ff. 116b-117a, Bodl. ff. 90b-91a, Ed. 90, 91; *IHRC*, *op. cit.* *Akhbarat* 44/13 records a complaint from a *jagirdar* concerning a *qanungo* who was interfering in the affairs of his assignment "without a *sanad*". Cf. also Add. 6603, f. 75b.

86. Cf. *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 216b where a grandson of the deceased *qanungo* applies for "the *sanad* for his share of the office of the *qanungo*."

87. The *qanungos*, says an imperial order citing a representation, were guilty of many malpractices because "they have no fear of being transferred or deposed." (*Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 182a, Bodl. f. 145a; Ed. 140). See also Add. 6603, f. 75b. This glossary, belonging to late 18th century, adds that the office of the *qanungo* could not, in former times, be sold, though the practice was prevalent at the time it was written.

88. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 103a, 182a, Bodl. ff. 78b, 145a, Ed. 140, *Khulasatu-l Insha*, ff. 111a-112b; *Akhbarat* 38/113.

among heirs seems to have constantly multiplied. Under Sher Shah and Akbar there used to be only one *qanungo* for each *pargana*.[89] Aurangzeb ordered that no more than two *qanungos* could serve in any *pargana*, and if there were more, they were to be dismissed.[90] The same emperor inaugurated the policy of supplanting Hindu *qanungos* with Muslims.[91] But Mammon also came in and a large present (*peshkash*) paid into the imperial treasury could often secure the removal of one incumbent and the appointment of another.[92]

The *qanungo* was the permanent repository of information concerning the revenue receipts, area statistics, local revenue-rates, and practices and customs of the *pargana*.[93] He provided the imperial administration with the revenue and area figures that were used in determining the standard assessments for purposes of *jagir*-assignment.[94] His most important function, however, was to place his records (especially the accounts of previous assessments, the *muwazana-i dah-sala*, &c.) and personal knowledge at the disposal of the *amin* (or any other official acting as the assessor) sent by the assignee.[95] When the *amin* drew

89. 'Abbas Khan, f. 106a; *Ain*, I, p. 300.

90. *Mirat*, I, p. 263 ('ten' in the printed text must be a mistake for 'two'); *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 65b.

In Kashmir, the *qanungos* had apparently multiplied so much that every village had a number of co-sharing *qanungos* (*qānūngoyān-i juzv*). Shahjahan ordered that only one *qanungo* was to be recognised in each village and the rest were to be dismissed. (Qazwini, Aligarh transcript, 510).

91. Cf. *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 216b-217a. The petition for the restoration of the deposed *qanungos* of Sahasram declares that the deposition was based on "a false case against Sobhāchand charging him with the destruction and desecration of mosques and tombs". (*IHRC, op. cit.*, p. 143).

92. *Akhbarat* 38/113.

93. Cf. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 163, 171; *Ma'lumat-al Afaq*, f. 174a; *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Khālisa-i Sharifa*, f. 32a; Add. 6603, f. 75b. The last-named work declares that if a *qanungo* is asked to produce the revenue records for the previous hundred years he should be able to do so. In the documents relating to the case of the deposed *qanungos* of Sahasram it is stated in their favour that they had in their possession the *muwazana* papers dating from 1013 to 1074 *Fasli* (1604 to 1665 A.D.) (*IHRC, op. cit.*, pp. 144-45).

94. *A.N.*, II, p. 270; *Ain*, I, p. 347; Jahangir's *farman* in *IHRC*, XVIII (1942), pp. 188-9; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 116b-117a, Bodl. ff. 90b-91a, Ed. 91; *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, f. 18b, Aligarh MS., f. 64a-b.

95. *Ain*, I, p. 288 (where it is the *bitikchi* whom the *qanungo* supplies with the *muwazana* papers); *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 36a-b; *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 74a, 78a, Or. 2026, ff. 22b, 30a; *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, f. 10a-b. The last work recommends that the *amin* should carefully check the area-figures supplied by the *qanungo* by on-the-spot enquiries from the *muqaddams*.

up the assessment, the *qanungo* put his signature on it[96] and signed a *qabūliyat* or acceptance, along with the *chaudhuri* and the *muqaddams*.[97] The *'amil*, or the revenue-collector, had to deposit a copy of his detailed accounts of the collections, arrears and expenses with the *qanungo* and the latter was required to check them with the accounts of the *zamindars* and others, in order to see that the *'amil* had correctly entered all the payments made to him.[98] In general, the imperial administration expected the *qanungo* to ensure that the imperial regulations were faithfully followed by the assignees' agents and to act as the "friend of the peasants".[99] He was to report any illegal exaction made by the *'amil*, or risk his own removal.[100] And yet, paradoxically, the main purpose of his office is defined in an imperial order as being to facilitate the preparation of the maximum revenue assessment (*jama'-i kāmil o akmal*).[101]

The assignees' agents, being generally unfamiliar with the locality, usually depended heavily on the information supplied to them by the *qanungo*. The *qanungo* was therefore often placed in a position which he could greatly exploit for his own gain. An order issued by Aurangzeb recites that it was the general practice among the *qanungos* to enter into collusion with the *'amils* and, by making up fictitious accounts, share the embezzled amount among themselves. If an *'amil* declined to fall in with them, they would persuade the *zamindars* not to pay him the revenue and then enrich themselves by acting as mediators. Finally, they used to recommend heavy reductions in the assessments levied

96. *Farman* to Rasikdas, Preamble; *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Ilm-i Navisindagi*, f. 153b; *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 74a, 78b, Or. 2026, ff. 22b, 31a; *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 29a, Edinburgh No. 83, f. 54b; *Siyaqnama*, 28.

97. Cf. *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 34a (specimen *qabuliyat*).

98. *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, ff. 18b-19a.

99. *Ain*, I, p. 300. The author of the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 189, however, doubts the ability of the *qanungos* to fulfil this expectation because "the *qanungos* command little respect: they cannot restrain a *jagirdar* from practising oppression, but actually share in the oppression of the dominant *jagirdar*." He recognises that the imperial administration could make use of the papers maintained by the *qanungos* to check irregularities by the *jagirdars* in collecting revenue (p. 51), but he also mentions a case when a *jagirdar* of Sehwan simply prevented the *qanungos* from obeying an order from the Court summoning them with their papers (p. 177).

100. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 103a, Bodl. f. 78b, Ed. 80; *Khulasatu-l Insha*, ff. 111b-112a.

101. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, f. 181b; Bodl. f. 144b; Ed. 140.

upon the *zamindars*, for they often acted in collusion with them.[102] Elsewhere, the *qanungos* of a *pargana* are said to have made a compact with a *faujdar* and reduced the *jama'* dishonestly.[103]

Abu-l Fazl tells us that the *qanungos* used formerly to be paid an allowance out of the revenue amounting to one per cent. of the revenue. But Akbar replaced this by fixed salaries, in lieu of which they were granted '*jagirs*', i.e., one may suppose, revenue-free lands.[104] Later records show that in some cases at least the *qanungos* drew cash allowances, called *nānkār*, in addition to the *in'ām* land held by them.[105]

The *chaudhurī*, called *desāī* in Gujarat and *deshmukh* in the Dakhin,[106] was perhaps, as important a functionary for the administration as the *qanungo*. He was invariably a *zamindar*.[107] In most cases

102. *Ibid*, ff. 181a-182b, Bodl. ff. 144b-145a, Ed. 140. Cf. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 108, 218.

103. *Akhbārāt* 38/113.

104. *Ain*, I, p. 300. He says that out of the *ṣad-doī* (2 per cent.) allowance, the *patwari* received half and half went to the *qanungo*. In *madad-i ma'ash* documents the *ṣad-doī-i qānūngoī* (or, some times, *ṣad-doī o qānūngoī*) constantly appears on the list of the cesses which the officials were prohibited from levying upon the grantees. The rates of pay which Akbar fixed amounted, respectively, for the three classes of the *qanungos*, to Rs. 50, Rs. 30 and Rs. 20 per month.

According to *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 186, the *qanungos* in Sehwan *sarkar* (Sind) were entitled to levy *rusūm*, or a customary cess, amounting to one per cent. of the revenue, from the peasants.

105. Cf. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, f. 40b, and the Papal *pargana* records analysed in *IHRC*, 1929, pp. 84-86.

106. The identification of the *chaudhuri* with the *desai* is based upon inference and there is no direct statement to this effect in contemporary literature that I can cite. For the identification with *deshmukh* see the *Ain*, I, p. 476; *Ma'lumat-al Afaq*, f. 174a.

The *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* does not refer to the *chaudhuri*, but refers to an official called *arbāb*, who seems to have really been the counterpart of the *chaudhuri* in Sind (pp. 19-21, 101-2, 182, 185-6, 188, 191). Cf. *Factories, 1646-50*, pp. 118-9, for a reference to "arbaubs and cheife men".

107. Add. 6603, f. 58a: "The title of *chaudhuri* is given to some one among the *zamindars*, who is trustworthy". After the suppression of Khusrau's rebellion Jahangir granted the *chaudhurāī* of the territory along the Chenab to *zamindars* who had rendered loyal service. (*T.J.*, p. 32). A *farman* of his, published in *IHRC*, XVIII (1942), pp. 188-9, confers the simultaneous grant of "the service (i.e. office) of the *zamindari* and *chaudhurāī*" of certain *tappas* upon the same person. In the Malda Diary and Consultations the English describe Rajray, from whom they had purchased land for their new factory, alternatively as 'Chowdry' and 'Jimmedar' (*JASB*, N.S., XIV, pp. 81, 122, 174, 182, 196, 202). Cf. also Elliott, *Chronicles of Oonao*, p. 112.

Mazhar-i Shahjahani, 191, says that the *zamindars* "also hold (lit. are con-

he was the leading *zamindar* of the locality,[108] but this does not always seem to have been the case.[109] The most powerful *zamindar* might well be the least loyal;[110] and in such an event the office had probably to be entrusted to lesser men. The position was usually hereditary,[111] but an imperial *sanad* had to be secured by each incumbent.[112]

The *chaudhuri* could also be deprived of his office by an imperial order. Aurangzeb ordered that if there were too many *chaudhuris* in any *pargana,* all but two were to be dismissed.[113] He could also be removed for not reporting any illegal exactions levied by the *'amils*[114] and also, perhaps, for other misdemeanours.

While the *qanungo's* work was largely directed towards the preparation of revenue-assessment, the *chaudhuri* was chiefly concerned with its collection. When the assignees' officials had drawn up the *jama',* the *chaudhuri* affixed his signature on this and a separate document known as *qabūliyat.*[115] Similar *qabuliyats* for their respective

nected with) the offices of *arbāb* and *muqaddam.*" *Arbab,* as explained in the previous note, was probably a synonym for *chaudhuri* in Sind.

108. Cf. Elliott, *op. cit.* In the Dakhin, the *deshmukh* certainly used to be the dominant *zamindar* of the area, as witness the case of Chunaneri *deshmukh,* already referred to in Chapter V, Section 4.

109. The *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Khalisa-i Sharifa* is a late 18th century work written in Bengal, but for what it may be worth, it defines *chaudhuri* as meaning "a small *zamindar*" (f. 32b). Benett in his *Chief Clans of the Roy Bareilly District,* pp. 58-9, 's definite, in opposition to Elliott, who investigated the neighbouring district of Unao, that the office of the *chaudhuri* "was held by respectable, but thoroughly second-rate families.'

110. The *Hidayat-al Qawa'id,* f. 7a, declares, as if it were a universal truth, that "the seditious *zamindar* is the head of the *zamindars.*"

111. Elliott, *op. cit.,* p. 112. Jahangir's *farman* published in *IHRC,* XVIII, 1942, pp. 188-89, grants the "*zamindari* and *chaudhurāī*" of some *tappas* in Bihar to one Hīrānand "together with his children". For the hereditary nature of the office of *deshmukh* see Moreland's article in *JRAS,* 1938, p. 516, which is based on the study of certain original documents belonging to the period. Documentary evidence to similar effect will be found in *Adab-i 'Alamgiri,* ff. 161b-162b; Khare, *Persian Sources of Indian History,* Vol. II, 1937, pp. 11-12; *IHRC,* 1948, pp. 15-17.

112. *Char Chaman-i Barhaman, op. cit.; Akhbarat* 44/13, 47/337.

113. *Mirat,* I, p. 263; *Durr-al 'Ulum,* f. 65b. Cf. an order of the same emperor cited in *Bulandshahr District Gazetteer,* 1922, p. 148.

114. *Nigarnama-i Munshi,* f. 103a, Bodl. f. 78b, Ed. 80; *Khulasatu-l Insha,* ff. 111b-112a.

115. He did so together with the *qanungo.* See the authorities cited under the same statement, made in regard to that official.

villages were also taken from the *muqaddams*.[116] These documents contained the undertaking of the signatories to collect the amounts that had been assessed. The *chaudhuri* also stood surety for the lesser *zamindars*.[117] It is probable that the revenue was generally collected by the *chaudhuri* from the *muqaddams* and the *zamindars*, and was then passed on to the *'amil*.[118] Deductions from the *jama'* for any loss to the crops from natural calamities were, as we have seen, frequently allowed,[119] but otherwise any failure or refusal on the part of the *chaudhuris* to collect the revenue, could bring upon them the severest punishment. We thus read, incidentally, of an assignee's official's proposal to keep the death of his master a secret in order that he might be able "to bring some of the refractory *chudhuris* to the fort (Chunar) and collect the arrears", obviously through the employment of what may be called third-degree methods.[120] In the next (the 17th) century a European traveller saw in the same province of Ilahabad "a Fouzdare (*faujdar*) who carried with him certaine Chowdrees or Chiefs of Townes prisoners, because either they will not or cannot satisfie the Kings Imposition".[121]

Apart from his principal function of collecting the revenue, the *chaudhuri* had also certain subsidiary duties. For instance, with the cooperation of the *muqaddams* he distributed, and stood surety for the repayment of, the *taqavi* loans.[122] He was also used as a countercheck to the *qanungo*, for he was required to see that the *muwazana* papers and the record of local practices were sent regularly to the imperial court under the signature of that official.[123]

116. *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 34a-b; *Khulasatu-s Siyaq*, tr. 74a-75a, Or. 2026, ff. 23a-24b.

117. Add. 6603, f. 58a-b.

118. In the specimen *bar-amad* accounts reproduced in the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, ff. 41b-42b, the different items of deductions from the collections are first shown under the charges of the *chaudhuris* and then distributed in detail among those of the *muqaddams*. Fryer, I, pp. 300-301, says while speaking of the villages around Surat, that the assignees holding them in "Jaggea" (*jagir*) "fail not once a-year to send to reap the Profit, which is received by the Hands of the *Desie* [*desāī*], or Farmer who squeezes the Countryman", &c.

119. See Sections 4 & 8 of Chapter VI.

120. Bayazid, 350. This happened in 1574-5, when Bayazid was Mun'im Khan's agent at Chunar.

121. Mundy, p. 183.

122. See Chapter VI, Section 8.

123. This is laid down in Jahangir's *farman*, *IHRC*, VIII, 1942, pp. 188-89.

It is probable that the scale of remuneration allowed to the *chaudhuris* varied considerably. The *Mirat* says the *desais* were first allowed 2½ per cent. of the revenue under Akbar, but this was later reduced to 1¼ per cent. and, ultimately, to ⅝ per cent.[124] From specimen accounts contained in another work also, it appears that the allowance, or *nānkār*, remitted to the *chaudhuri* out of the revenue, was not very substantial.[125] But it is probable that he held extensive revenue-free ("*in'ām*") lands.[126] Moreover, when he stood surety for the other *zamindars*, he is said to have generally taken a commission of 5 per cent. (of the revenue) from them.[127]

By reserving to itself the power to retain or remove the *qanungos* and the *chaudhuris*, the imperial government held one important instrument in its hands for exercising some measure of control over the administration of the assignments outside the *Khalisa*. But apart from these local officials, who had a more or less permanent tenure, there were other regular imperial officials as well, the spheres of whose duties included an oversight of what went on within the *jagirs*.

In the first place, there was the financial department represented by the *diwan* in each province. One of the things expected of him was to prevent the oppression of the peasants by the *jagirdars*.[128] He could report to the Court about maladministration in any of the *jagirs*;[129] he himself might be required to enforce any orders issued by the Emperor with regard to the conduct of the assignees or their agents.[130] Since the claims of the assignees against their own *'amils*

124. *Mirat*, I, p 173 & Supp., p. 228.

Mazhar-i Shahjahani, 185, suggests a similar reduction made in the allowances of the *arbab* in Sehwan (Sind). Under a *jagirdar* during Akbar's later days, the *arbabs* and *muqaddams* shared an allowance of 5 per cent. out of the revenue. In the early years of Jahangir, another *jagirdar* reduced this to 2 per cent.

125. In the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 40b, the total revenue receipts are shown as amounting to Rs. 4,338, out of which the *nankar* allowed to two *chaudhuris* amounted only to Rs. 120.

126. See the analysis of the records of the *pargana* of Papal in *IHRC*, 1929, pp. 83-86.

127. Add. 6603, f. 58a.

128. See the *parwana* sent by the *diwan* of Khandesh announcing the appointment of his agent in the *sarkar* of Baglana (4th regnal year of Aurangzeb) (*Daftar-i Diwani o Mal o Mulki*, p. 186).

129. Cf. *Akhbarat* 36/15 for a report from the deputy *diwan* of Berar.

130. *Akhbarat* 37/38.

were settled in his *kachehrī* (court),[131] his authority over them must have been considerable.

It appears that under Akbar and Jahangir an officer was sometimes appointed, side by side with the provincial *diwan,* charged specifically with the duty of ensuring that the *jagirdars* and their agents followed imperial regulations in collecting the revenue. No such officer appears on the list of officers said to have been appointed to every province in Akbar's 24th year.[131a] But four years later a high officer was appointed to Gujarat, alongside the Governor and the *diwan,* under the designation of *amīn.*[131b] No statement is made anywhere in Abu-l Fazl defining the jurisdiction and functions of this officer. But what his functions precisely were appears clearly from a long passage and sundry other references in the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani.* It recommends that this officer when appointed over a *sarkar* should send his agents to every *pargana* to see whether any of the *jagirdars* or local officials were exacting more than the sanctioned rates (*dastūr-al 'amal*) from the peasants. If he found any violation anywhere of imperial regulations, he was to draw the attention of the *jagirdar's* agent to it; if the agent did not heed his advice, he was to complain to the *jagirdar;* if the *jagirdar* too did not respond satisfactorily, he was to report the matter to the Court, and the Emperor would be well advised in taking stern action on his report. At the time the book was written (1634) the appointment of this officer appears to have ceased, it being thought (mistakenly, says our author) that the *qanungos* were sufficient for the purpose.[131c] With the creation of the revenue-assessor under the designation of *amin,* under Shahjahan, the memory of the earlier holder of that designation seems to have become dimmer still, and no attempt seems to have been made at any time subsequently to revive his office.

The *faujdār* represented the military or police power of the imperial government. One of his main duties was to go to the aid of any *jagirdar* or *'amil* of the *Khalisa* who was finding it difficult to deal, on his own, with local malcontents, i.e. with *zamindars* or peasants who refused to pay the revenue.[132] It seems that from the beginning, the bigger

131. Cf. *Riyaz-al Wadad,* ff. 3b-4a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir,* Kanpur ed. pp. 41-42.
131a. *A.N.,* III, p. 282.
131b. *A.N.,* III, p. 403; *Tabaqat-i Akbari,* II, p. 368.
131c. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani,* 187-90; also 21-22, 51-2, 244.
132. *Ain,* I, p. 283; *Durr-al 'Ulum,* f. 57b; *Akhbarat* 37/25; *Inshā-i Roshan Kalām,* ff. 9a-b, 31a-b, 40b; *Siyaqnama,* 67-68.

assignees were given *faujdārī* jurisdiction within their *jagirs*;[133] and under Aurangzeb this was certainly the general practice.[134] Such grants seriously reduced the powers of the imperial *faujdār*, for he was not entitled to interfere in the affairs of these *jagirs*.[135]

The Mughal Empire was honey-combed with a body of officials, known as *wāqi'a-navīs, sawāniḥ-nigār*, &c., who may best be designated news-writers.[136] They were specially charged with reporting cases of irregularities and oppression and there are instances on record where they did, in fact, do so.[137] But they were widely reputed to be corrupt and prone to conceal or complain solely from interested motives.[138]

In theory both the peasants and the *zamindars* could complain directly to the Court or the provincial governor or *diwan* against any act of oppression committed by a *jagirdar*.[139] But it was apparently considered a normal practice for the agents of the assignees to physically prevent the peasants from proceeding to the Court with any complaint.[140]

In general, if the imperial government chose to take a serious view of any irregularity committed by an assignee, it could either transfer his *jagir*[141] or resume it without any compensatory assignment.[142] As

133. For references to *faujdars* appointed by *jagirdars* in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, see Badauni, III, pp. 94-5 & *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, III, p. 1643.

134. Aurangzeb observes in the *Kalimat-i Taiyabat*, f. 125a, that "the *faujdari* of a *jagir* vests in the *jagirdar* of some *mahals*". For specific cases of the grant of *faujdari* to assignees see *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. 24b; *Akhbarat* 36/15, 36/37, 38/24, 38/242, 47/321, 47/367, 48/217; *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 43a-b.

135. Cf. *Akhbarat* 43/113; *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. 13a.

136. *T. J.*, 120-21.

137. E.g., *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 164, 174, 176-7; *Akhbarat* 37/38; *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, ff. 38b-39b.

138. Bernier, p. 231; Manucci, II, p. 452. In *Akhbarat* 36/15 we have a reference to a report from the deputy *diwan* of Berar, alleging that the "*wāqi'a-nigārs* take something from the agents of the *jagirdars* and do not report the true facts." In the *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, *op. cit.*, Ra'd-andāz Khān claims that the *wāqi'a-nigār* of Lakhnau reported against a *sawāniḥ-nigār* for levying illegal cesses simply because he was in league with a "seditious" *zamindar* and the agent of a *jagirdar* in that neighbourhood, who both had grudges against the latter official.

139. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 174; *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 33a; *Ruq'at-i Alamgir*, p. 119; Balkrishan Brahman, ff. 55b-57b, 63b-64a; *Waqa'i' Ajmir*, 217-19; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, Kanpur ed., pp. 40-41.

140. Balkrishan Brahman, f. 60a.

141. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 164, 177; *Selected Documents*, &c., p. 133; *Inshā-i Roshan Kalām*, f. 12a.

142. *Ruq 'at-i 'Alamgir*, Kanpur, ed., pp. 40-41.

have seen, the assignee was free to appoint or remove his own officials, but he might still be directed to change his men under the threat of a resumption or transfer of his *jagirs*.[143]

The punishments for the gravest acts of oppression committed by the *jagirdars* were, therefore, light. The author of *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* indeed protests that it was no punishment to transfer a *jagirdar*, whose oppressive conduct had been reported to the Court, from Sehwan to Multan: It did not indicate royal wrath, but favour![144] "Today", he laments, "the oppressed of Sehwan are in the same state, while Ahmad Beg Khan (the *jagirdar*) and his (tyrannical) brother are immersed in wealth and luxury".[145]

The result of this lenient attitude on the part of the imperial government was that there was little to deter a *jagirdar* from oppressive conduct. "If the *jagirdar* of Sehwan", declares our author, "unjustly slaughters and robs a hundred men, no one will restrain him. And if a poor man with great exertion, travels the long distance to the Court, lodges a complaint and brings an imperial *farman*, it is not accepted here and is not acted upon. On the contrary, the man becomes the victim (lit. enemy) of the informers of this country, who in little time will have him ruined at the hands of the *jagirdar*... And there is not one officer, whether the *ṣadr*, the *qazi*, the *qanungo*, or the *abab* (*chaudhuri*) who tells what is right at the proper time to the *jagirdar*. On the contrary, every one acts looking to his own good. And so, amid the cry of '(Save) me! (save) me!', verily the tumult of the Last Day is being witnessed".[146]

143. Bayazid, pp. 248-50; *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 219; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, Kanpur ed., pp. 40-41.

144. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 177.

145. *Ibid*, 180.

146. *Ibid.*, 173-4.

CHAPTER VIII

REVENUE GRANTS

Grants by which the king alienated his right to collect the land-revenue and other taxes from a given area of land, for the life-time of the grantee or in perpetuity, have an ancient history in India.[1] They were known in the Mughal period sometime as *milk* and *amlāk* (terms inherited from the Dehli Saltanat),[2] and as *suyūrghāl* (brought by the Mughals from Central Asia).[3] But the appellation usually employed both in official documents and other records was *madad-i ma'āsh* (lit. 'aid for subsistence').[4] A name which came into use later was *a'imma*, plural of *imām*, literally meaning (religious) leaders, but, by a linguistic corruption, applied to the land covered by the grants.[5] There was a separate imperial department charged with looking after these grants.

1. For a study of such grants made in the Gupta period and later, see R. S. Sharma. 'The Origins of Feudalism in India (c. 400-650)', *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I, Part 3, Oct. 1958, and reprinted in the same author's *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, pp. 202 ff. Mr. Sharma seeks to compare these grants with the *jagirs* of the Mughal period, but their real parallel lay in the *madad-i ma'ash* grants.

2. The use of *milk* in the sense of land assigned in grants, is referred to in the *Ain* I, p. 198. See also *Tarikh-i Daudi*, 44. The plural, *amlāk*, seems to have been in more common use: see 'Arif Qandahari, 177; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, 38; Bekas f. 31b. For one instance of the use of *milk* in the same sense, in the period of the Dehli Saltanat, see Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz-Shahi*, Bib. Ind. ed., p. 283.

3. See *Ain*, I, 198, &c. Abu-l Fazl insists on using this term, though it is hardly ever heard of in the 17th century. One *farman* of Babur (1.0.4438: (1) does, indeed, use it, but the other two of his known *farmans* (one in the Aligarh University Library, and the other printed in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. IX, No. 3, May, 1933, pp. 121-2), have *madad-i ma'ash* only.

4. See *Ain* I, 198. Almost all the *farmans* and official documents concerning the grants, including those of Akbar, use this term and no other.

5. The term *a'imma* seems to have been used first for the grantees, perhaps, as a complimentary epithet ('Arif Qandahari, 177; Badauni, I, p. 384, II, pp. 204, 254; 'Abbas Khan, f. 112b; *T.J.*, 5; *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 146 7,158,180,190; Aurangzeb's *Farman*, Allahabad II, 53 & 55). Subsequently, while *a'imma* came to mean the land granted, the term *a'imma-dār* (holder of *a'imma*) was coined for the grantee (Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 186a, Or. 1671, f. 91a; Khafi Khan, I, p. 735n; *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, ff. 117b-121a; *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Khalisa Sharifa*, ff. 59b-60a; Add. 6603, f. 48a).

It was presided over by the *Ṣadr* or *Ṣadru-ṣ Ṣudūr* at the Court, under whom were provincial *ṣadrs* (*ṣadr-i juzv*) and, at a still lower level, officers known as *mutawallīs*.[6]

The *farmans* issued to the holders of *madad-i ma'ash* grants, usually contained a passage which set out the rights and favours conferred upon them. A nearly set text of this passage came to be adopted from the earlier years of Akbar's reign onwards: The grantees were to enjoy the revenues (*ḥāṣilāt*) from the land, and they were exempted from all obligation to pay the land-revenue (*māl-o-jihāt*) as well as *ikhrājāt*, the petty burdens imposed by officials, which are then specified in detail, and so, from "all fiscal obligations and royal demands" (*ḥuqūq-i dīwānī o muṭālibāt-i sulṭānī*).[7] In other words, what was granted was the right to collect the land-revenue and to keep it.[8]

The *madad-i ma'ash* grant, therefore, did not invest the grantee with any rights not claimed previously by the administration. He could not legitimately demand a larger amount of land-revenue than was authorised. An early *farman* of Akbar specifically asks the cultivators

6. The best study so far of the nature and history of this department will be found in Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, Chapter VIII. The names *Sadr-i juzv* and *mutawallī* are usually missing from text-book accounts of Mughal administration. That the *sadr-i juzv* meant the provincial *sadr*, appears from Allahabad 1187 (Shahjahan's reign). Cf. also Lahori, II, 365-66. The *mutawallī* was an official at the *pargana* level, who kept a check on the grants (See, e.g., Allahabad 851).

7. The standard list of obligations from which the grantees were exempted occurs first in Akbar's *farman* of 1567 (on display in University Library, Aligarh). From then on down to the last days of the Mughal chancery, the *farmans* reproduce the same list with only slight variations.

It is not to be supposed, however, that no impost was levied on the grantees. There was one known as *muqarrarī-i a'imma* which they had to pay to the *jagirdar*. In one locality in Awadh, it amounted to half a rupee per *bigha* of land actually cultivated (Allahabad 5, of A.D. 1650). The extortion of this was prohibited, along with certain other imposts, by Aurangzeb early in his reign (Rāja Raghunāth's *parwāna*, Allahabad II, 284, and *Mirat*, I, p. 287. See also Allahabad 1117). A cess known as *ṣadrāna* was levied on the grantees by the *ṣadr* (Allahabad 1204 & 1230). The *mutawallī* too had his perquisites (Allahabad 1). There were a few other imposts besides (Allahabad 1117 & 1204). These documents show that the grantees might sometimes be exempted from these burdens, by the collecting officers themselves.

8. A sale-deed from Awadh, of A.D. 1764, identifies the *a'imma* grant, held by imperial order (*sanad*), with the right to collect the land-revenue (*ḥaqq-i akhz-i kharāj* (Allahabad 457).

"to pay their land-revenue on the basis of measurement (*az qarār-i masāḥat*)."[9] Nor could the *madad-i ma'ash* holder interfere with the occupancy rights of the peasants. Thus in some *farmans* and supplementary documents, the *ra'iyati* (peasant-held) and *khud-kāshta* lands (cultivated by the grantees themselves) are specified separately.[10] And the *Ain* lays down that the revenue collector should prevent *ra'iyati* land from being converted into *khud-kashta* by the grantees.[11] Our 17th century records contain some instances where the peasants proved recalcitrant and refused to pay the land-revenue to the grantees with the result that the grants had to be transferred to other villages.[12] The village headman, *muqaddam*, was also apparently independent of the grantees, even when the latter held the whole of the village.[13]

Similarly, the *madad-i ma'ash* grant did not in any way affect the *zamindari* or *milkiyat* rights established over the land. This becomes clear from documents where the grantees are required to desist from interfering with these rights.[14] One of them, an official order, in fact

9. *Farman*, dated Oct. 3, 1567, on display in University Library, Aligarh.
The author of *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, p 180, says that the grantees, in contrast to the *jagirdars*, treated the peasants leniently in order to keep their lands under cultivation: they gave the peasants loans and remitted part of their share of the crop. But the author's good opinion of the grantees might have been coloured by the fact that he himself held *madad-ma'ash* (p. 122).

10. See Akbar's *Farmans* of A. H. 966-983 (Allahabad II, 23, of which Or. 1757, ff. 39a-51b, is a copy) and A.H. 983 (at Research Library, Dept. of History, Aligarh Muslim University—on loan); and Document No. 4 in Modi's *Parsees at the Court of Akbar* (see the photo-print of the document and not its text which omits the portions with which we are here concerned). The last is an official's report, dated Nov. 27, 1596. It gives not only the area of the *ra'iyati* land, but also the names of the peasants and the areas under different crops sown by them.

11. *Ain*, I, p. 287.

12. Allahabad 873 and 1213 (both of Shahjahan's reign).

13. An incident recorded by Faiẓī Sirhindī, ff. 148a-149a, shows the *muqaddam* in the role of an informant over the head of the grantee. When Akbar passed by the village which Faizi Sirhindi held in *madad-i ma'ash*, he stopped there and entered into conversation with its *muqaddam*, enquiring from him particulars concerning the village and the grant-holder. His desire was to look into the grants personally to discover whether these had been obtained by fraud or use of favour. In Bekas, f. 31b, the *muqaddam* is required to prevent the grantees from gathering anything from the fields unless they had obtained the necessary papers (*sanads*). Allahabad 881 describes the transfer of a grant from one village to another owing to the lack of amity between the *muqaddam* and the grantees.

14. Allahabad 782 and 1203.

declares that the grantees must pay the 'proprietors' the *ḥaqq-i milkiyat*, lit. 'proprietary right', but obviously meaning the proprietors' established share in the produce.[15] Hostility of the 'proprietors' sometimes also compelled the grantees to get their grants transferred elsewhere.[16]

The *madad-i ma'ash* grants were, as a rule, made in terms of definite areas stated in *bīghas*.[17] From the time of its introduction during Akbar's reign, the *gaz-i Ilāhī* seems to have been uniformly used to measure the *bighas* of the grants.[18] When a new grant was issued, the *farman* usually enjoined the local official "to measure the said area and demarcate the *chak* (i.e. land of the grant)," in a particular village or anywhere in a *pargana*, as stated in the *farman*.[19] The *jagirdars*

15. Allahabad 1203. This distinction between the two rights is shown strikingly by an 18th century document, Allahabad 457 (of A.D. 1764), which refers to the sale at different times of "the *milkiyat* and *zamindari*, i.e., *satārahī*" and "the right to collect the land-revenue" derived from an "*a'imma*-grant" in the same two *bighas* of land.

16. Allahabad 1190.

17. There were, however, some exceptions. Two of Babur's *farmans* (I.O. 4438: (1) and Aligarh) simply name the village, and, in the first, its *jama'-i raqamī* (assessed revenue) is also stated. Akbar's *farman* of 1567 (University Library, Aligarh), relating to Jalandhar, also names the village and specifies its *jama'*, not the area. A *farman* issued in the 35th regnal year of Aurangzeb, relating to the grant of a village to a *qāẓī* in the *ḥavelī* of Pattan, Gujarat, omits the area but gives both the *jama'* and *ḥāṣil* (actual revenue collection) of the village. (I.O. 11,698). The area of the grants in some provinces was expressed in units other than the *bigha*: e.g., in *chavār* in the Dakhin (*Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, 189-90) and *qalba* (ploughland) in Kabul (*IHRC*, XVIII (1942), pp. 242-3).

18. The areas held under previous grants were reduced by Akbar both on the introduction of the bamboo *ṯanāb* (by 13.03 per cent), and of the *gaz-i Ilahi* (by 10.5 per cent). This is shown by the endorsements on I.O. 4438: Nos. 7, 25 & 55. See also Allahabad 154, 879 & 1177. Sadiq Khan, (Or. 174, f. 186a, Or. 1671, f. 91a; Khafi Khan, I, pp. 734-5 *n.*) says that while the *bīgha-i daftarī*, based upon the *dir'a-i Shahjahani*, (*dir'a=gaz*), was in use, by the middle of the 17th century, for ordinary lands, "the *bigha* which is mentioned in the *farmans* of royal grants to *a'imma-dārs* is the *bigha-i Ilahi*." The documents of Shahjahan's and Aurangzeb's reigns in fact continue to mention *gaz-i Ilahi* as the *gaz* by which the *bigha* of the grant was to be measured (Allahabad 783, 881, 1190, &c.; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 138a-b; also Bekas, ff. 40a, 41a). See also Appendix A.

19. For the word *chak*, see Elliot, *Memoirs*, &c., ii, p. 79. It generally means a land-holding. When the officials had measured out the area of the land assigned to the grantee they drew up a document, called *chaknāma*, laying down the area and boundaries of the land measured. Some of these documents from the 17th century have survived: Allahabad 36, 869, 873, 874, 879, 881, 1190; I.O. 4438; (59). Cf. also Add 6603, f. 58b.

and revenue officials, on their part, were naturally anxious that the grantees should confine their rights to the area of their grant and not occupy any area in excess (*taufir*) of it.[20]

Akbar discovered that the system of assigning *madad-i ma'ash* grants in widely scattered villages was open to much abuse. The grantees could sometimes fraudulently obtain lands in two or more places on the strength of the same grant; at the same time, the holder of a petty grant in an ordinary village was liable to oppression from officials of the *jagirdars* and the *Khalisa*. He, therefore, decided in 1578 to concentrate the existing grants in certain villages and ordered that all new grants should also be made from the lands of these villages.[21] There is some evidence that the practice of marking out certain villages for *madad-i ma'ash* grants became an established one in the next century.[22]

The standing rule, says Abul Fazl, was to give half the area of the grant in land already cultivated and the other half in cultivable waste; and if the latter was not available, the area of the grant was to be reduced by a fourth.[23] Many documents carefully specify what area of the grant was to be in cultivable waste and what in cultivated land.[24]

20. Allahabad 179. See also Allahabad 36.

Mazhar-i Shahjahani, 146-7, refers to the 'oppressive' proceedings of the agents of a *jagirdar* of Sehwan, during the last years of Jahangir, who remeasured the land and demanded revenue (from, presumably, the area in excess of that specified in the grants). The grantees went to the Court, and the *jagirdar*, in order to satisfy them, issued orders (*parwānchas*) requiring his officials to honour the limits of the grants as previously established.

21. *AN*, III, 240; *Ain*, I, 198; Badauni, II, p. 254. We are fortunate in possessing in Allahabad 24, the original text of Akbar's order. It was issued on June 13, 1578. It stated that all villages where the grantees possessed "mosques, wells, houses, *chaupāls* (community sheds), orchards, &c." should be included among villages where the grants were to be concentrated, so that the grantees might not have to abandon any of their immovable possessions. But it may be doubted if attention was or could have been always paid to this. Badauni at least does not omit to tell us that the measure caused great distress to the grantees.

22. Thus administrative manuals like the *Siyaqnama*, 40 &c., and the *Khulasatus Siyaq*, ff. 78b, 82b, put a number of villages in the category of '*dar-o-bast a'imma-i uzzām*', i.e., wholly assigned in imperial *a'imma* grants, and exclude them from those coming under revenue-assessment. See also *Mirat*, I, p. 26, where 103 villages in Gujarat are said to have been held under *madad-i ma'ash*.

23. *Ain*, I, p. 199.

24. The respective terms being *uftāda* and *mazrū'*. See especially Sher Shah's *farmans*, *Oriental College Magazine*, IX, No. 3, pp. 121-2, and Allahabad 318; Akbar's *farmans*, Allahabad II, 23 (Or. 1757, ff. 39a-51b) and of A.H. 983 (Research Library, Dept. of History, Muslim University — on loan); Allahabad 869, &c.

But some go farther and stipulate that the whole grant was to consist of cultivable waste, not previously paying revenue.[25]

It was, probably, usually on the waste land assigned to them that the grantees established their *khud-kāshta* holdings. This category (*khud-kashta*) never appears on original grants, but is found only in confirmatory orders.[26] It is also likely that the *khud-kashta* lands consisted, for the most part, of orchards planted by the grantees.[27]

A *farman* of Aurangzeb defines *madad-i ma'ash* as something held on loan (*'āriyat*).[28] That is, it was not transferred to the grantee in full proprietary possession, but was only held by him during the pleasure of the Emperor. No period of years is ever laid down in the *farman* and, normally, a grant was enjoyed by its recipient undisturbed in his life-time. But the right to resume it at any time always remained with the King. Akbar's reign presents the spectacle of wholesale resumptions and reductions of grants, either on the suspicion that they had been obtained by corrupt or fraudulent means or simply as part of policy directed against certain classes of grantees.[29] The right was

25. The standard phrase being *zamīn-i uftāda lā'iq-i zirā'at khārij-i jama'*. See I.O. 4438: (3); Or. 11,697; Allahabad 874, 881; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 117a-118a, Bodl. f. 91a; I.O. 4435; *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 138a-b; Bekas, f. 31b (*banjar* used for *uftāda*). This emphasis on grant of waste land was apparently no innovation of the Mughals. Cf. *Inshā'-i Māhrū*, the letters of 'Ainul Mulk Multānī, a contemporary of Firuz Shah Tughluq, cited by Dr. I. H. Quraishi, *IHRC*, XXI (1944), p. 61.

The authorities also seem to have been anxious that the grantees should not extend cultivation through drawing away cultivators from the ordinary revenue-paying land. Thus in Bekas, f. 31b, we have an undertaking by a *muqaddam* to prevent the sowing of the *amlāk* (or *madad-i ma'ash* land) so long as the rest of the land had not been brought under the plough.

26. E.g. Akbar's *farmans*, Allahabad II, 23 (Or. 1757, ff. 39a-51b) and of A.H. 983 (Research Library, Dept. of History, Muslim University—on loan). Here the land of the grant is divided into *uftāda* and *mazrū'*; and then *mazrū'* again into *ra'iyatī* and *khud-kāshta*.

27. Abul Fazl assures us that "owing to the appearance of peace and security", the grantees "planted orchards in their lands and obtained abundant profit." (*Ain*, I, p. 199). In Doc. No. 4, in Modi, *Parsees at the Court of Akbar*, the *khud-kashta* land is shown to consist largely of the plantations of date, coconut, and other trees.

28. *Farman* issued in the 34th year, Allahabad II, 53 and 55.

29. *A.N.* III, pp. 233-4; *Ain*, I, pp. 198-9; Badauni, I. pp. 204-5, 274-7, 315, 343, 368; Faizi Sirhindi, ff. 147a-149a, 185a-186a; 'Abbas Khan, f. 86a-b. From an order (*hukm*) issued by the Khan-i Khanan, in the 48th regnal year of

also implicit in Jahangir's action confirming all the grants confer by his father.[30] There was actually an attempt in Shahjahan's rei to examine all the grants made till then and resume such of them were held by persons found to be undeserving.[31] The *Mazhar-i Sha jahani* shows that the *ṣadrs* were required to resume to the *Khal* all grants of persons who had died or fled or were found to have occ pied land elsewhere using the same grant or had obtained the gra itself by fraud or forgery.[31a] It, however, demands that the oth grantees be protected from harassment by the *jagirdars,* who oft resumed their grants and levied revenue upon them on one pretext another.[31b]

The non-proprietary nature of *madad-i ma'ash* is also shown by t fact that its possession could never be transferred or sold by t grantee.[32] Similarly, it could not pass on to his heirs except in accc

Akbar, it appears that *madad-i ma'ash* grants had been reduced by half Gujarat that year in pursuance of an imperial directive. (Doc. 3 in Moc *Parsees at the Court of Akbar*).

It may be remarked in passing that the use of corruption and fraud i obtaining grants, especially larger grants than authorised, was so widespre among the grantees that Sher Shah was compelled to take measures to prot the State against forged alterations in the *farmans* ('Abbas Khan, ff. 112b-113; It was reported to Aurangzeb that forged entries had been made even in t official record of grants (*yāddāsht-i a'imma-i madad-i ma'āsh*). (*Akhbarat* 47/32;

30. *T.J.*, p. 21. Aurangzeb also issued a similar order: See the reference it in Rāja Raghunāth's *parwāna*, Allahabad II, 284.

31. Lahori, II, pp. 365-6; Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, ff. 103b-104b; Or. 1671, 56b-57a. This measure was proposed in the 17th year of the reign, but prov abortive. Shahjahan's favourite daughter, Jahanara, was seriously injured by fi and the superstitious father, attributing the mishap to the curses of the grante practically rescinded his order.

31a. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 192.

31b. *Ibid.*, 191-2; also 158.

32. A judicial decision (January, 1666), states definitely "that by law (*shar'an* the land of *madad-i ma'ash* is not alienable (*qābil-i tamlīk nīst*)." (Allahab 1189). "The imperial regulation is that the *a'imma* land cannot be sold." (Ad 6603, f. 48a). With the breakdown of Mughal administration in the 18th centur this regulation could not naturally be enforced and *madad-i ma'ash* rights can to be freely sold. (See, e.g Allahabad 457, of A.D. 1764).

But though the grantees could not transfer their grant they cou apparently transfer the land to someone for the duration that they themselves he it. Thus in Allahabad 296, of as early a date as 1596, a group of *madad-i ma'a* holders affirm that they had transferred 29 *bighas* out of their grant to one Mi Ḥamīduddīn in return for his undertaking the duty of *khaṣmāna*, i.e. protecti

dance with imperial orders. In the time of Akbar and Jahangir no regular provision seems to have been made for inheritance, and the heirs had to apply for a renewal of the grant, of which only a part was normally granted to them.[33] The first regulations, allowing a part to be inherited directly by the heirs, are first heard of under Shahjahan. His orders and those of Aurangzeb, early in his reign, are summarised in a *parwana* issued by Rāja Raghunāth, the *diwan*, in the 3rd regnal year of Aurangzeb.[34] By Shahjahan's order of the 5th year, all grants of 30 *bighas* or less were to be wholly distributed among heirs on the deaths of the grantees. If the grant was of a larger area, half of it was to be distributed among the heirs and the other half resumed, unless the heirs proved their deserts (*istiḥqāq*) before the Court and obtained *sanads* for this portion also. By an order of the 18th year, it was

or guarding the rest of their land. The period of the grant was to be "as long as their *madad-i ma'ash* in the village remained with the transferers." (Cf. Allahabad 279 and 280). Hamiduddin, therefore, established no independent right of his own in the land. The grantees could also lease or farm out their right for one year or a longer period (Allahabad 892 and 1230), but the lease or *ijāra* would presumably have lapsed as soon as the grant was resumed or went into other hands.

33. The *Ain*, I, p. 287, calls upon the revenue-collector to resume (*bāzyāft*) the grant of any person who had died or absconded. It also says (I, p. 199) that it was decided that "if the grant had been made to a group and the share of each grantee was not specified on the *ẓimn*, and one of the grantees died, the *ṣadr* was to determine his share and this share was to be resumed to the *khaliṣa*, till the survivors (heirs?) presented themselves (or their case?) at the Court." See Faizi Sirhindi's account of how when his father died, he had to obtain afresh the grant held by his father (ff. 139b-141b). Akbar was apparently surprised at finding that the whole of the father's grant had been confirmed to the son (ff. 148a-149a). Cf. also Badauni II, p. 368, for grants resumed by Mir Fathullah Shirazi's *shiqqdar* from "widows and orphans" on the grounds of "disappearance" (i.e. death) of the grantees. A *farman* of Jahangir deals with a grant in Bihar of 3,500 *bighas*, whose holder had died. Only 1,000 *bighas* were re-granted: 700 to the widow and 300 to the son present at the Court. No decision was made concerning the other son, who till then had made no representations (*IHRC*, XXVI, ii, pp. 3-4). A *parwana* issued in the 16th year of Shahjahan concerns a grant originally conferred in 1571, in *pargana* Batala in the Punjab. All the persons in whose name it was made were now dead. The previous *sadrs* had, therefore, resumed 49 *bighas* out of the total grant of 107 *bighas*, 8 *biswas*, redistributing the remaining portion among the heirs. The latter had now made fresh representations and the resumed portion (technically termed *bāzyāft-i mutawaffi*) was also ordered to be granted to them (I.O. 4438: (7)).

34. Allahabad II, 284 (dated Jan. 10, 1661).

declared that only if the grant had contained the formula "wit offspring" after the name of the grantee, was half of it to be all to the heirs; otherwise the whole grant was to be resumed.[35] Auran at the beginning of his reign lifted this condition, and in his 3rd went back practically to the position of Shahjahan's order of the year, but with this difference that the limit for passing the whole g to the heirs was put at 20 *bighas*. Of every grant above this, was to be resumed as before, unless the heirs obtained it in a fresh from the Court.

In his 34th year (1690), however, Aurangzeb issued a *far* which made the *madad-i ma'ash* completely hereditary. It decl that henceforth "the land of the grantees (*a'imma-i 'uẓẓām*), confe by valid *farmans*, old and new, would be retained, completely and fi without loss or reduction, by the heirs of the deceased grantees, gen tion after generation". The *farman* nevertheless insisted that s *madad-i ma'ash* was an article of loan (*'āriyat*), not property, its inh tance was to be governed by imperial orders, and not (by implicati by the *Shari'at*. Thus it allowed a direct share to the grandson, if father had predeceased his grandfather; it deprived a daughter of share if she was married or otherwise provided for; and it laid d that a widow might keep her husband's grant for her lifetime, bef its passing to her husband's heirs.[36]

35. This is also confirmed by *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 155b. Lahori, II, p. apparently referring to the same order speaks as if the whole grant was to confirmed to the sons, if the words "with his offspring" had been used in *farman* for any grant. But this is probably due to a slip of pen. The form "with his offspring" is comparatively rare in the *farmans*. It occurs, among documents I have seen, in Akbar's *farman* of A.H. 983, Jahangir's *farman* of 21st year (text pub. in Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History*, p. 175, photo-copy end of the volume), the specimen order of a grant in Hadiqi's collection, Br. Royal 168 XXIII, f. 17a-b, and Mu'azzam's *nishān* of the 40th year of Aurang (IHRC, XVIII (1942), pp. 242-3). The severe terms of Shahjahan's order s to have been widely evaded, because Raghunāth's *parwana* admits that the l *ṣadrs* (*ṣadr-i juzv*) had in some cases allowed the heirs above half, and someti the whole, of the original grant. Later *sadrs* tried to resume such grants, this was forbidden by Aurangzeb's order of the 3rd year.

36. Allahabad II, 53 & 55 (two copies of the *farman*). Allowing a share the inheritance to the children of a son, who had predeceased his father, not only in contravention of the Shari'at, but also opposed to earlier pract The terms of Shahjahan's order of the 18th year summarised in Raja Raghuna *parwana* imply that a grandson could then have only inherited if the *farman* l contained the words "with his offspring" after the name of the grantee. Th

The grant of *madad-i ma'ash* was theoretically an act of charity for "the maintenance of the poor and indigent (creatures) of God".[37] All those who were engaged in service or in any trade and thus had other means of livelihood could not properly hold grants.[38] According to Abu-l Fazl, there were four classes of persons for whom the grants were specially meant: Men of learning; religious devotees; destitute persons without the capacity for obtaining livelihood; and persons of noble lineage, who would not, "out of ignorance", take to any employment.[39] Women, belonging to respectable Muslim families, were frequently recipients of the grants,[40] but they are probably covered by Abul Fazl's third category. Still, there were other grantees, though probably few in number, who did not fall into any of the four categories. A series of documents relating to a grant in Gujarat shows it to have been made for the particular reason that the beneficiaries were physicians, who treated "the poor and indigent" of the locality.[41]

is a case on record in which a person, debarred from any share in his grandfather's grant, in the time of Shahjahan, brought up his claims in 1697. These were not upheld, apparently because Aurangzeb's *farman* of 1690 was not meant to have retrospective effect. (Allahabad 1228 & 1229)

37. See the preamble of Aurangzeb's *farman* of 1690 (Allahabad II, 53 & 55).

38. The grant was liable to forfeiture (*bāzyāft*) if the grantee was found to be "in service" (*naukar*) (*Ain*, I, p. 287). Under the terms of Shahjahan's order of the 18th year, the grantee could not be "*kāsib* (i.e. engaged in any trade) or *naukar* (employed in service)." This is according to the summary of the order in Raja Raghunath's *parwana*. Lahori, II, p. 366, in referring to the same order, is more specific and only makes resumable the grants of those who were 'soldiers and artisans.'

39. *Ain*, I, p. 198. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 190-91, enumerates three classes properly qualified to receive *madad-i ma'ash* grants: 1. Officials who received grants in lieu of salaries; 2. "Scholars and memorisers (of the *Quran*)"; and 3. "Saiyids, Shaikhs and Mughals, by descent, who, eschewing the urge for greater gain, retire to a corner and are content with a little *madad-i ma'ash* received from the Court, and have no other means of livelihood". For the class of imperial officials (*qazis*, etc.) receiving grants, see below.

40. Jahangir appointed a foster-sister of his father as the special official in charge of grants to women (*T.J.*, 21). Abu-l Fazl also speaks of grants held by "Irani and Turani women" (*Ain*, I, pp. 198-9). For a few specific instances of original grants in favour of women, see *T.J.*, 83; Allahabad 5 & 874; I.O. 4435; *Darr-al 'Ulum*, f. 138a-b, &c. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 158, refers incidentally to two categories of *chaks* (lands) of the *a'imma*, the *chak-hā-i musammāt* (lands held by women) and *muzakkarāti* (held by men).

41. See the documents (texts and trs.) in Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History*, pp. 167-188, especially the public testimony to this effect, given in a document of Aurangzeb's reign (text on pp. 185-6, and photo-copy at the end of the volume; and Hodivala's own comment on p. 188).

Officers, no longer able to perform their duties, owing to their age or some other reason, were also pensioned off with *madad-i ma'ash* grants.[42] Then, too, grants were sometimes conferred upon petty officials and others as a sign of favour or as a reward for service rendered.[43]

However, the bulk of the *madad-i ma'ash* grants seem to have been enjoyed by persons, who, in actual fact or by their pretensions, fell under Abu-l Fazl's first two categories. Learning and religious devotion were then the monopoly of a single class among Muslims and it was the current belief, entertained by this class, that the *madad-i ma'ash* grants were meant solely for its benefit.[44] That the belief was not really far from the fact is shown by the use of the words *a'imma* and *makhādīm*, both meaning religious leaders, as general names for the grantees even in official documents.[45] Faiẓī Sirhindī has preserved for us the best recipe for proving one's worth (*istiḥqāq*) for *madad-i ma'ash*, and that was a display of knowledge in any of the petty obscu-

42. Lahori, II, pp. 308-9; *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 153b; Waris, *a*:f. 499a; *b*: ff. 148b-149a.

43. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, p. 336; *T.J.*, p 32. Akbar deprived all *chaudhuris* of their *suyurghal* (*Ain*, I, p. 198).

According to the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 191, in addition to the three classes of grantees mentioned by it as proper recipients of grants (see note No. 39), there was a fourth class, consisting of "*zamindars*, who were also *arbābs* (*chaudhuris*) and *muqaddams*". It says that Akbar and Jahangir did not allow grants to be conferred on such persons, but under the régime of Nur Jahan they obtained *farmans* of grants by paying money. It deprecates this practice, because by making use of their authority these local officials got the best lands and compelled the peasants to cultivate them, without their making any effort themselves.

44. 'Abbas Khan, f. 113a, himself the son of a grantee, puts in the mouth of Sher Shah the following: "It is incumbent upon the King to give *madad-i ma'ash* to the *a'imma*, because the splendour of the cities of India is due to these religious men (*a'imma o makhādim*)." It seems unlikely that Sher Shah really thought so, for Hasan 'Alī Khān, a confidant of his, says that he wished to send all "mullas" to the gallows! (Tr. Tripathi, *Medieval India Quarterly*, I, No. 1 (July, 1950), p. 65). See also Badauni II, 204-5, for the belief that only Muslim theologians deserved to receive grants. According to him, the best claims to *madad-i ma'ash* were those of "the teacher of *Hidāya* (the celebrated text-book of Muslim law) and other advanced books." He laments the fact that when in 1575 the grants were checked, even such men as these were granted at the most 100 *bighas*, and that also after the greatest difficulty.

45. The use of the word *a'imma* has been discussed in a previous note. For *makhādīm* used in the same sense, see Akbar's order concentrating the grants in a few villages (Allahabad 24). Cf. also 'Abbas Khan, ff. 112b-113a.

rities of the *Shari'at*.[46] But such knowledge was probably not invariably essential for obtaining a grant. Descendants of saints or religious divines, and persons who had retired from the world, but, most frequently, those simply belonging to families reputed for learning or orthodoxy or just held to be respectable, were regarded, without particular reference to their individual merits, as eligible for receiving grants.[47] These formed a parasitic class, for excluded from engaging in service or trade, and hardly capable of devoting all their time to religious studies, they seem to have looked upon land as the best object of ambition. Records of a 17th century family from Awadh bring out vividly how persons who held large *madad-i ma'ash* grants freely acquired *zamindaris* and even acted as revenue-farmers.[48] Submerged in these worldly pursuits, their alarm was naturally very great whenever anyone suggested an investigation into their credentials.[49]

46. Faizi Sirhindi obtained on the death of his father, the whole of his grant, by writing and presenting to the *Ṣadr*, Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī, a tract entitled *Ṣaidana Akbariya*. In this he collected together "reliable Traditions from trustworthy books" to establish the position of the Shari'at on one important point, then a subject of heated controversy among Akbar's court theologians, namely, how was a deer to be lawfully slaughtered when it was held by the neck by a cheetah! (Faizi Sirhindi, ff. 139b-141b).

47. See *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 191, for its description of the third class of grantees (see note No. 39 above). See Allahabad 8, for a grant on the basis of descent; and I.O. 4433 and Allahabad 1117 for a grant to persons who were supposed to have retired from the world. The vast majority of grants seem to have been conferred on Shaikhs and Saiyids. All of them are stated to possess sufficient "worth" (*istiḥqāq*), but the documents never go into details regarding their qualifications. Their qualification, perhaps, was usually only their 'respectability.' In an appeal for the confirmation of a cash-grant from the revenue of a *pargana*, the sole argument put forward is that "the establishing of respectable gentlemen (*shurajā'*), especially of the said person, in that desolate place (surely, in a figurative sense), indeed in all of that district, is requisite for (divine) favours and is a sign of blessings." (Muḥammad Ja'far, *Inshā'-i 'Ajīb*, compiled A.D. 1706-7, pub. Nawal Kishor, Kanpur, 1910, p. 18).

48. This is the family of Saiyid Muḥammad 'Ārif, whose *zamindari* holdings in one or two *parganas* of the *sarkar* of Bahraich, Awadh, especially the Pasnājat group of villages have been mentioned more than once in Chapter V, and giving full references here will be needless repetition. Allahabad 886, 889 and 890 are *ijāra* documents, in which Saiyid 'Ārif contracts for the revenues of a *pargana*, or parts of it, with different *jagirdars* in different years. He held *madad-i ma'ash* lands in the environs of Bahraich (Allahabad 879, 1202, 1217, 1228-30).

49. See Sadiq Khan's strong condemnation of the attempt to re-examine the grants in the time of Shahjahan (Or. 174, ff. 103b-104a; Or. 1671, ff. 56b-57a).

The State had its own interest in maintaining this class. Jahangir called it the 'Army of Prayer',[50] and he is reported to have said that this army was as important for the Empire as the real army.[51] The grantees were its creatures, and therefore its natural apologists and propagandists. But they were at the same time a bastion of conservatism, because they had nothing except their orthodoxy to justify their claims on the State's bounty. When Akbar began to formulate a new theoretical basis for Imperial sovereignty in India and embarked on his policy of religious tolerance, it was inevitable that he should enter into a conflict with this class. The extreme liberality of his early years now gave place to successive measures to control and curtail the *madad-i ma'ash* grants held by Muslim theologians.[52] The benefits of the grants were at the same time extended to non-Muslim divines.[53]

50. *T.J.*, 5.

51. *Intikhāb-i Jahāngīr-Shāhī*, Or. 1648, f. 182a-b. The term *lashkar-i du'ā* ('army of prayer') was apt because the *farmans* of *madad-i ma'ash* grants usually contain a clause requiring the grantees to pray for the eternal prosperity of the Empire.

52. Badauni, II, pp. 71, 204-5, 274, 315, 343. A characteristic instance of the antagonism between Akbar and the *makhādīm*, or theologians, is described by Faizi Sirhindi, ff. 185a-186a. When Akbar passed by Sirhind in 1585, the *makhadim* of the *parganas* around did not come to pay him respects. In his indignation Akbar ordered that their *madad-i ma'ash* grants be resumed forthwith. It was only then that a few appeared, but, owing to Abu-l Fazl's intervention, most received back their grants.

It is interesting to find that Sirhind has also the honour of producing Shaikh Ahmad, known to his followers as *Mujaddid-i Alf-i Ṣānī*, who in Jahangir's reign embarked upon virulent attacks against Akbar, the Hindus and Shi'as. His arrogation of supreme authority in religious matters to himself alongside his theory that the world of the Shari'at could be established only through winning over the Emperor, marks him out as a representative of the *makhādīm*, whose arrogance was matched fully by their utter dependence upon the bounty of the governing class. (This is clear enough from his own letters, pub. as *Maktūbāt-i Imām Rabbānī*, 3 vols, Nawal Kishor; but for an account of the outlook of the Shaikh and his grandsons from the pen of one of the most effective satirists of the time, see *Waqā'i'-'i Ni'mat Khān 'Ālī*, pub. Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1928, pp. 25-30). Jahangir knew what stuff he was dealing with, when he ordered the Shaikh to be imprisoned under a Rajput officer and compelled him to express repentence (*T.J.*, 272-3, 308). That such a man should be the patron saint of modern Muslim communalism in India is by no means an accident.

53. Badauni, II, 205. See the documents reproduced and discussed in Modi's *Parsees at the Court of Akbar*, and in Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History*, pp. 167-188 (with photo-reproductions of some of the documents at the end). Cf. also Jhaveri, Docs. V-VII and XI, though these are not, strictly speaking, *madad-i ma'ash* grants.

Jahangir probably moderated Akbar's stern policy a little, because he acquired the reputation for great generosity in bestowing these grants.[54] But it was Aurangzeb who completely reversed Akbar's policy. He ordered, in 1672-3, the resumption of all grants held by Hindus.[55] And as we have been, in 1690 he made the grants fully hereditary—an act which represented probably the last concession that could have been made to the grantees.

The bulk of the *madad-i ma'ash* grants were conferred without imposing any obligation in return, being designed simply to maintain certain classes. But some grants were conditional (*mashrūṭ*). The office of the *qāẓī* (judge) always had a *madad-i ma'ash* grant attached to it, which went with the office.[56] Some of Sher Shah's grants prescribe a regular exercise in archery for the grantees and oblige them to render assistance against local malefactors whenever required by the officials.[57] When Badauni received a grant, he was obliged by

54. *Intikhab-i Jahangir-Shahi*, Or. 1648, ff. 181b-182b.

55. *Mirat*, I, p. 288 (cf. Bernier, 341). This seems to have been a statement of policy, or of a desirable objective, rather than an order enforced absolutely, without exceptions. In the first place, lands granted in return for services, were not affected. See *Mirat, op. cit.*, and A'zam's *nishan*, tr. in *IHRC*, 1945, pp. 53-55. The *madad-i ma'ash* grant held by a family of Parsi physicians of Navsari in Gujarat was confirmed by *sanads* issued in 1664 and 1702, during the reign of Aurangzeb (Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History*, p. 178). In a series of articles published in the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, V, pt. iv, VI, pt. i, & VII, pts. i, ii, Jnan Chandra of Bombay has drawn attention to a number of cash and land grants to non-Muslims, issued or confirmed by Aurangzeb.

56. Or. 11,697; *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, 189-90; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 106a-b, Bodl. ff. 82a, 145b-146a; *Siyaqnama*, 86; I.O. 4370; Or. 11,698. See Abu-l Fazl's reference to grants held by *qazis*, "these turban-wearers of evil heart and long-sleeved men of small minds." (*Ain*, I, pp. 198-9). Abul Fazl's scorn had ample justification if the type of *qazi* depicted in Allahabad 782 and 1203 was at all common. This man had been assigned 750 bighas in grant, but had possessed himself of 5,375 *bighas!* Cf. Charles Elliott, *Chronicle of Oonao*, p. 115.

Besides the *qazi* there were also other recipients of *madad-i ma'ash* grants who held semi-judicial and semi-theological offices, "*muftis*, *ṣadrs* and *muḥtasibs*" (*Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 190).

57. Allahabad 318 and *farman* printed in *Oriental College Magazine*, IX, No. 3 (May 1933), p. 127 (the other *farman* of Sher Shah printed in the same journal does not contain these conditions). The exercise in archery is prescribed in a peculiar fashion. The grantees were to offer all the five prayers in congregation in a mosque and discharge ten arrows each after every *ẓuhr* (afternoon) prayer. Cf. Elliott, *Chronicles of Oonao*, p. 95.

its terms to provide a military contingent.[58] Such conditions of military service are, however, never found in the *farmans* of the 17th century, and so were probably no longer tacked on to *madad-i ma'ash* grants.

There were certain grants, which were not in name *madad-i ma'ash*, but were in fact very similar. From the *āl-tamghā jagirs* instituted by Jahangir developed hereditary grants to officials' families, known as *in'ām-i āl-tamghā*.[59] There were also revenue-free lands held as *in'am*: We hear of a village so held by members of the Chāran caste in Gujarat on the condition of performing police duties;[60] and in Malawa a village was similarly attached to the hereditary office of *nagar-seṭh* (head merchant of a town).[61] Then we have a purely unconditional remission of revenue, which is illustrated by a series of *sanads* of the reigns of Akbar and Shahjahan, issued to a family of Hindu divines in respect of two villages. The beneficiaries seem to have already held the land in their possession: they are in fact said to have purchased one of the villages from *zamindars*. The *farmans* exempted them from the revenue-demand and all other cesses, in language similar to that of the usual *madad-i ma'ash* grants. A noteworthy difference, however, was the declaration that the grant was to be enjoyed not only by the first beneficiary, but also by his descendants to come, "for generation after generation."[62]

There was still another category of grants, known as *auqāf* (plural of *waqf*).[63] The beneficiaries of these were not, directly, individuals

58. He was granted 1,000 *bighas* conditional upon his maintaining a contingent up to the standard of that required under a 20-*sawar* rank. He failed lamentably to fulfil his obligation. (Badauni. II, pp. 206-7, 275-6).

59. For *āl-tamghā jagirs*, see Ch. VII, Sec. 1. Sujan Rai, 74, tells us that a village near Sodhra was held as *in'ām-i āl-tamghā* by (the family of) 'Alī Mardān Khān, for the maintenance of the garden and buildings of that grandee at Ibrahimabad. A *farman* of Bahadur Shah I conferring an *in'am-i al-tamgha* has survived (Or. 2285). This takes care to state the *ḥāṣil* (revenue) of the village granted, a detail usually missing in *madad-i ma'ash* grants.

60. *Mirat*, I, p. 288.

61. *IHRC*, XXII (1945), pp. 53-55.

62. Jhaveri, Docs. V-VII and XI. Curiously enough the remission is not given any technical name. When the grant was confirmed by Shah 'Alam II, it was described as *in'am-i al-tamgha* (Docs. XIV & XV).

63. See Badauni, II, pp. 71, 204, for reference to '*auqāf*' alongside '*madad-i ma'ash*'. It occurs in Barani, as well, together with '*milk*' and '*inām*'. (*Tarikh-i Firuz-Shahi*, p. 283).

but institutions. The revenues of certain lands were assigned permanently in trust (*waqf*) for the maintenance of religious shrines, tombs and *madrasas*,—for their repairs, as also for the subsistence of their 'staff' and for charities disbursed through them.[64]

It is difficult to determine exactly the total area or the income of the grants made by the Emperor. At first sight, it might seem that the *Ain* provides us with the necessary statistics, for it has in its provincial tables a column of figures (in *dams*), entitled *suyūrghāl*. But it is possible that in addition to the *madad-i ma'ash* (and probably *waqf*) grants, the *suyurghal* figures also cover the cash allowances (*waẓā'if*) granted from the treasury; while it is not absolutely certain that they include all the revenue remissions, *in'am* grants, &c., given apart from *madad-i ma'ash*. Moreover, it is not directly clear how figures for the grants have been determined. They are not likely to show the estimated income of these grants, but should most naturally be the totals of *jama'*, or assessed revenue, lost through the transfer of revenue-paying land in grants.[65] That is to say, no allowance is likely to have been made here for the income from the waste land brought under cultivation by the grantees. With all these unknown factors, the figures may still serve as rough indicators. Considered in relation to the total revenues, they are highest in the Upper Gangetic

64. A report on the disbursal of charities at the celebrated tomb of Shaikh Mu'īn Chishtī at Ajmer in *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 30-32 (and also 436), sheds some light on how the big *auqāf*, at least, were organised. A number of villages had been assigned by the Emperor to the shrine. The revenues from these were collected by the agents of the *mutawallī*, who distributed out of the sum so collected pittances to numerous persons who had claims, real or forged, on the charities of the shrine. The *sajjāda-nashīn* (or spiritual head of the shrine) had nothing to do with this. Although this is not stated, the *mutawalli* was probably an official appointed by the Emperor. Lahori, II, pp. 330-31, tells us that the revenues from thirty villages and from shops of the market and inns built near it were made *waqf* for the Taj Mahal. The income, estimated at more than 3 *laks* of rupees annually, was to be used for the repair of the Taj, disbursal of salaries of servants and the food prepared for the staff, the beggars and the poor. The emperor himself was to be the *mutawallī*. A *waqf* of a more modest kind is described by Bayazid, 310-11. Bayazid converted an abandoned Hindu temple at Banaras into a *madrasa*. The Emperor (Akbar) assigned two villages near the town to meet the allowances of the teachers of that *madrasa*.

65. That a record of these reductions was kept is shown by the revenue accounts of a *pargana*, reproduced by the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 126b-128b, the *jama'* of the *pargana* being put at Rs. 6,058 from which Rs. 20 are deducted as *a'imma-mu'āfī*. It may be noted that the column for *suyūrghāl* in the *Ain's* tables immediately follows that of *naqdi*, or the assessed revenue.

provinces: 5.4 per cent in Dehli, 5·2 in Ilahabad, 4·2 in Awadh, and 3·9 in Agra. They fall off to 1·8 per cent in Lahor and Gujarat.[66] For the 17th century, no statistics of any kind concerning these grants are available for the whole Empire, but we happen to possess some information about Gujarat, through the *Mirat-i Ahmadi*. This shows that there was no great change in the proportion of the revenues alienated through the grants, between the time of the *Ain* and the early years of Muhammad Shah.[67] This should not be taken to mean that the proportion of the grants to the total revenue remained uniformly static. For we know that a few years after the *Ain's* statistics were compiled, Akbar ordered all grants in Gujarat to be reduced by half;[68] thus the next century really saw this reduction being fully restored.

66. Under Agra and Gujarat, the figures given in the *Ain* for the province are completely inconsistent with those given under the *sarkars*. I have, therefore, used the totals of the *sarkar*-figures in both cases.

Is the difference between the Gangetic provinces, on the one hand, and Lahor and Gujarat, on the other, due to the fact that greater area of waste land was available in the latter provinces? In assigning waste land the grants did not usually involve an alienation of revenue-paying land, and so the amount of *jama'* lost by way of grants in provinces with larger cultivable waste should have been smaller.

67. *Mirat*, I, pp. 25-26: "1,20,00,000 dams; 50,000 *bighas* of land; and 103 villages; and Rs. 40,000 in cash from the treasury—excluding the *in'ams* given by officials out of their *jagirs*—were assigned in *madad-i ma'ash* and *in'am* ... in accordance with imperial *farmans*," &c. The figure of 1,20,00,000 *dams* may be compared with the total of *sarkar*-figures in the *Ain*, viz. 76,19,974 *dams*. But the *jama'* had risen in the intervening period, so that the *Mirat's* figure came to 1·5 per cent of the *jama'-dami* given by it for the whole province. Since the *Ain* probably also included cash allowances in its *suyurghal* statistics, a real comparison would be possible only by adding the cash grants to the figure for the land grants in the *Mirat*. And these together amounted to a little over 1·7 per cent of the *jama'dami*. As for the area, if we take the *Mirat's* area of grants to be stated in *bigha-i Ilahi*, and the area of cultivable land in *bigha-i daftari*, the former stood to the latter in the ratio of a little under 1·00 to 100. The number of villages held in grants may be compared with 10,465—the total for the whole province—yielding about the same percentage as for the area. But in studying these figures, it ought to be remembered that while the *Mirat's* cultivable area excluded certain districts, which were covered by the system of Crop-sharing and were therefore unmeasured, there were grants (as witness Or. 11,698) in Gujarat whose area was not stated. Similarly, the number of villages held in *madad-i ma'ash* are probably those entirely (*dar-o-bast*) held in grants and thus do not include such villages as contained grants, but were mainly or partly revenue-paying.

68. See a *hukm* of Khan-i Khanan, 48th year of Akbar: Doc. 3 in Modi's *Parsees at the Court of Akbar*.

There is no reason to believe that Gujarat was an exceptional case and it will, therefore, be unsafe to assume that the period after Akbar saw any great enlargement of the area of the grants. The *Ain* figures, read in relation to the total revenues, are, therefore, probably valid for the whole period. The modest percentages which represent this ratio in the various provinces show that the grants could have covered only a very small portion of the total cultivated area of the Empire. This should prevent any one's being misled, from the details discussed in this Chapter, into supposing that the class of grantees had a very important position in the agrarian economy of the time contributing appreciably to the increase in cultivation, &c., or that their presence interfered very greatly with the general pattern of land-revenue administration.

Before closing this Chapter, a brief reference may be made to grants conferred by authorities other than the Emperor. Any *jagirdar* could make a grant in his own assignment and exempt it from revenue. Such grants were also known as *madad-i ma'ash* or *a'imma.*[69] But since a *jagirdar* could only make a grant for his own term of assignment, which seldom lasted beyond three or four years,[70] the grantees of this class lived in the greatest insecurity. A new *jagirdar* might or might not confirm the grant made by his predecessor, though it was probably customary to do so.[71] We read of the great distress caused in Bengal when, on the instructions of Mir Jumla, all grants not derived from imperial orders were resumed both in the *jagirs* and the *K͟halisa.* The former grantees were asked to cultivate the land and pay the revenue like ordinary peasants. In the end, however, the next Governor, Shā'ista K͟hān ruled that each *jagirdar* should allow such people to retain their grants, if the revenue so lost to him

69. I.O. 4433 is a *parwana* from a *jagirdar* to his *shiqqdar* ordering the grant of specified areas of cultivated and waste lands in the *pargana* of Sandila, during the reign of Akbar.

70. Manuchy tells us, for example, that he obtained from the Mug͟hal deputy-governor of the Karnatik the grant of "the income of two villages and their hamlets to be held during the whole time he governed the province." (Manucci, III, p. 288.)

71. The *Riyāẓ-al Wadād* of Īzad Bak͟hsh Rasā (Or. 1725, f. 12a) contains a letter from him to a *jagirdar,* recommending that the *madad-i ma'ash* land held by a friend of his in the other's *jagir* be confirmed.

did not exceed 2½ per cent of the total revenue of his assignment.[72] Later in Aurangzeb's reign we come across a reference to the action of the revenue officials in Sorath (Gujarat), who were resuming all grants based upon the *sanads* of the governors and *jagirdars* and insisting that the grants could only be honoured if they were backed by imperial *sanads*.[73]

The autonomous chiefs were free in their territories to make revenue grants. Rāja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur used to remit the revenue to Brahmans, Chārans (bards) and falconers on the lands they tilled.[74] Ordinary *zamindars* also made such grants, presumably out of the revenue-free lands held by them in *mālikāna* and *nānkār*. Some were made in lieu of service,[75] but others out of charity only. The latter type is divided by a late 18th century revenue glossary into two categories: *pīrpāl*, grants made by *zamindars* to their old retainers, and *brahmotar*, held by Brahmans.[76]

72. *Fa'iya-i 'Ibriya*, ff. 117b-121a.

73. *Mirat*, I, p. 319.

74. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 318. This is with regard to the *pargana* of Mirta. When after the Raja's death Aurangzeb ordered an occupation of his territory, the imperial revenue officials disregarded the remissions granted by the Raja.

75. Thus Bekas, f. 52b, speaks of the retainers of the *zamindars*, paid by grant of land or in cash. In two Awadh documents (Allahabad 279 and 280) we come across the grant of 50 *bigahs* in a village as *khidmatāna* (from *khidmat*, service) in return for the grantee's keeping watch over the *khasmāna* (i.e. encroachments on the right of the grantors) of the village. Neither the two original grantors nor the widow of one of them, who confirms their grant in the second document, states the nature of their right over the village. They were probably its *zamindars*; but they could possibly have been *madad-i ma'ash* holders. (Cf. Allahabad 296).

76. Add. 6603, f. 51a-b. It tells us that the land given away by *zamindars* in charity was known as *ba'zī zamīn*. Its author had experience of revenue administration of Dehli and Bengal and, therefore, the terms *brahmotar* (or, as also spelt, *brahnmotar*) and *pīrpāl* were probably used in both regions. This seems all the more probable because when the author defines *bishan-barīt* (land dedicated to Vishnu and granted to Brahmans by the *zamindars*), he is careful to note that this term only existed in Bengal (f. 51b).

CHAPTER IX

THE AGRARIAN CRISIS OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

1. THE EMPIRE AND THE ASSIGNMENT SYSTEM

For the larger part of the hundred and fifty years of our period Mughal Empire covered a whole sub-continent, united under a ıly centralised administration. To what did it owe its great success? development of fire-arms has been regarded by some authorities :he underlying cause of the formation of the great Asian empires he 16th and 17th centuries.[1] The adequacy of this explanation in case of the Indian Mughals may, however, be questioned. Artillery not the decisive arm of their army and they were never able to loy it successfully against really strong forts. Their real strength in their cavalry and it was in the battle in the open field, in rapid 'ements, that they remained invincible, until, that is, the Marathas ıd a decisive answer in scattered and decentralised warfare. The cipal obligation of the *mansabdars* was the maintenance of cavalry .ingents with horses of standard breeds. There was, therefore, an nate connexion between the military power of the Mughals and *jagirdari* or assignment system. It was the great merit of the latter it made the *mansabdars* completely dependent upon the will of the ɔeror, so that the imperial government was able to assemble and ɔatch them with their contingents to any point at any time, where when the need arose. Once the initial territorial advantage had ı established, none of the provincial kingdoms ever stood a chance nst the concentrated pressure of Mughal power. Akbar might have t upon the foundations of the revenue administration created by Surs, but he was also heir to the Timurid traditions of monarchical ›otism and was unencumbered by the Afghan ideas of tribal gov-nent. As he gradually forged the main features of the assignment *mansabdari* system, he gave practical form to the theoretical con- of a semi-divine monarchy.[2] There was one great struggle in

.. E.g. Barthold, *Iran*, tr. G. K. Nariman, in *Posthumous Works of G. K. nan*, ed. Jhabvala, pp. 142-3.

.. "Royalty is a light emanating from God, a ray from the World-illuminating &c." (*Ain*, I, p. 2).

protest from the nobility and the theocracy—the revolt of 1580[3]—but once it had been quelled, the Empire never really faced a serious revolt from within the ranks of its own bureaucracy. The major upheavals were caused by the wars of succession, which did not by themselves endanger the Mughal throne. Indeed the very fact that neither in 1658-9 nor in 1707-9 could the partition of the Empire be countenanced by the contenders reveals the great degree of cohesion in the basic structure of the Empire. There were stresses and strains, it is true, within the various racial and caste elements forming the Mughal nobility;[4] and Aurangzeb's policy of religious discrimination contributed to the Rajput revolt of 1679-80. But even the effects of this were short-lived and the Rajputs generally returned to their old allegiance.[5]

The assignment system, as it was established and worked under the Great Mughals, itself pre-supposed the prevalence of a certain type of economic order. The *jagirs* were divorced, as far as possible, from any rights to the land, and were essentially assignments of revenue,

3. The revolt in Bengal and Bihar was provoked by the imposition of the branding regulations and the reduction in the concession previously granted to the officers stationed there allowing for a deterioration in the quality of the horses. (*A.N.*, III, p. 284-6, 291-3; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, pp. 348-50; Monserrate 68-69).

4. Mirzā Ḥakīm is said to have been banking, in 1582, upon the disloyalty of the Irani and Turani nobles and the cowardice of the Afghans, Rajputs and Shaikh-zādas (Indian Muslims) serving under Akbar (*A.N.*, III, p. 366). Jahangir is reproached by Khān-i A'ẓam for discriminating against the Chaghatai (Turani) and Rajput nobles in favour of the Khurāsānīs (Iranis) and Shaikh-zadas. (*'Arzdasht-ha-i Muzaffar*, f. 19a-b. Cf. also Hawkins, *Early Travels*, pp. 106-7). Shahjahan seems to have been suspicious of the Afghans (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 154a; *Dilkusha*, f. 84a), while he had been critical of Aurangzeb's hostility, as a prince, to the Rajputs (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 37b-38a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 114-5).

5. The fact that Akbar's religious policy was partly motivated by the desire to hold together the various elements in the aristocracy, without allowing any faction to become too powerful, is noted in as early a work as the famous *Dabistān-i Maẓāhib* (c. 1655), pp. 431-2. A merit of Mr. S. R. Sharma's *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors* is its constant reference to the position of the non-Muslims in the ranks of the *mansabdars*. Not all, nor even most, Rajput houses participated in the revolt of 1679-80 and Rajput contingents served the Mughal cause with distinction in the Dakhin. It is also apt to be forgotten that their position was largely restored after the death of Aurangzeb and the initial struggle with Bahaur Shah I. In this the policy of the Saiyid brothers, who also abolished the *jizya*, is particularly noteworthy. (See S. Chandra, *Parties & Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-1740*, pp. 128-9, 166).

assessed and expressed in cash. This could only have been possible in a society where the cash-nexus was well established, but this in turn meant that agrarian trade should have reached a high level of development. We have seen in earlier chapters that both these conditions were present in Mughal India. At the same time, commercial activity could prosper best under an imperial system with its uniform methods of tax-collection and administration and its control of the routes. In so far, therefore, as the assignment system strengthened imperial power it also reinforced the economic foundations of its own existence. Unlike the feudal lord of Western Europe, the Mughal *jagirdar* did not need to have any fear of the 'dissolving influence' of money and trade.

2. Oppression of the Peasantry

The unity and cohesion of the Mughal governing class found its practical expression in the absolute power of the Emperor. The *jagirdar* as an individual member of the governing class had no rights or privileges apart from those received from the Emperor. He could not manage his *jagir* just as he pleased, and had to conform to imperial regulations. The rate of the land-revenue demand and the methods by which it was to be assessed and collected were all prescribed by the imperial administration.[1] The Emperor also decreed as to what other taxes were to be collected.[2] The conduct of the *jagirdar* and his agents was watched over and checked by officials such as *qanungos* and *chaudhuris*, and *faujdars* and news-writers.[3]

Imperial revenue policy was obviously shaped by two basic considerations. First, since military contingents were maintained by the *mansabdars* out of the revenues of their *jagirs*, the tendency was to set the revenue demand at the highest rate possible so as to secure the greatest military strength for the Empire. But, secondly, it must also have been clear that if the revenue rate was raised so high as to leave the peasant not enough for his survival, the revenue collections would soon fall in absolute terms. These considerations explain why the revenue demand as set by the imperial authorities usually approximated to the surplus produce, leaving the peasant only the barest minimum needed for subsistence.[4]

1. Chapter VII, Section 2.
2. Chapter VI, Section 7.
3. Chapter VII, Section 2.
4. Chapter VI, Section 1.

It was this appropriation of the surplus produce that created the great wealth of the Mughal governing class. Seldom, perhaps, in Indian history has the contrast been so great as in Mughal times, between "the rich in their great superfluity and the utter subjection and poverty of the common people."[5]

But there seems to have been a tendency, increasing in its effect with the passage of time, to raise the revenue demand to a still higher magnitude. This tendency derived from the very nature of the *jagirdari* system. The imperial administration, which could contemplate the long-term interests of the Empire and the ruling class, did, probably, strive to set a limit to the revenue demand. As we have seen in a previous Chapter, the suggestion that a great increase in revenue demand was sanctioned by it in the course of the 17th century is based on an oversimplified view of the evidence; and there are indications that the increase in the cash rates was roughly in the same proportion as the increase in the prices of agricultural produce.[6] But there was some contradiction between the interests of the imperial administration and the individual *jagirdar*. A *jagirdar*, whose assignment was liable to be transferred any moment and who never held the same *jagir* for more than three or four years at the most, could never follow a far-sighted policy of agricultural development.[7] On the other hand, his personal interests would sanction any act of oppression that conferred an immediate benefit upon him, even if it ruined the peasantry and so destroyed the revenue-paying capacity of that area for all time.

5. Pelsaert 60. Cf. Bernier, 230: "The country is ruined by the necessity of defraying the enormous charges required to maintain the splendour of a numerous court, and to pay a large army maintained for keeping the people in subjection. No adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of that people. The cudgel and the whip compel them to incessant labour for the benefit of others."

6. Chapter VI, Section 1.

7. One of the recommendations made by Mir Fathullah Shirazi was obviously inspired by the desire to offer some incentive to the *jagirdar* to improve the condition of his charge. It was laid down that if any assignee made his *iqta'* (*jagir*) populous (*ābād*) and increased its revenue, his rank was to be raised, so that by getting additional pay he might enjoy the fruits of his efforts. (*A.N.*, III, p. 459). Similarly, we find Aurangzeb recommending a promotion for Rao Karan on the ground that he had relinquished his *previous jagir* in a very improved condition. (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 36b-37a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 112-3). It is clear that if a *jagirdar* was not promoted, all his effort to improve his *jagir* would not bring him any gain.

Bernier describes the outlook of individual *jagirdars* in a well-known ssage:

"The Timariots (Bernier's term for the *jagirdars*),[8] Governors and evenue-contractors on their part reason in this maner: 'Why should e neglected state of this land create uneasiness in our minds? and hy should we expend our money and time to render it fruitful? We ay be deprived of it in a single moment, and our exertions would enefit neither ourselves nor our children. Let us draw from the soil l the money we can though the peasant should starve or abscond and e should leave it, when commanded to quit, a dreary wilderness."[9]

Bernier has discussed the matter at the greatest length, but he is receded by St. Xavier, Hawkins and Manrique, who make similar obserations.[10] Among Indian writers we have Bhimsen, who declares that wing to the constant and unpredictable transfers of *jagirs*, the agents f the *jagirdars* had given up the practice of helping the peasantry *ra'iyat-parwarī*) or making firm arrangements (*istiqlāl*). Moreover, e *'amils* of the *jagirdars* were not sure of their own tenures of employient and so "proceeding tyrannically" were unrelenting in the collection f revenue.[11] When the *jagirdar*, instead of appointing his own agents collect the revenue, farmed out the *jagir*, the evil was worse still. he land was being laid waste, says Sadiq Khan writing of Shahjahan's eign, through bribery and revenue-farming, as a result of which e peasantry was being robbed and plundered.[12]

These statements show that in the 17th century the belief had ecome deep-rooted that the system of *jagir* transfers led inexorably to reckless exploitation of the peasantry. It was a result which imperial

8. This is a harmless piece of Turkicism by Bernier. He explicitly identifies "ah-ghir" with "timar" on p. 224.

9. Bernier, 227.

10. Writing as early as 1609, Xavier noted that since the assignments were eld at the King's pleasure, "during the time that some one holds certain lands e squeezes out of them whatever he can and the poor labourers desert them nd run away", &c. (tr. Hosten, *JASB, N.S.*, XXIII, 1927, p. 121). See also Hawins, *Early Travels*, 114, & Manrique, II, p. 372.

11. *Dilkusha*, f. 139a.

12. S[illegible] Khan, Or. 174, f. 10b, Or. 1671, f. 6b. See also Khafi Khan, I, pp. 157-8. or the [illegible]ion of the *'amils* in his own day (1720s). Sometimes the agents of he *jag*[illegible] were no better than common robbers, who made depredations upon he co[illegible] around. Thus we find the *faujdar* of Baiswāra complaining of the awle[illegible] "the *jagir* of 'Azīz Khān, whose agent Maḥmūd commands an army f r[illegible]" (*Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. 24b; also ff. 11b-12b, 40b-41b). Cf. also [illegible] *Alamgiri*, f. 90b.

administration might check for some time but could not ultimately prevent. As the imperial regulations stood, they left a considerable field to the discretion of the *jagirdars*. They might or might not give remissions or advance loans or otherwise help the peasants to tide over unfavourable seasons. Or, they might insist on realising the revenue before the harvest was cut.[13] But there were also cases when the regulations were simply violated or evaded in practice. If the *jagirdars* of Gujarat, according to a *farman* of Aurangzeb, could demand more than the whole produce in revenue by the simple method of estimating the yield at two and a half times the actual yield,[14] imperial regulations must often have been followed on paper only. Similarly, it was acknowledged that Aurangzeb's order prohibiting the imposition of numerous taxes by the *jagirdars* was totally ineffective.[15]

Under these conditions, it must have been inevitable that the actual burden on the peasantry should become so heavy in some areas as to amount to depriving them of their means of survival. The collection of revenue of this magnitude from peasants, who had "no possessions or assets from which to pay",[16] could not be a refined process. When the "arrayatos" (*ra'iyat*, peasants) could not pay the revenue, says Manrique, they were "beaten unmercifully and maltreated".[17] Manuchy, who on this occasion assumes the view-point of the rulers, declares that "it is the peasants' habit to go on refusing payment, asserting that they have no money. The chastisements and instruments [of torture] are very severe. They are also made to endure hunger and thirst.... They feign death (as sometimes really happens)....But this trick secures them no compassion...."[18]

Frequently, therefore, the peasants were compelled to sell their women, children and cattle in order to meet the revenue demand.[19] But the enslavement was not generally so voluntary as even this. "Villages", we are told, "which owing to some shortage of produce, are unable to pay the full amount of the revenue-farm, are made prize, so to speak, by their masters and governors, and wives and children

13. Chapter VI, Section 6.
14. *Mirat*, I, p. 263.
15. Khafi Khan, II, pp. 88-89.
16. Manrique, II, p. 272.
17. Manrique, II, p. 272.
18. Manucci, II, 450-51.
19. Badauni, II, p. 189; Manucci, II, p. 451; *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*,

sold on the pretext of a charge of rebellion".[20] "They (the peasants) are carried off, attached to heavy iron chains, to various markets and fairs (to be sold), with their poor, unhappy wives behind them carrying their small children in their arms, all crying and lamenting their evil plight."[21]

Defaulting in the payment of revenue was not, however, the only cause for which such punishment was inflicted upon the peasants. It was the general law in the Mughal Empire that if any robbery occurred within the assignment or jurisdiction, respectively, of a *jagirdar* or a *faujdar*, he was obliged to either trace the culprits and recover the loot, or make the restitution himself.[22] This was, perhaps, not an unwelcome duty in that it offered the potentates an excuse to sack any village they chose to suspect. The men were killed in such cases, says Mundy, and "the rest, with women and children, are carried away and sold for Slaves".[23] A petition to the Court shows that a village which had been once guilty of violence, remained for ever onwards subject to constant depredations by *faujdars*, who carried away both the cattle and the peasants.[24] Abu-l Fazl says candidly that Akbar's orders prohibiting the seizure and sale of the women and children of combatants were issued because "many evil-hearted, avaricious men, either merely from ill-founded suspicion or only from a false imputation of disloyalty or because of sheer greed, make their way to the villages and *mahals* of the countrymen and put them to sack. On being questioned they offer a thousand excuses and attempt delay or evasion."[25]

20. Pelsaert, 47.
21. Manrique, II, p. 272. Cf. also Bernier 205.
22. See Chapter II, Section 1.
23. Mundy 73-4. He says the villages were in most cases unable to prevent the thieves from establishing themselves in their midst and adds that those affected by the *faujdars'* punitive epeditions were "sometymes...Innocent". These remarks are made in the course of a journey across the Doab. In Gujarat Sha'ista Khan is denounced in *Factories 1646-50*, p. 127, for "his unheerd of tiranie in depopulating whole townes (villages) of miserably pore people, under pretence of there harbouring theives and rogues (whilst those that are such may walke untoucht at noone day)."
24. *Durr-al 'Ulum*, f. 56a-b. This village, it is true, was situated in the disturbed area around the Lakhi Jungle and the peasants belonged to the 'refractory' caste of Dogars.
25. *A.N.*, II, pp. 159-60.

The *Siyaqnama*, 88, contains an interesting document concerning a woman enslaved in such raids. She had been seized by a *faujdar* from a village reported

There is almost a stream of statements in our authorities to the effect that the oppression increased with the passage of time, the cultivation fell off and the number of absconding peasants grew. St. J. Xavier declared that both in Gujarat and Kashmir the Mughal conquest had greatly increased the misery of the rural population: "The lands are much spoiled which at an earlier period were taken by the Mogores: for they destroy everything with their oppressions".[26] In the central regions of the Empire, the '*Karori* Experiment' is said to have brought about such oppression as to have 'dispersed' the peasants in various 'directions', with a consequent fall in the revenues.[27]

In Jahangir's reign the peasants were "so cruelly and pitilessly oppressed" that "the fields lie unsown and grow into wildernesses".[28] Thus, says another observer, "the poor labourers desert them (the lands) and run away which is the reason why they are poorly peopled".[29] And yet the historian of the next reign declares that "owing to natural calamities, the rebellions of seditious *zamindars* and the cruelty of ill-fated officials," vast lands became completely depopulated, and despite the efforts of the Emperor and his able ministers, "the land appeared more desolate than during the time of Jannat Makani (Jahangir)".[30] In Gujarat, a Dutch traveller noted in 1629 that "the peasants are more oppressed than formerly (and) frequently abscond", so that the revenues had fallen.[31] In 1634 an Indian writer exclaimed that Sehwan (Sind) had become the "land of the forsaken—of the cruel and the helpless —," through the oppression of the *jagirdars*.[31a]

to be in rebellion. She was accepted by a servant or trooper of his in lieu of his pay and then sold by him for Rs. 40.

26. This is said in respect of Gujarat in 1615 (letter tr. Hosten. *JASB*, N.S., XXIII, 1927, p. 125). When he visited Kashmir in 1597 he noted that "it is very much uncultivated and even depopulated from the time that this King (Akbar) took it and governs it through his captains, who tyrannise over it...and bleed the people by their extortions...And they say that before this King they were all sufficiently provided with food...Now everything is wanting, for there are no cultivators on account of the violence done them." (*Ibid*, 116).

Writing in 1634 the author of *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, p. 52, believed that Thatta (Sind) was happier under the Tarkhans than under the succeeding *jagirdars* appointed by the Mughals.

27. Badauni, II, p. 189.

28. Pelsaert 47.

29. St. Xavier's letter from Agra, 1609, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

30. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 10a-b, Or. 1671, f. 6b.

31. Geleynssen, tr. Moreland, *JIH*, IV, p. 78.

31a. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 173-4.

In the Dakhin the period preceding Aurangzeb's second viceroyalty saw desolation stalking the land and the peasants "scattered", owing to "the oppression and neglect of the provincial governors".[32]

What the conditions were during the early years of Aurangzeb's reign may be judged from Bernier's long discourse on the ills of the Mughal Empire. He too declares that "a considerable portion of the good land remains untilled from the want of labourers" many of whom "perish in consequence of the bad treatment they receive from the Governors", or are left no choice but to "abandon the country."[33]

Finally, writing in the early years of Muhammad Shah's reign—the twilight days of the Mughal Empire—Khafi Khan drew the following picture of the conditions of the peasantry and the decline in cultivation:

"It is clear to the wise and experienced that now, according to the ways of the time, thoughtfulness in managing the affairs of State, (and the practice of) protecting the peasantry and encouraging the prosperity of the country and increase in produce, have all departed. Revenue-collectors, who take the revenues on farm, having spent considerable amounts at the Court (to obtain it), proceed to the *mahals* and become a scourge for the revenue-paying peasantry.... Since they have no confidence that they will be confirmed in their office the next year, nay even for the whole of the current year, they seize both parts of the produce (the State's share as well as the peasants') and sell them away. It is a God-fearing man, indeed, who limits himself to this and does not sell away the bullocks and carts (of the peasants), on which tillage depends, or, not contenting himself with extorting the amount of his expenses at the Court, of his troopers and of the deficit on his pledge, does not sell away whatever remains with the peasantry, down to fruit-bearing trees and their proprietary and hereditary (rights in the) land... Many *parganas* and townships, which used to yield full revenue, have, owing to the oppression of the officials (*ḥukkām*), been so far ruined and devastated that they have become forests infested by tigers and lions; and the villages are so utterly ruined and desolate that there is no sign of habitation on the routes. Although from greed and the ways of these evil times, the country becomes devastated every day and peasants are crushed by the oppression and cruelty of ill-fated revenue-collectors, (while) the *jagirdars* have to bear the scourge [a rather spiritual one!] of the groans of the women and children of the oppressed

32. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 26b, 30b-31a, 34a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 69, 70, 84, 91.

33. Bernier, 205; also 226-27. As Moreland explains in his *Agrarian System*, 147*n*, the word 'labourers' in this translation stands for *laboureurs* in the original, which should be more accurately rendered as 'peasants'.

peasants, the cruelty, oppression and injustice of the officials, who have no thought of God, has reached such a degree that if one wishes to describe a hundredth part of it, it will still defy description".[34]

These statements in so far as they suggest a decline in cultivation cannot be tested by reference to the area statistics. It is true that the area figures of Aurangzeb's reign generally considerably exceed those of the *Ain*, but as has been explained in Chapter I, this only means that measurement was extended in the intervening period to land previously unsurveyed and does not necessarily imply an extension of cultivation. There are, to our knowledge, a few areas where land-reclamation appears to have taken place on a large scale in Mughal times, e.g. the eastern portions of deltaic Bengal and parts of the Tarai.[35] These, however, are unlikely to have constituted more than an insignificant part of the cultivated area of the whole Empire. Moreover the development of one tract might well have been accompanied by the desolation of another.

The *jama'dami* (assessed revenue) statistics, which are available to us in profusion for the whole of the 17th century, show a considerable increase. But this increase is almost entirely cancelled by the great rise in prices which took place in the same period, as shown by the accompanying tables. We have established in an earlier Chapter that there was no change in the burden of the land revenue in terms of produce. If, then, the *jama'dami* remained static, when adjusted to the rising price-level, one can only assume that there was no, or only a very insignificant, extension of cultivation. If further, there is any substance in the inference that the *jama'dami* tended to be artificially inflated,[36] the area under cultivation would indeed seem to have contracted.

34. Khafi Khan, I, pp. 157-8. Khafi Khan probably wrote this portion in or before 1720-21, although he completed his work in 1731. (See Storey, *Persian Literature—A Bio-bibliographical Survey*, Section 2, fasc. 3, p. 468 & *n*.).

In the passage translated here the text as printed is not free from defects and obscurities. For instance, the words "and peasants" are inserted after "greed" in the beginning of the last sentence. This is probably due to a misreading of the original; but not having consulted any MSS for this passage, I cannot suggest what the correct reading should be.

35. See Chapter I, Sec. 1. In Bengal the reclamation followed Sha'ista Khan's successful expedition against Arakan. In the Tarai the most extensive clearing made in the Mughal period seems to have been that of the *mahals* of Kant and Gola.

36. See Chapter VII, Section 1.

TABLES

I. RISE IN PRICES

(Ain's prices as base)

	Value of minted gold	Value of minted copper	Value of agricultural produce (normal harvests)	Price of Bayana Indigo
.	100	100	100	100*
	111	100 Gujarat		150
	119	95 to 105 Gujarat		
			64 to 70, or 78 to 86 Sugar: between Agra & Lahor	
	111			
	156	133 Agra		
				200
		161 Gujarat		
	138	160 Gujarat		
		149 Gujarat		
		133 Agra		
		138 Agra		
			164 Sugar: Lahor	281
	144			
2	156			
5	156			
			141 Sugar: Agra	263
			141 Sugar: Agra	
	156			
		179 Sind		200
	183			
		167		
	161 to 163	267 Dakhin		
	167	250 Gujarat		
		276 Dakhin		
	178	235 Gujarat		
		250 Gujarat		325
			285 Wheat: Agra	
		267 (?) Patna		
	167			
	133 & 122			
	153			
	138 & 144			
	138			
-93	156	200 Gujarat		
	147	222 Gujarat (?)		
	146			
			285 Wheat: Lahor	

*Ain's maximum price of Rs. 16 has been accepted as the base.

Note. This table is based on Chapter II, Section 3, and Appendix C.

II. INCREASE IN JAMA'DAMI

(*Ain's* figures as base)

Year	Empire, exc. Dakhin provs.	Bengal	Orissa	Bihar	Awadh	Ilahabad	Agra & Dehli	Malawa	Gujarat	Ajmer	Lahor	Multan & Thatta	Kashmir
1595-96	100*	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1605	110	70		114	115	145	122	107	107	107	120	95	
pre-1627	119	83		136	116	146	129	115	115	145	155	148	
1628-36	123	92	118	132	130	144	124	107	107	107	120	†	
1633-38	142	100	100	168	130	172	146	82	105	186	159	126	193
1646-47	162	116	118	174	150	191	165	121	120	207	164	133	242
c. 1656	168	107	74	236	182	251	254	198	197	224	198	158	184
1667	145	122	116	314	160	208	193	102	102	220	165	119	344
1687-1709	169‡	122	84	177	161	217	205	104	104	225	163	106	371

* This represents the total for the various provinces (excluding the Dakhin provinces) and not the amount given in the *Ain* for the Empire.

† Figure not used owing to obvious error of transcription in the MS.

‡ So in two of the four statistical tables of this period. In two others, of 1687-c. 91 and 1687-c. 95, the figures, as adjusted to the *Ain*, stand at 181 and 167 respectively.

Note. This table is based on Appendix D.

The main fact that is attested to, as we have just seen, by a series of contemporary authorities, is that the flight of the peasants from their land was a common phenomenon and that it was apparently growing in momentum with the passage of years. We have argued earlier that, with vast areas still unploughed, peasant migrations were probably a general feature of the agrarian life of our period.[37] Famines, as a rule, initiated wholesale movements of population.[38] But it was the man-made system, which more than any other factor, lay at the root of the peasant's 'mobility'. Flight alone might save him if the revenue

37. See Chapter IV, Section 1.
38. See Chapter III, Section 2.

arrears became impossible to pay.[39] He might even be able, when settling down at a new place, to obtain some concessions for bringing virgin land under the plough.[40] It is obviously to prevent such cases that some official documents specially stipulate that peasants to be settled on land not yet under cultivation should be *ghair-jamaʿī*, i.e. they should not previously have been paying revenue anywhere else.[41] Some peasants abandoned agriculture altogether. Bernier says, for example, that some left "the country" to "seek a more tolerable mode of existence either in the towns or in the camps; as bearers of burdens, carriers of water, or servants to horsemen".[42] The urban population was very large, relatively speaking, in Mughal times and the countryside must have been the source of the innumerable 'peons', unskilled labourers and slaves who filled the towns.[43]

Nevertheless as Manuchy says, in the context of Southern India, the same oppression reigned everywhere, and the lot of the aimless migrant was not a happy one.[44] Beyond a point there was no choice left to the peasant but that between starvation or slavery and armed resistance.[45]

39. In 1623 certain villagers were suspected of having pilfered the wreckage of an English ship near Navsari. The English found that the *karori* of Navsari was hesitant to take action against them because they owed him money and if pressed "would probably run away." (*Factories 1622-23*, pp. 253-4). Official orders leave no doubt in one's mind as to the large number of peasants who absconded to escape the payment of revenue arrears or the *taqavi* loans. (Cf. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 123b; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 194b-195a, Bodl. 145a-b; *Mirat*, I, pp. 290-91).

40. See Chapter VI, Sec. 8.

41 *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 103b-104a, 187a-188a, Bodl. ff. 79a-b, 148b-149a.

42. Bernier 205.

43. See Chapter II, Section 2, for the size of the towns.

44. Manucci, III, pp. 47, 51.

45. Among 18th century writers Shāh Walīullāh of Dehli seems to have been greatly impressed by the connexion between growth of oppression and popular revolts. He thought that the "ruin of countries (or towns)" in his age was due, first, to the strain on the Treasury from maintaining a large class of idlers. "The second cause", he says, "is the imposition of heavy taxes on the peasants, merchants and artisans, and, then, the oppression inflicted upon them, as a result of which the submissive ones flee and are destroyed and those who have got the power rise in rebellion. Surely, the peace of the country (or town) can only be obtained through reduced taxation." (*Ḥujjatullāh il-Bāligha*, Arabic text with Urdu tr. of Abu Muhammad Abdu-l Haq Haqqani in parallel columns, Karachi, Vol. I, p. 94). At another place in the same work he describes the luxurious mode of living at Persian and Byzantine courts and then adds that the same thing could be seen among "the rulers of countries" of his time. Such luxury could subsist only on

3. Armed Resistance by the Peasantry

It may be superfluous to say that by inclination the mass of the people were anything but war-like. It is recorded as a peculiarity of Malawa that both the peasants and artisans of the province used to carry arms.[1] Pelsaert (c. 1626) observed particularly that despite so much misery and want "the people endure patiently, professing that they do not deserve anything better".[2]

Nevertheless, there had to be a limit to endurance. The classic act of defiance on the part of the peasants was the refusal to pay the land-revenue. But a particular act of oppression committed against them might also goad them into rebellion.[3] They are also frequently alleged to have taken to robbery; but, on some occasions, at least, they merely robbed Peter in order to pay Paul.[4]

reckless oppression: "To obtain so much wealth it is necessary that the peasants, merchants and artisans be more heavily taxed and be severely treated; and if they do not pay, they are massacred and harmed in various ways; and if they remain obedient, they are kept as asses and bullocks that are used for drawing water, ploughing and harvesting." (*Ibid*, I, p. 225).

That even a theological writer, like Shah Waliullah, should have assumed the causal sequence of oppression and rebellion, when viewing the fall of the Mughal Empire, shows, perhaps, how widely this belief was held. It certainly provides no justification for proclaiming Shah Waliullah himself "a clear-headed political thinker", whose "writings could quicken democratic urges in the east" and who raised his voice "in support of the workers, the artisans and the peasants" (K. A. Nizmi in *A History of the Freedom Movement* (Pakistan), I, pp. 512-41). What he said on this matter had been said with greater factual detail, some fifty years before him, by Bhimsen in his passage on the rise of the Marathas (quoted in Section 5 of the present Chapter). It should not, moreover, be forgotten that Shah Waliullah's sympathies were extremely limited. He was quite ready to imitate the Sassanids and the Byzantines in their treatment of peasants and labourers, if these happened to be non-Muslims. In an ideal Islamic order, he declares, the Imām "would put the ignoble Infidels to the task of harvesting the crops, threshing the grain and working at (different) crafts in a submissive and humble condition, like animals that are used for work in the fields and for bearing burdens." (*Ḥujjatullāh il-Bāligha*, I, p. 257).

1. *Ain*, I, 455; *T.J.* 172. The *Ain* has 'grain-merchant' instead of 'artisan'.
2. Pelsaert 60.
3. Manucci, II, p. 451.
4. Ra'd-andaz Khan, the *faujdar* of Baiswara, complains that in a *pargana* the villages of the peaceful peasants had been laid waste by "seditious highwaymen" who had started cultivating their lands. Whenever he expelled them they were able to return owing to the avarice of the agents of the *jagirdars*, who apparently found their presence profitable to themselves. (*Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. 38a-b).

Villages and areas, which thus went into rebellion or refused t pay taxes, were known as *mawās* and *zor-ṭalab*, as opposed to th revenue-paying villages, called *ra'iyatī*.[5] Usually, the villages, whic were protected in some measure by ravines or forests or hills, wer more likely to defy the authorities than those in the open plains Mundy, while saying that "of theis kinde of broyles [between the authc rities and the peasants] there is perpetuallie in one part or other India", adds that "most commonly the Gawares (*ganwārs*, villager. goe to the worst though they may bee able to stand out a while" As may be imagined a terrible fate awaited the villagers when defeatec

5. The word *mawās* is not found in the dictionaries, but its sense is cle enough in our authorities. For instance, a specimen letter from a revenue-collect to his *jagirdar* reads: "We reached the *pargana* of —. Some of the *chaudhu* and *qanungos* and the peasants from the *ra'iyatī* villages have come, but thc who are attached to (or, border upon) the *mawās* have not shown any inclinati (to do so)...Sir! This *pargana* is rebellious (*zor-ṭalab*): one part, *ra'iyatī*, thr parts *mawās*. For keeping the peasants and rebels in order (and) collecting t full revenue, one needs a contingent, &c." (Hadiqi, f. 15a-b). See also *Akhbar* A 233, where it is recorded that a certain *pargana* "is very *mawās* and *zor-ṭala*" so that the draft of certain troops from the contingent stationed there was cancelle In both these passages *mawās* is used synonymously with *zor-ṭalab*, in the sen of 'rebellious territory'. So in *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, f. 128b, the plural in the neut gender, *mawās-hā*, rebellious areas. But *mawās* also seems to have meant simp a rebel. Thus 'Abbas Khan, f. 107, speaks of the peasantry of *Sarkār* Sambhal being "seditious and *mawās*". Similarly, Badauni, II, p. 219, speaks of "*mawās* (plural, in human gender, of *mawās*) and rebels", "who never pay the revenu Mundy, 90, also uses this term in respect of "a little towne ... whoe were Manas or Rebells". It seems almost certain that he meant to write, if he has not actua written, "Mavasse" instead of "Manasse" (with which his editor's identification the Mona Rajputs is a wild guess).

Mawas deserves this long note, especially because its meaning has been matter of speculation among readers of Amir Khusrau and Barani. Prof. Shera in *Oriental College Magazine*, XII, No. 2 (Feb. 1936), pp. 37-8, quoting both these authors, states that *mawās* was a Hindi word and meant "a place of refu and defence"; and he equates it with a small fort or *gaṛhī*. He cites no author for this definition, and the use of the word in the two passages quoted by h is quite consistent with the meaning worked out above.

For *ra'iyatī* in the sense of obedient or revenue-paying, see Hadiqi, *op. c* and *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, Aligarh MS., f. 65a-b, where it is contrasted with *zo ṭalab*.

6. "In many parts of the plains thorny jungle grows, behind the good defer of which the people of the *parganas* become stubbornly rebellious and do n pay the revenue (*māl*)." (*Baburnama*, tr. Beveridge, II, p. 487; I.O.3714, f. 378l

7. Mundy 172-3.

"Everyone is killed that is met with and their wives, sons and daughters and cattle are carried off".[8]

Very often these acts of defiance by the peasants must have been mere isolated incidents. The intensity of distress probably varied from village to village, according to the burden of the revenue-demand imposed upon each. Therefore, it was possible that while the peasants of one village rose and were slaughtered, their neighbours remained unconcerned. However, there were two social forces working among the peasantry, which helped to extend the scale of such peasant uprisings.

In the first place, there was the larger community of caste. That the ties of caste have played an important rôle in rousing peasants to act collectively in the defence of their interests, has been well stressed by one of the most distinguished leaders of the peasant movement of modern India.[9] Caste must naturally have occupied a still more important place in the life of the peasant three hundred years ago. It brought him into contact with his peers in the most distant villages, through a thousand ties of blood and rites. If they took to arms, he could not stand aloof. In the Jāṭ revolt we have, perhaps, the clearest instance of how an essentially peasant rebellion proceeded along caste lines. The same influence is visible also in the 'lawless' activities of such seditious castes as the Mewātīs and the Wattūs and Dogars.

But many peasants in our period were finding a new basis for a community that was not complementary, but essentially opposed, to caste-divisions. This was being created by the sects formed as part of the great religious movement that had begun in the latter part of the 15th century. The leading ideas of most of these sects were

8. Manucci, II, p. 451. Abu-l Fazl, while requiring the *faujdar* to take action against "the peasant, or revenue-collector of the *Khalisa* or (of) a *jagirdar*, who shows rebelliousness", makes no reference to the fate of the combatants or their families. He merely says that everything found in the village should be treated as booty, a fifth thereof being reserved for the *Khalisa*. If there were any revenue-arrears standing against the village, these were to be secured first from the booty (*Ain*, I, p. 283). In an order issued in June 1671, Aurangzeb apparently seeks to modify the sternness of punishment customarily meted out to "groups of rebels". All rebels captured or wounded were to be slain, if the enemy had not yet taken to flight. But when the rebel host had been dispersed, the prisoners were to be spared, and if they showed 'repentence', the spoils were to be returned to them (*Mirat*, I, p. 280). One may well doubt if these instructions were ever followed.

9. E. M. S. Namboodripad, *The National Question in Kerala*, Bombay, 1952, pp. 102-3.

identical: an uncompromising monotheism, the abandonment of ritualistic forms of worship, the denial of all caste-barriers and of communal differences. As important perhaps, as the content of their ideas was, the mode of their preaching. For this was entirely directed towards the masses: The new teaching was clothed in vernacular dialects, and the prophets, the preachers and the followers belonged mostly to the lower classes. Kabīr (c. 1500), the great prophet of the Bairagis, was a weaver;[10] Dādū (a contemporary of Akbar), the teacher of the Dādūpanthīs, a village cotton-carder;[11] Ḥarīdās (died 1645), teacher of the Niranjīs, a Jāṭ slave;[12] and Guru Nānak, a grain merchant.[13] None of these teachers, least of all Kabir and Nanak, preached any other code of conduct than that of humility and resignation; they certainly did not preach militancy or physical struggle. Most of the devotional sects did not, perhaps, ever assume the form of social movements. But when radical ideas, such as the contempt for caste and the sense of unity under a new and convincing faith, established themselves in the minds and hearts of the masses, the sects could not always remain confined within their old mystic shell. In the event, they provided the inspiration for two of the most powerful revolts against the Mughals, viz., those of the Satnāmīs and the Sikhs.

But while the ties of castes and religious communities helped to enlarge the scale of peasant uprisings, they also tended to cloud or obscure their class nature. Nevertheless the real transformation was brought about by the intervention of elements from the *zamindar* class that had their own objects in opposing the Mughal ruling class. The fact that either the peasant rebellions, at some stage of their development, passed under the leadership of *zamindars* (or their own leaders became *zamindars*), or, from the very beginning, the desperation of the peasants provided recruits for rebelling *zamindars*, seems to have been of decisive significance in merging the risings of the oppressed with the war between two oppressing classes.

10. *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, p. 246.

11. *Ibid*, 267-8.

12. *Ibid*, 267.

13. *Ibid*, 274.

4. The Political Role of the Zamindars

In Chapter V, we found that the word *zamindar* had a very w connotation and could apply both to the ruler of a large kingdom to a person who had only some rights to a portion of a village. Nev theless, in general, it would be correct to speak of the *zamindars* a distinct class of potentates who had many features in common. one thing, their rights did not originate from imperial grants—thou there were some exceptions to this; secondly, command over arm retainers was usually a necessary complement of their right, and tl were frequently leaders of caste-groups. The main point of conf between the imperial authorities and the *zamindars* was the size the latter's share in the land revenue or in the surplus produce. the imperial territories the *zamindars* were treated almost as m tax-gatherers, on behalf of the State and the assignees, and a sh was allowed to them as compensation for their work. Their ex tions from the peasants were restricted not only by formal regulatio but really much more by the fact that the high pitch of the rever demand would have left little with the peasants to be taken by any else. In such a situation it would become difficult for the *zaminc* to collect the revenue and pass it on to the authorities without harmi his own interests. A similar dilemma faced the autonomous chie They too had to pay revenue or tribute or both. Nor were their at any time free from the threat of annexation to the Empire.[1] E at the same time, since the *zamindars*, whether as tax-gatherers or chiefs, usually had armed force at their disposal, they could not as easily dealt with by the administration as it would have wished, a they were always a thorn in its side.

Thus the statements of official chroniclers frequently reflect an at tude of hostility towards the *zamindars* as a class. Abu-l Fazl declar that "the cu[illegible] of [illegible]st of the *zamindars* of Hindustan is that leavi the path of [illegible]dness they look to every side and whoever a pears more [illegible] and tumult-raising, they join him."[2] Elsewhe he remarks that Rāja Bhārāmal "out of wisdom and good fortune, aspir to leave the ranks of *zamindars* and become one of the select of t Court", as if the two positions were mutually incompatible.[3] The co

1. Within four years of Aurangzeb's accession, for instance, three large sta were annexed: Kuch Bihar (1661), Palamau (1661) and Navanagar (1663).
2. *A.N.*, II, p. 63.
3. *Ibid*, 156.

historian of Aurangzeb follows Abu-l Fazl in using the word *'zamindārāna'* in the sense of opportunism or disloyalty.[4]

In documents written from the official point of view, it is assumed as a matter of course that the main danger to law and order came from the *zamindars,* who refused to pay the revenue and had to be cowed down or destroyed by force either by the *faujdar* or the *jagirdar.*[5] The erection of a fort by any *zamindar* immediately aroused the suspicions of the authorities and could apparently be a sufficient justification for punitive action against him.[6] The letters of Ra'd-andaz Khan, the *faujdar* of Baiswara (?-1702), are particularly revealing in this respect, and they show this official as constantly leading or sending expeditions in an area in the plains quite close to the heart of the Empire against *zamindars* whose principal fault is usually stated to be refusal to pay the revenue, though this is almost invariably coupled with the allegation that they were engaging in robbery and plunder.[7] It is possible that the appointment of *zamindars* by grant from the Court, a practice which comes into particular prominence during Aurangzeb's reign, was largely motivated by the desire to establish new local interests, in order to counterbalance the power of the old *zamindars.*[8]

We can, perhaps, ourselves generalise from this evidence and infer that the struggle between the imperial administration and the *zamindars,* breaking out frequently into armed conflict, was an important feature of the political situation of the time. We have, however, a direct statement to this effect from Manuchy, who wrote in or about 1700: "Usually the viceroys and governors are in a constant state of quarrel with the Hindu princes and *zamindars*—with some because they wish to seize their lands; with others, to force them to pay more revenue than is customary."[9] He adds elsewhere that "usually there is some rebelli[illegible]f th[illegible]jahs and *zamindars* going on in the Moghul kingdom."[10]

4. Rāja Karan Bhūrtiya of Bikaner, we are told, did not present himself at Aurangzeb's court because of "evil intentions and *zamīndārāna* considerations". (*'Alamgirnama,* p. 571). For Abu-l Fazl's use of the term, see *A.N.,* II, p. 63.

5. *Hidayat-al Qawa'id,* f. 7a-b (duties of a *faujdar*); *Bayaẓ-i Īzad Bakhsh "Rasā"* (?), I.O.4014, f. 2a-b (the exploit of a *jagirdar* in a semi-humorous petition to God).

6. *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri,* f. 205a-b; *Insha-i Roshan Kalam,* f. 6b. The forts were known in Hindi as *gaṛhīs.* (Cf. *Durr-al 'Ulum,* f. 73b, for the use of this term).

7. *Insha-i Roshan Kalam,* ff. 2a-4a, 6a-b.

8. See Chapter V. Sec. 3.

9. Manucci, II, pp. 431-2.

10. *Ibid,* 462.

It was, probably, more than anything else, their position in this unequal contest with the imperial power that compelled the *zamindars* to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards their peasants whose support would have been indispensable to them during defence as well as in flight. Moreover, being local men, closely acquainted with the conditions and customs of the peasants, they were probably able generally to make more flexible arrangements with the peasants under their control than could the officials of the *Khalisa* or the assignees, who were unfamiliar with local practices and were interested only in an immediate increase in assessment.

It was, therefore, not Bernier alone, who noted that the peasants found "less oppression and allowed a greater degree of comfort" in "the territories of a Raja."[11] This is clearly recognised even by the official historian of Aurangzeb, who says that "the *zamindars* of the country of Hindustan, for considerations of policy—for winning the hearts of, and conciliating, the peasants, in order that they may not cease to obey or pay revenue to them—conduct themselves gently in exacting the revenue in the *mahals* of their *zamindari*, and do not apply the regulations and laws followed in the imperial dominions."[12]

It came about, therefore, that the *zamindars* frequently attracted to their lands peasants absconding from areas directly under imperial administration. This was noted in general terms by Pelsaert and Bernier,[13] but a manual written in 1714 is even more explicit. The *mansabdars*, presumably holding *jagirs*, "throw the burden (lit. hand) (of their extortions) upon the peasants, and the peasants are without help. When the peasants become desperate for their lives, they abscond from the *ra'iyati* country and, making their way to the country of rebellious *zamindars*, settle there. The country of the rebellious *zamindars* thus becomes well populated and the rebels gain in power every day."[14]

11. Bernier 205.
12. *'Alamgirnama*, p. 781. Cf. also *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, ff. 47b-48a.
13. Pelsaert 47; Bernier 205.
14. *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, Aligarh MS., f. 56a-b. The author attributes the increasing oppression of the peasantry by the *mansabdars* to the fact that the latter did not hold high *mansabs* and, therefore, could not afford to maintain contingents large enough to deal with the seditious elements. They accordingly stood in need of money and since they could not take anything from the powerful *zamindars*, their hand fell heavily upon the peasants.

The word *ra'iyati* in this passage can signify either peasant-held country directly under imperial administration or, simply, revenue-paying country.

These general statements are illustrated by certain specific instances from the 17th century. For example, when under A'ẓam Khān, Governor of Gujarat (1632-42), the peasants suffered great oppression, "most of them fled and took refuge with the *zamindars* in distant places."[15] A'zam Khan thereupon led an expedition against Navanagar to compel its '*zamindar*' to expel the peasants who had fled to his territory, so that they might return to their old homes.[16] In Malawa a similar campaign was organised against the *zamindar* (or rather his guardian) of Kanwar, not only because he did not "pay the revenue in the proper way", but also because "the peasants of some of the *mahals* of the *jagir* of the Governor, who had fled to the territory of Kanwar, evaded paying the revenue as well, being backed in this by those infidels."[17] In the reign of Aurangzeb we come across a complaint by the *faujdar* of Talkokan to the effect that, first, a large number of the peasants had fled to the territories of the *zamindars*; and, then, when he had brought them back by force and settled 600 villages with them, the Portuguese of Salsette enticed them away.[18]

The peasants and the *zamindars* thus frequently became associated in the struggle against Mughal authorities. The case of Kuch Bihar may not be typical, but it is significant. When the kingdom was annexed in 1661, the Mughal officials introduced there the methods of "revenue assessment and collection, according to the regulations followed in the *mahals* of the imperial territories." This caused a general revulsion against the conquerors among the peasants, who were treated with much greater leniency by their deposed *raja*, Bīm Narāyan, in the general manner, we are told, of the *zamindars*. The peasants, therefore, rose and expelled the Mughal troops and officials.[19] In the same way, where the Mughal authorities took forcible steps to obtain the

A similar statement is made in the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* (20-21). When the revenue demand imposed upon the *arbābs* (officials corresponding to *chaudhuris* in Sind, who were mostly *zamindars*) became excessively heavy, they rebelled. In such cases the peasants always followed them and absconded from their lands, because if they stayed on upon their lands, they had to meet the high revenue demand imposed by the authorities, while the *arbabs* would come and slay them. Our work adds that the peasants followed the *arbabs* also because they belonged to the same places.

15. *Mirat*, I, p. 216.
16. Lahori, II, p. 232; *Mirat*, I, p. 214.
17. Lahori, II, p. 370.
18. *Karnama*, ff. 243b-244a.
19. '*Alamgirnama*, pp. 781-2; *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*, ff. 47b-48a.

return of fugitive peasants from the lands of the *zamindars*, the resı in many cases could have been only to direct peasant migration towar those who were able to defy them, i.e., towards "the rajas who in rebellion," as Pelsaert says.[20]

These peasants would not only add to the resources of the *zami dars* by engaging in cultivation, but could also provide recruits i their armed bands. Such primitive troops were probably helpl against the professional cavalrymen of the Mughal armies. But te rain and numbers still counted, as the Marathas were to show so stri ingly. The new feature that comes to the fore in the reign of Auran zeb is, indeed, that the *zamindars'* struggle against the Mughals is longer merely defensive. As the number of starving, homeless pe sants grew and the peasants took to arms themselves, it became po sible for the *zamindars* to organise them into large bands, and ev armies, and employ them in predatory warfare with the object extending their own *zamindaris* or areas of dominance.

In the next Section we shall study in some detail the extent peasant elements in the great revolts against Mughal power. As v will see, the *zamindars'* leadership was not established over all tl peasant risings; nor is there any reason to believe that all rebellio actions by *zamindars* were supported by the peasants. But the fa remains that the most successful revolts, e.g. those of the Marath and the Jats, were led by men, who were, or aspired to be, *zamindar* And this fact assumes supreme importance, when we consider tl historical results of these revolts.

5. Agrarian Aspects of the Revolts against Mughal Empire

Various explanations are put forward for the revolts whic brought about the collapse of the Mughal Empire. The study offere in this Section lays no claim to being comprehensive or to havin covered all aspects of the revolts. It is not intended to argue again theories that consider either 'Hindu Reaction' or 'National Re-awaken ing' as the main motive force behind the opposition to Aurangzeb. does need stressing, however, that the partisans of these theories rel more on present sentiment than on contemporary evidence. For th rest, the reader may judge their case as presented in their own wri ings. Here our main concern is with what our 17th and early 18t

20. Pelsaert, p. 47.

century authorities have to say. And it will be seen that they, at any rate, put the greatest store by the economic and administrative causes of the upheaval and know little of religious reaction or national consciousness.

I. *Revolts in the Agra Region, and the Jats*:

Speaking of the province of Agra, Abu-l Fazl observes that "owing to the peculiarity of its climate the peasant masess (*'umūm-i ri'āyā*) of that territory are notorious throughout the vast country of Hindustan for rebelliousness, bravery and courage."[1] The area on both sides of the Jamuna figures constantly as the scene of military operations against rebellious peasantry. Akbar once personally led an attack on a village;[2] and we read of a *raja* in a *pargana* close to Agra, who used to engage in robbery and defended himself, when attacked, with the assistance of *ganwārs* or peasants.[3] During the next reign it was reported to the Court that "the *ganwars* and cultivators" on the eastern side of the Jamuna, near Mathura, "do not cease to commit highway robbery and, protected by dense jungle and fastnesses, live in rebellion, have no fear of any one and do not pay the revenue to the *jagirdars*." An expedition was despatched against them, as a result of which, "numbers of them were killed, their women and children taken captive and a great booty acquired by the victorious troops."[4] This happened in the 18th regnal year of Jahangir, and yet twelve years later (1634) a campaign on a far more elaborate scale had to be organised against "the malefactors" on both sides of the Jamuna, who used to commit robberies on the Agra-Dehli route. "Ten thousand of those human-looking beasts" were slaughtered, and their women and children and cattle—"beyond computation"—were seized[5] In the 18th year of Shahjahan the 'rebels' near Mathura were apparently still out of control.[6] When Sa'dullah Khan died in 1656 "the gamors of severall his townes

1. *A.N.*, III, p. 231.

2. *Ibid*, II, p. 163. The village lay in the *pargana* of Saketa (*sarkar* of Qanauj) and the attack was made in the 7th year of the reign. Cf. also Manucci, I, pp. 132-4.

3. Badauni, II, pp. 151-2. The name of the *pargana* is given as Jalesa, probably a mistake for Jalesar.

4. *T.J.*, 375-6.

5. Qazwini, Add. 20734, pp. 679-80; Or. 173, ff. 237b, 239; Lahori, I, ii, pp. 71-2, 76. The latter adds that 12,000 troops were deployed against the rebels, 7,000 to the east and 5,000 to the west of the Jamuna.

6. Lahori, II, p. 425.

[i.e. villages in his *jagirs*] neare Agra rose in armes. But....they were suddainely surprized by Abdall Nubby, his fouzdarr, their townes sacked and such as escaped not by flight, either slaine or imprisoned."[7]

(Such had been the past history of the area which was to be the cradle of the Jāṭ revolt in the time of Aurangzeb.) It will be noticed that in the accounts of the earlier revolts, the revolting peasants are not identified with Jāṭs. The usual term for them is *ganwār*, or villager, and in one or two cases, at least, they were probably led by Rajput *zamindars*.[8] Nevertheless Manuchy, who treats of their revolts in some detail, knows the Jat rebels of Aurangzeb's reign also as simply 'peasants' and assumes them to be the partisans of the same cause as of those whom Akbar had oppressed.[9] The Jats are, *par excellence*, "a peasant caste";[10] they inhabited villages between Dehli and Agra[11] and are also entered as *zamindars*, under many *mahals* in the Doab and the trans-Jamuna plains, in the *Ain*. It is therefore, not unlikely that they had already participated in many of the previous conflicts with the authorities.

The Jat rebellion, properly speaking, dates from the time when Gokulā Jāṭ, the *zamindar* of Talpat near Mathura, "assembled a large army of Jats and other villagers and raised a rebellion."[12] He was killed in 1669;[13] but the leadership passed to Rāja Rām Jāṭ and then to his nephew Chaurāman Jāṭ, who is said to have been the son of a *zamindar* of eleven villages.[14] Over wide areas the peasants refused to pay revenue and took to arms. We thus learn from the grant of a

7. *Factories 1655-60*, p. 65.

8. Thus the villagers against whom Akbar personally led an expedition are described as Rajputs in Manucci, I, p. 132, who has here very probably drawn upon local tradition. This is very probable also, since the Chauhans are entered as the *zamindars* of the *pargana* (Saketa) in the *Ain*, I, 446. Similarly in Jalesar, where the rebellion was organised by a *raja*, the Guhilots, Sūraj (bansīs) and Bankras are shown as *zamindars*. (*Ibid*, 443).

9. Manucci, I, 134: He says the 'villagers' took their revenge upon Akbar when they desecrated his tomb in 1691 (*recte* 1688).

10. *Tashrih-al Aqwam*, f. 155a; Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896, III, p. 40.

11. "The culltivators of villages between Dehli and Akbarabad (Agra) were of the Jat caste." (Shah Waliullah, *Siyasi Maktubat*, p. 48).

12. Isardas, f. 53a.

13. *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, pp. 93-94.

14. Saiyid Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *'Imādu-s Sa'ādat*, Naval Kishor ed., 1897, pp. 54-55.

zamindari near Mathura that the 25 villages covered by it were all inhabited by "evil-mannered rebels", and the grantee was required to expel them and settle new 'revenue-paying' peasants.[15] In 1681 Multafat Khān, the *faujdar* of the district around Agra, was killed when leading an attack on a village whose peasants had refused to pay the revenue.[16] And later in the same decade we hear a *jagirdar* complaining that for three years he could not obtain anything from his *jagirs* near Agra "owing to the rebellion."[17]

The leadership in the Jat rebellion seems to have been largely in the hands of *zamindars*.[18] Thus seizure of *zamindari* from others was for its leaders, apparently, one of the leading objectives of the rebellion. It was said in mid-18th century, when Jat power was at its height, that "the lands that the Jats have brought into their possession are not their own, but have been usurped from others. The (rightful) proprietors (*mālikān*) of those villages are still to be found." So that if a just king gave the old proprietors some assistance, they could be incited to fight against the Jats.[19] One of the net results of the Jat rebellion was certainly a great extension of Jat *zamindari*, particularly in the middle Doab. This can be seen from a comparison of the areas, for which Jats were entered as the *zamindar* caste in the *Ain*, with the areas held by Jat *zamindars* in pre-Mutiny days (1844).[20]

The Jat revolt was a huge plundering movement. This was, perhaps, inevitable under the narrow caste-horizons of the peasants and the plundering instincts of their *zamindar*-leaders. The area devas-

15. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, ff. 199a-200a, Bodl., ff. 157b-158a, Ed. p. 152. The grant was made on the recommendation of Ḥasan 'Ali Khān, the *faujdar* of Mathura, who had been responsible for the defeat and capture of Gokula.

16. Manucci, II, pp. 223-4; *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, p. 209.

17. *Riyaz-al Wadad*, f. 16b. The letter seems to have been written immediately after the campaign against 'Bijapur and Haidarabad'.

18. As stated above, Gokula was a *zamindar*, and Chauraman, the son of a *zamindar*. Of Sūrajmal, Chauraman's grandson, under whom the Jat power reached its zenith, it was said that "although he spoke the Braj dialect and wore the dress of a *zamindar*, he possessed an intelligence that made him a Sage among his people" (*'Imadu-s Sa'adat*, p. 55).

19. Shah Waliullah, *Siyasi Maktubat*, 50-51.

20. See Elliot's Maps in *Memoirs, &c.*, ii, p. 203. It will be noticed that the extension is very marked in Middle Doab, but not in Upper Doab, where, if anything, the area under Jat zamindari has contracted. The obvious reason for this is that the Jat Rebellion was really a rebellion of the Jats of the Braj country and never affected the Upper Doab.

tated grew from the one *pargana* of Sa'dabad, plundered by Gokula,[21] and the *parganas* around Agra, sacked by Raja Ram,[22] to its highest extent under Chauraman, when "all the *parganas* under Agra and Dehli had been sacked and plundered and, from the tumult of that perdition-seeker, the routes and ways were blocked."[23]

So far as we know, the Jat rebels (in spite of Haridas) had no connexion with any particular religious movement. In the Satnāmī and Sikh rebellions, on the other hand, religion almost entirely replaced caste as the cementing bond among rebel ranks.

II. *The Satnāmīs*:

The Satnāmīs were a sect of the Bairāgīs. The traditional date of the foundation of this sect by a native of Narnaul is 1657. The Satnami beliefs, as stated in the sect's scripture, centred round an unalloyed monotheism. Ritual and superstition were alike condemned. There was also a definite social aspect of the message. Caste distinctions within the community of believers were forbidden; so also living on the charity of others. An attitude of sympathy with the poor and hostility towards authority and wealth is apparent from such commandments as the following: "Do not harass the poor....Shun the company of an unjust king and a wealthy and dishonest man; do not accept a gift from these or from kings."[24]

21. *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, 93.

22. Isardas, ff. 98b, 131b.

23. *Ibid.*, f. 135b. A concerted campaign in 1690-91 (cf. *ibid.*, 136a-137b) broke Chauraman's power and for the remaining part of Aurangzeb's reign, the rebellion smouldered on without any large-scale outbreak. It flared up again after Aurangzeb's death under Chauraman himself, and a Jat Kingdom was ultimately established, with its capital at Bharatpur; this reached its greatest extent under Surajmal (1756-63).

24. This entire passage is based on the MS of the scripture, *Satnām Sahāī* (*"Pothī Giyān Bānī Sādh Satnāmī"*), in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London (Hind. 1). The language is Braj Bhasha. The text is given in the Nagari as well as Arabic script. In the latter, an introductory portion in verse (running up to f. 34b) is added.

The quotation is from f. 44b (cf. also f. 38a).

In the beginning of the introductory portion, f. 1a, the native place of the founder is said to be Bijhasar in the country of Narnaul. Narnaul is situated in the Mahendragarh District of East Punjab. In the colophon in Persian at the end of the text of the scripture in Arabic characters, the date of the foundation of the sect is given as Baisākh, 1714 Samvat. This I have accepted the more readily since the prohibition of tobacco smoking (f. 39b) practically precludes an

Such a religion could best appeal to the lower classes. The following .iption of its followers is from the pen of a contemporary historian:

"There is a group of Hindu mendicants, known as Satnamis, who also called Mundiyas.[25] They consist of some four or five thou- house-holders in the *pargana* of Narnaul and Mewat. Although Mundiyas dress like mendicants, yet their livelihood and profes- is usually agriculture and trade in the manner of grain-merchants small capital.[26] Living according to the ways of their own com- ity they aspire to reach the status of a good name (*nek-nām*), :h is the meaning of the word *satnām*. But if any one should . to impose tyranny and oppression upon them as a display of age or authority, they will not tolerate it; and most of them bear and weapons."[27]

Another contemporary writer castigates the community for being, its extreme dirtiness, rendered foul, filthy and impure." "Thus," he, "under the rules of their sect they do not differentiate between ims and Hindus and eat pig's flesh and other disgusting things."[28]

Even before they all went into rebellion they were, apparently, very submissive to the authorities. In the early years of Aurang- a revenue official declared that though certain "cultivators" in a ge in the *pargana* of Bhatnair were "living with their women, ren, possessions and cattle in the garb of Bairagis," they were free from the thoughts of sedition and robbery."[29] The revolt in began (1672) as a rural affray. One of the Satnamis "was work- n his fields when he exchanged hot words with a *piyāda* (foot- er), who was guarding the corn-heap. The *piyada* broke the Sat- 's head by a blow from his stick. Thereupon a crowd of that sect ed that *piyada* and beat him so much as to reduce him almost to pse." The *shiqqdar* then sent a contingent of troops and so the began.[30]

· date for the scripture. For the same reason, 1543, given in some modern (Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Allahabad, 1954, p. 192; r, *History of Aurangzeb*, III (1928), p. 297) as the date of the founder's birth, ossible unless it is held that the scripture is not his composition.

Cf. *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, p. 251: "The Bair--gis are also called Mundiyas."

Baqqālān-i kam-māya (Ma'muri). Khafi Khan reads 'tradesmen' instead ain-merchants'.

Ma'muri, f. 148a-b, Khafi Khan, II, p. 252.

Isardas, f. 61b.

Balkrishan Brahman, f. 56a-b.

Ma'muri, f. 148b, Khafi Khan, II, p. 253.

The plebeian character of the revolt is perhaps best indicated in the following words of scorn which a chronicler pours upon it:

"To the spectators of the wonderful works of Fate the occurrence of this event is a cause of amazement, i.e. what came into the head of this rebellious, murderous, destitute gang of goldsmiths (peasants?),[31] carpenters, sweepers and tanners and other mean and ignoble men of artisan castes that their conceited brains became so overclouded? Rebellious pride having found a place in their brains, their heads became too heavy for their shoulders. By their own legs they were caught in the snare of annihilation. To unveil this tale, this huge horde of mischief-makers of the region of Mewat all of a sudden sprang up from the earth like moths and fell down from the sky like locusts...."[32]

Despite its great initial success, the repeated defeats inflicted on imperial troops and the occupation of Narnaul and Bairat, the rebels were finally destroyed by a large army sent from the Court. But they went down fighting bravely and the same historian, whose words have been quoted above, admits that despite the lack of all materials of war, they repeated the scenes of the great war of Mahabharat.[33]

III. *The Sikhs*:

Just as it has been said that Islam is 'a religion for towns-people,'[34] so it will, perhaps, not be wrong to say that Sikhism is a peasant religion. The verses of Gurū Nānak "are all in the language of the Jaṭṭs of the Panjab. And Jaṭṭ in the dialect of the Panjab means a villager, a rustic."[35] The author of the *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*, c. 1655, who gives us an intimate account of the Sikhs, adds that "among them there is no such rule as that a Brahman should not be a disciple (*sikh*) of a Khatrī, for Nanak was a Khatrī....Similarly, they have made Khatris subordinate to the Jatts, who are the lowliest of the caste of Bais (Vaishya). Thus of the great *masands* (nobles, agents) of the Guru

31. The printed text has *zargar* and is supported in this by Add. 19,495, f. 63a. But 'goldsmith' is a little incongruous here and it is most tempting to consider *zargar* a mistake for *barzgar*, 'peasant'. The two words are almost indistinguishable in Persian if written in a rapid hand.

32. *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, pp. 114-5.

33. *Ibid*, pp. 115-6.

34. Cf. F. Lokkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, Copenhagen, 1950, p. 32; M. Habib, Introduction to *Elliot & Dowson's History of India*, Vol. II, Aligarh reprint, 1952, pp. 2-3.

35. *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, p. 285. Cf. Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, p. 105, for the use of the word *jat* in the sense of 'agriculturist'.

most are Jatts."[36] Gurū Arjun Mal (d. 1606) took the first steps in creating a well-knit and disciplined organisation. He appointed his agents in every town. "It has been ordained that an *udāsī*, or ascetic, is not a good believer. Owing to this some of the Sikhs (Disciples) of the Guru engage in agriculture, others in trade and service; and every-one according to his capacity pays a *naẓar* each year to the *masand*", who received it on behalf of the Guru.[37] The Sikhs became a military power under Guru Hargobind (1606-45), who created an army of his own and, as a result, came into armed collision with Mughal power.[38] He thus founded a tradition, which was doggedly continued by the last Guru (1676-1708), till, finally, in 1709 Banda was able to lead into the field "an army of innumerable men, like ants and locusts, belonging to the low castes of the Hindus and ready to die" at his orders.[39] That the lower classes provided the backbone of this rebellion may be judged from the fact that even in the early 19th century, "most of the chiefs of the highest dignity" among the Sikhs were "low-born persons, such as carpenters, shoe-makers and Jatts."[40]

IV. *Other Revolts in Northern India*:

These three rebellions do not by any means exhaust the list of peasant revolts in Northern India. Many of these are mentioned in our authorities as passing incidents. For example, we read that in 1575-6 the governor of Bhakkar levied the revenue at a uniform rate per *bigha* and "the peasants were subjected to oppression." The Mangcha tribe thereupon revolted and killed the tax-gatherers. They were, however, defeated and expelled from their lands.[41] When Manuchy passed by Ilahabad in 1662, he found the Governor absent "on a campaign against some villagers, who objected to pay their revenue without at least one fight".[42] Of disorders of a different kind were those perpet-

36. *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, p. 286; also p. 214. Similarly, Khafi Khan, II, p. 651: "Most of the followers of the *guru* of that perdition-bound sect belonged to the castes of Jats and Khatris of Panjab and other lowly castes of the infidels."

37. *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, pp. 286-7. Cf. also Khafi Khan, II, pp. 651-2.

38. *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, p. 288.

39. Khafi Khan, II, p. 672.

40. Saiyid Ghulam 'Ali Khan, *'Imadu-s Sa'adat*, Nawal Kishor ed., Lucknow, p. 71. See also S. Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-40*, pp. 50-51. He quotes an early 17th century writer, Wārid, to the effect that "a low-class scavenger or leather-dresser had only to leave his home and join the Guru, when in a short space of time he would return to his birthplace with his order of appointment (as an officer) in his hand."

41. Ma'sum, *Tarikh-i Sind*, pp. 245-6.

42. Manucci, II, p. 83.

rated by the Mewātīs in Mewat, who were constantly in rebellion and made plundering raids from their villages lying deep in the hills.[43] Jai Singh led a ferocious campaign against them in 1649-50,[44] but they still survived to give trouble later on.[45] Similarly the peasants of the Lakhi Jungle were "notorious for rebellion and mischief". They belonged to the castes of Wattūs, Dogars and Gūjars, and were so well protected by the various channels thrown out by the Satlej-Bias river and the forests created by the inundations, that most of the expeditions against them proved ineffectual.[46] In Aurangzeb's later days they are once said to have ravaged the whole *sarkar* of Dipalpur.[47]

The Bundila rebellion, which began after Shahjahan's annexation of Orchha in 1635, and continued intermittently for the rest of our period, was essentially a dynastic affair, a war for the rights of a royal house. But two letters from the Mughal commander, Khān Jahān Bārha, show that here too the rebels were able, after a successful exploit, to call over to their side "*zamindars* and peasants" from "both the *ra'iyati* and *mawas* areas". Moreover, the peasants took the opportunity to evade paying the revenue whenever the rebels became active.[48]

V. *The Marathas*:

We must now pass on to the Marāthas, who beyond doubt constituted the greatest single force responsible for the downfall of the Mughal Empire. In the year 1700, Bhimsen, while writing his memoirs, set himself to explain the reasons for the success of these "malefactors and Marathas". Himself a native of Burhanpur, and with decades of service in the Dakhin behind him, his views on the subject are of great significance. He begins purely with a military argument. The Mughal commanders were not maintaining their contingents up to the standards required by the regulations. As a result the "malefactors" did not entertain any fear of the Mughal *faujdars*, and so "those regions that have been assigned in pay to the *mansabdars* cannot be compelled to pay revenue". "The *zamindars* also, having obtained power, have allied themselves with the Marathas".

43. Pelsaert 15; Manucci, II, p. 458.

44. Waris: *a*: ff. 433a-b, 435b; *b*: ff. 64a-67a; Salih, III, pp. 110-12.

45. Manucci, II, p. 458.

46. Sujan Rai, 63; Manucci, II, pp. 457-8. Cf. also *Akhbarat* 43/53. The Wattus are a Bhatti clan (Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, pp. 145-6).

47. *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 215a.

48. *'Arzdasht-ha-i Muzaffar*, ff. 6a-7a, 115b. The first letter describes the sack of Dhamoni and Chanderi by Champat and Ramsen.

He turns, then, to the second reason and here finds a connexion between the rise of the Maratha power and the oppression of the peasants in the imperial territories:

"The agents of the *jagirdars*, having apprehensions concerning the niggardly behaviour of the clerks of the Court, who on every excuse... effect a transfer, do not have any hope of the confirmation (*ba-ḥālī*) of the *jagir* for the following year, and so abandon the habit of protecting the peasant (*ra'iyat-parwarī*) and of firmness (*istiqlāl*). The *jagirdar*, who sends a revenue-collector (*'āmil*), owing to his own difficult circumstances, first takes something from him in advance (*qabẓ*); and the latter, reaching the *jagir*, keeps thinking, perhaps another *'amil* is coming behind him, who has paid a larger *qabẓ*, and, so proceeding tyrannically, is unrelenting in his exactions (*taḥṣīl*). Some peasants are not remiss in paying the authorised revenue (*māl-i wājib*), but are made desperate by the evil of this excruciating spoliation. It came to be represented (at the Court) that the Marathas obtain collaboration from the peasants of the imperial dominions. It was, thereupon, ordered that the horses and weapons found in every village should be confiscated. When this happened in most villages, the peasants, providing themselves with horses and arms, joined the Marathas".

Bhimsen returns again to the subject of the oppression of the peasants and speaks of—

"the tyranny of the *paṭṭīs* of the *faujdars*, *desmukhs* and *zamindars*, who on every excuse collect money from the peasantry—and besides this the imperial tribute (*peshkash-i pādshāhī*) was fixed upon the *zamindars*, people being appointed to exact it and sent everywhere to obtain supplies. There is no limit to the oppression of these men. The *zamindars* do not give a *dam* or *diram* from their own purse, but pay it after exacting it from the peasants. And the *jiziya* that has been imposed and collectors (*umnā'*) appointed: Of their oppression and cruelty what may one write? For no description can suffice...."

In addition to this, the conditions of the peasants were aggravated beyond endurance from Maratha depredations: For,

"as the country has been divided into the *Khalisa* and pay-assignments of the *jagirdars*, so the Marathas too have distributed the very same country among their own 'pseudo-chiefs':[49] On one land there came to be two *jagirdars*. Quatrain: 'The village is ruined by a measuring rod with two measures, &c'. The troops of the (Maratha) leaders who come in for the sake of plundering the country, extort money from every *pargana* and all places, in accordance with their desire, and let (their horses) graze on and trample upon the cultivated fields.. . Order has disappeared.... Now things have gone beyond every limit.

49. *Nā-sardārān*. This is the official term used for the Maratha commanders in Mughal records.

The produce of the fields does not reach the granary at all. They (the peasants?) are absolutely ruined".

This, apparently, drove the peasants still further into the arms of the Marathas: Thus "when many of Siva's[50] forts came into the possession of His Majesty (Aurangzeb), it became difficult for the Marathas to find a place to live and keep their dependants. (But) they have affinities with the peasants of the imperial dominions and left their families in their custody in inhabited places...." The passage closes with these words: "The peasants have abandoned cultivation and neither a *dam* nor *diram* reaches the *jagirdars*. Despairing and perplexed because of (their lack of) strength, many of the *mansabdars* of this country[51] have gone over to the Marathas."[52]

As a contemporary appraisal of the causes of Maratha success Bhimsen's statements are invaluable. Such facts as we possess amply justify the leading lines of his argument. The peasants of the Dakhin had suffered for decades before Shivaji's rise to eminence, from wars brought about by the steady pressure of the Mughals against the Dakhin kingdoms. Vast areas were ravaged by the invading armies, especially when no immediate annexation of the territory was foreseen: the grain was seized, the people slaughtered or enslaved.[53] Huge armies were stationed in the Mughal Dakhin and maintained largely from assignments in its provinces so that even in peace time the peasants were laid under a crippling burden.[54] And so, as we have already seen, the country was desolate and the peasants in flight, when Aurangzeb came to assume the viceroyalty of the Dakhin for the second time.

Thus even at that early period some of the peasants had begun to render aid to Shivaji. Before he set out to win his throne,

50. He, of course, means Shivaji's successors, or simply Marathas.

51. Bhimsen has here probably in mind either the *mansabdars* who had *jagirs* in the Dakhin, or the 'Dakhinī' nobles, who had been serving formerly under the Bijapur and Golkunda governments.

52. *Dilkusha,* ff. 138b-140a.

53. Cf. Lahori, I, 316-17. 416-17, for such measures in territories belonging respectively to Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. For similar measures carried out in operations against the Marathas, see Fryer, I, p. 310.

54. This emerges most clearly from the letters Aurangzeb wrote as Viceroy of the Dakhin. The *jama'* was considerably inflated, being over four times higher than the actual revenue (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 40b; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 121-2); and the *mansabdars* found it most difficult to maintain their contingents from the income of their assignments (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 38a-b, 117b-118a; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 115-7 & passim).

Aurangzeb urged his officials to meet out capital punishment to "peasants, *deshmukhs* and *patels* of the *parganas* of imperial territories, who have gone over to the side of the enemy (i.e. Shivaji and his associates) and have exerted themselves in guiding or abetting those ill-destined ones."[55]

At the same time, there will be no greater mistake than to consider Shivaji and the Maratha chiefs as conscious leaders of a peasant uprising. Shivaji himself was the son of a great Nizamshahi (and later 'Adilshahi) noble and he began his career as a chieftain in the Konkan. The fiscal and political practices of the Marathas bore the deepest imprint of their *zamindari* origins. Thus the *chauth*, the customary demand of Maratha raiders, derived from the traditional claim of the *zamindar* to a fourth of the land, whence of the land revenue, on a pattern we know to have existed in Gujarat.[56] It was, probably, typical that when Tārābāī sought peace with Aurangzeb she should have asked for "the *deshmukhī* of the country of the Dakhin," the acme of the ambition of any *zamindar*.[57] When by mid-18th century the Marathas had almost conquered an empire for themselves, their leaders knew of nothing better than to use their power to acquire *zamindari* rights everywhere. "The Marathas in general, but especially the Brahmans of Dakhin," says a writer of that period, "have the peculiar desire to deprive all people of their means of livelihood and appropriate it for themselves. They do not spare the *zamindari* of *rajas*, nor even the *zamindari* of small people like headmen and village accountants. Uprooting heirs of ancient lineage, they establish their own possession and desire that the Brahmans of the Konkan should become the proprietors (*mālik*) of the whole world."[58]

55. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 175a-b.

56. See Chapter V, Section 1.

57. *Akhbarat* 47/73; Khafi Khan, II, p. 267. The right demanded by Tarabai is called *sardeshmukhi* (or, simply *deshmukhī*) in the latter work. The right implied a share in the revenue amounting to 9 (or 10) per cent.

It is interesting to read in the English records of "a very great report of peace settled between the Mogull and Sevagee" in 1675, under which Shivaji was "to deliver up all the castles and country which he has taken from the Mogull" and in return "to be the Kings Desy of all his countrys of Deccan". (*English Records on Shivaji*, pub. by Shiva Charitra Karyalaya, Poona, 1931, Vol. II, p. 57). The offices of *deshmukh* and *desai* are identical.

58. Azad Bilgrami, *Khizana-i 'Amira*, Kanpur, 1871, p. 47. The work was written in 1762-3. The references to Dakhini and Konkani Brahmans were probably provoked by the fact that with the rise of the Peshwas, this caste of Brahmans tended to acquire a dominating position within the Maratha political system.

There is no reason to believe, moreover, that the peasantry in the Maratha Kingdom was free from oppression. How Shivaji treated the peasants in his dominions is described by Fryer, who visited parts of his kingdom in 1675-6. He demanded the revenue, we are told, at double the rates of former days,[59] leaving to "the Tiller hardly so much as will keep Life and Soul together."[60] And in Kanara "three-quarters of the Land lies unmanured (uncultivated) through the Tyranny of Seva Gi."[61]

Shivaji had use for the peasants in a different sphere altogether. They were the "Naked Starved Rascals" who formed his army.[62] Armed with "only lances and long swords two inches wide,"[63] they were "good at Surprising and Ransacking," but not "for a pitched Field."[64] They had to live by plunder only, for Shivaji's maxim was: 'No Plunder, no Pay'.[65] This was the form of salvation which Shivaji and his successors held out to the destitute peasantry of the Dakhin. As Bhimsen's account shows, the military operations of the Marathas did not offer any relief to the cultivating peasants. On the contrary, they suffered grievously from their ravages. As the range of operations of the "Robber State"[66] grew, so too the numbers of its victims increased. But this seems only to have created a still larger number of "naked starved rascals", who, themselves plundered, had no alternative left but to join the plunderers in order to survive;[67] and so the unending circle went on.

"There is no province or district," confesses Aurangzeb in his last years, "where the infidels have not raised a tumult and since they are not chastised, they have established themselves everywhere. Most of the country has been rendered desolate and if any place is inhabited,

59. Fryer, II, p. 5.
60. *Ibid*, I, pp. 311-12; also II, p. 66.
61. *Ibid*, II, p. 86.
62. *Ibid*, II, p. 67.
63. Manucci, III, p. 505.
64. Fryer, II, pp. 67, 68; Manucci, *op. cit.*
65. Fryer, I, p. 341.
66. This term is borrowed from V. A. Smith.
67. The Maratha armies thus retained their low-class composition even when they had conquered the larger portion of India. Writing in 1762-3, Azad Bilgrami tells us that "the army of the enemy (the Marathas) consists mostly of low-born people, like peasants, shepherds, carpenters and cobblers, while the army of the Muslims comprises mostly nobles and gentlemen. The success of the enemy is due to this that the enemy troops, being able to withstand great exertion, practice guerilla warfare (*jang-i qazzāqi*) and at the time of war cut off the supplies

the peasants there have probably come to terms with the 'robbers' (*ash-qiyā*, official Mughal name for the Marathas)...."[68]

Thus was the Mughal Empire destroyed. No new order was, or could be, created by the forces ranged against it.[69] The period which follows does not offer an edifying spectacle: the gates were opened to reckless rapine, anarchy and foreign conquest. But the Mughal Empire had been its own grave-digger; and what Sa'dī said of another great empire might well serve as its epitaph:

> The Emperors of Persia,
> Who oppressed the lower classes:
> Gone is their glory and empire;
> Gone their tyranny over the peasant![70]

of grain and fodder of their opponent, reducing him to impotence...(although) there is no question of the low-born's possessing the courage and dignity that is ingrained in the nature of the noble-born." (*Khizana-i 'Amira*, p. 49).

The way in which the Maratha depredations created a larger and larger recruiting ground for the Maratha armies may be illustrated by the example of the Pindaris. "The Pindarries were fed and nourished by the very miseries they created; for as their predatory invasions extended, property became insecure, and those who were ruined by their depredations, were afterwards compelled to have recourse to a life of violence, as the only means of subsistence left them. They joined the stream which they could not withstand and endeavoured to redeem their own losses by the plunder of others." (J. Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India including Malwa, &c.*, Vol. I, London, 1832 (3rd. ed.), p. 429). The Pindaris, who served as the auxiliaries of the forces of Maratha chiefs in the later days of the Peshwas, were the natural result and, in fact, quite symbolic, of the Maratha system.

68. *Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 61b.

69. The failure of the 17th century uprisings in India to offer or effect anything better than the work of their opponents was due, as we have seen, to the historical environment and the particular correlation of class-forces existing at the time. It may here be instructive to refer to the history of China, the only country, perhaps, whose dimensions and ancient past make comparison with India possible. After enumerating a number of peasant revolts in China down to the T'aip'ings, Mao Tse-tung observes justly that "the gigantic scale of such peasant uprisings and peasant wars in Chinese history is without parallel in the world." He adds, however, that "since neither new productive forces, nor new relations of production, nor a new class-force, nor an advanced political party existed in those days (ancient and medieval times)...., the peasant revolutions invariably failed, and the peasants were utilised after each revolution by the landlords and the nobility as a tool for bringing about a dynastic change." (Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, English edition, Vol. III, London, 1954, pp. 75-6).

70. "*Khabar dārī* as *khusrawān-i 'Ajam*", &c., *Bostān*.

Appendix A

MEASURES OF LAND

1. Gaz-i Sikandari

The standard official unit of land measurement which Akbar's administration inherited from its predecessors was the *Gaz-i Sikandarī* (or *Iskandarī*). According to the *Ain* it was first instituted by Sikandar Lodi, who made it equal to (the diameters of) 41½ of his *Sikandarī* pieces, the length being later increased to 42 by Humayun. The *gaz* continued in use under Sher Shah and Islam Shah, who, bringing the whole of Hindustan under *Ẓabṭ*, are said to have "measured with this same *gaz*."[1] During Akbar's reign it remained the official standard till the 31st or 33rd year, when it was finally superseded by the *Gaz-i Ilāhī*.[2]

Thomas found as a result of careful measurement that, the *Sikandarī* coins being placed in a row, "the completion of the 30th inch of our measure falls exactly opposite the centre of the 42nd coin", from which it follows that 42 *Sikandaris*=30·36 inches. But the margin of error in such an experiment with coins, only tolerably, but by no means perfectly, round, must obviously have been large; moreover Thomas himself recognised that the length of the *gaz* might really have been greater than is indicated by his measurement, if allowance was to be made for the wear and tear the coins have suffered in the course of four centuries.[3]

1. *Ain*, I, 296. In three documents concerning *madad-i ma'āsh* grants of Sher Shah's reign, it is stipulated that the area of the grant should be measured by the *Gaz-i Sher Shāhī*. (Allahabad 318; texts of the other two documents, with photographic reproductions, printed in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. IX, No. 3 (May 1933), pp. 121-2, 125-8). Perhaps Sher Shah made some slight change in the *gaz*-length, which entitled him to call the *Gaz-i Sikandarī* after his own name.

2. *Ain*, I, 296. *A.N.*, III, 529, assigns the introduction of the *Gaz-i Ilahi* to the beginning of the 33rd year, and not 31st year as stated in the *Ain*.

3. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, ed. Thomas, pp. 123-4 *n*. The known extant coins of Sikandar Lodi are catalogued by H. N. Wright in his *Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, pp. 250-4. Abu-l Fazl says that the *Sikandarīs* were "copper pieces with a silver alloy", and these must be the heavier issues comprising the larger number of Sikandar's coins. The sizes of individual coins in Wright's cata-

Abu-l Fazl adds that Humayun's *Gaz-i Sikandarī* consisted of 3? *angushts* (digits)[4]; and since the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* had a length of 41 digits this would imply that the former was just a little shorter than four fifths of the latter. Though this has been accepted by some modern authorities,[5] there can hardly be any doubt that the number 32 is du to a slip of pen, for the ratio it suggests is directly contradicted by Abu-l Fazl himself, when he defines the difference between a *bīgha* (i.e a square of 60 *gaz*) of the *Gaz-i Sikandarī* and the *Gaz-i Ilāhī*.

He says, first of all, that previous to the introduction of the bamboo measuring rod in the 19th year, the *bīgha* used to be 13 per cent smaller than its true size, because the hempen rope would shrink from the length of 60 *gaz* to 56.[6] The second change came with the promulgation of the *Gaz-i Ilāhī*. Assuming that the difference between the new and the superseded *bigha* is given by Abu-l Fazl in terms of the former, 100 *bighas* of the latter unit would be equal to 90·826 *bighas* of the *Gaz-*

logue are given in inches only up to the nearest figure in the first decimal poin or, as the case may be, to 5 in the second. They can, therefore, only offer a very rough check to Thomas's measurements. The average length of the diamete of the coins measured by Thomas must have been 0·723 inch. Now, though som of the earlier coins of Sikandar have a diameter of 0·65 inch and one even o 0·6 inch, from A. H. 900 onwards the size given in Wright's list is uniformly 0·' inch, with just a few exceptions when 0·75 is recorded. It seems, therefore, tha Thomas's *Sikandarīs* were fairly close to the standard in size.

4. *Ain* I, 296.

5. E.g. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, ed. Thomas, p. 123; but cf. Thomas's *n.*, *ibid* p. 124.

6. This statement appears at first sight to be illogical and arbitrary. Surely not every rope would have been shrinking uniformly at the rate of 4 *gaz* in 60 Cf. Abu-l Fazl's own remarks a little earlier, *ibid*, I, 296. The explanation i forthcoming, however, from a *parwāna* of A.D. 1757, which confirms a *madad-ma'āsh* grant in the *pargana* of Batala, originally made in A.D. 1569, and reproduce the endorsements put upon the original document (I.O. 4438: (55)). The latte show that the grant in the first instance was of 300 *bīghas*, but three reduction were successively made from it, the first of them being called "Reduction on accoun of the Measuring Rod" (*Quṣūr-i ṭanāb*). This amounts to 39 *bīghas*, two *biswas* i.e. exactly 13·03 per cent of the original grant. It seems, therefore, that when introducing the new *ṭanāb* it was anticipated that the actual *bigha* as measured would now be larger, and to prevent the grantees from taking advantage of this a definite scale was fixed for making reductions from the total area of their grant in order to offset, or, perhaps, more than offset, this increase. This rate Abu-Fazl has here borrowed, dropping from it only the insignificant fraction that migh indeed represent a refinement introduced only for that particular locality.

Ilahi.[7] This means that in linear length, 100 *Gaz-i Sikandari* were equal to 95·3 *Gaz-i Ilahi.*

Abu-l Fazl's statements about the change in the area of the *bigha* consequent upon the introduction of the *Gaz-i Ilahi* are confirmed by numerous endorsements found on *madad-i ma'āsh* documents. These show reductions in the area of the grants, specifically on account of the new measure, as amounting to 10·5 and 10·6 per cent of the original area as against the reduction of 10·1 per cent laid down by Abu-l Fazl.[8] The variations have probably arisen because the sanctioned rates for reducing the grants in different localities varied slightly from the standard. The differences moreover are so small that the linear length of the *Gaz-i Ilahi* in terms of the *Gaz-i Sikandari* worked out from the reduction in the area of the grants, is only by an insignificant margin larger than that worked out from Abu-l Fazl's figures.[9]

The ratio between the lengths of the two measures thus established is almost exactly that of 41 : 39.[10] The *Gaz-i Ilahi* being equal to 41

7. *Ain*, I, 297. The whole passage reads: "One *bigha* by the hempen rope (*ṭanāb-i san*) was smaller than the *bigha* by the bamboo rod (*ṭanāb-i bāns*) by two *biswas* and twelve *biswānsas*. And in every hundred *bighas* the difference amounted to thirteen *bighas*. Although the hempen rope was also of sixty *gaz*, yet on being twisted it used to come to fifty-six *gaz* (only). And (the *bīgha* of) the *Gaz-i Ilahi* was larger than (that of) the *Gaz-i Sikandari* by one *biswa*, sixteen *biswānsas*, thirteen *taswānsas*, eight *tapwānsas* and four *answānsas*. The difference from both diminutions amounts in one *bigha* to fourteen (*sic!* four) *biswas*, twenty (*sic!* eight. In Persian writing *hasht* (8) and *bīst* (20) are often confounded) *biswansas*, thirteen *taswansas*, eight *tapwansas* and four *answansas*."

8. The reductions amounting to 10·5 per cent (described as *Quṣūr-i tafāwat-i Gaz-i Ilāhī*) appear in endorsements on documents belonging to the Batala series in the India Office, I. O. 4438: Nos. 7, 25 & 55. The reduction of 10·6 per cent for "*tafāwat-i Gaz-i Ilāhī*" is shown on an endorsement on Allahabad 1177 and in the text of Allahabad 789, both documents relating to the *pargana* of Bahraich. In another endorsement on Allahabad 1177, the reduction is set at 11·5 per cent, but that this was an exceptional case is shown by the remark that this reduction was made "in accordance with the *parwāncha* (order) of Muzaffar Khan". Allahabad 154, relating to *pargana* Unām (Unao) in the *sarkar* of Lakhnau, refers to a reduction in *bighas* from those measured by hempen rope (*tanāb-i san*) to those measured by the *Gaz-i Ilahi*, amounting in all to 23·00 per cent.

9. A reduction of 10·5 per cent in the size of the *bigha* would imply that 100 *Gaz-i Sikandari* were equal to 94·605 *Gaz-i Ilahi*, while according to Abu-l Fazl, the latter figure would be 95·3.

10. The ratio of 42 : 39 would mean that 95·122 *Gaz-i Ilahi* (compare 95·3 & 94·6 according to Abu-l Fazl and the *madad-i ma'ash* documents) were equal to 100 *Gaz-i Sikandari.*

digits, this would mean that the *Gaz-i Sikandari* had a length of 39 digits. Abu-l Fazl's length of 32 digits for this measure is, then, really a mistake for 39.

Calculating on the basis of this ratio between the two measures, we can deduce the length of the *Gaz-i Ilahi* from that of the *Gaz-i Sikandari* as found by Thomas. This would be 31·92 inches (for the *Gaz-i Ilahi*), but since Thomas had not allowed for the wear and tear in his coins, we should suppose the *gaz* to have actually been slightly longer than this.[11] In the next Section we shall try to see if this length is confirmed by the other evidence that we have.

2. Gaz-i Ilahi

The controversy over the exact length of the *Gaz-i Ilāhi* has a history of almost 140 years. In the early twenties of the last century, it became a matter of some importance for the British Government to discover its length in order to settle the areas of the various revenue-free lands, which were met with in the course of surveying the territory of the present Uttar Pradesh. The Government finally declared in 1825-6 that it would consider one *Gaz-i Ilahi* equal to 33 inches. The decision was largely arbitrary, partly, at least, arising from the convenience of converting *bighas* based on a *gaz* of this length, into acres.[1] With the removal of its administrative significance the subject lost its topical interest and has been favoured since then only by sporadic articles or suggestions. No systematic study of the contemporary evidence relating to it appears to have been made with the result that some modern authorities do not seem to have made proper distinction between the *Gaz-i Ilahi* and certain other parallel units of measurement. This may, perhaps, be accepted as a justification for the following pages which otherwise seem an inroad into what is already a well-trodden field.

The only indication given by Abu-l Fazl about the length of the *Gaz-i Ilahi* is that it was equal to 41 *angushts* or finger-breadths.[2]

11. It may be mentioned that the only European traveller who refers explicitly to the *Gaz-i Sikandari* is Marshall, 420. He calls it the "Seecundrees Guz, called the Carpet Guz" and gives its length as 27⅞ inches, while his value for the *Gaz-i Ilahi* is 31⅛ inches. But Marshall was writing in the time of Aurangzeb and his evidence about the precise length of these two measures is not of much value.

1. Cf. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, ed. Thomas, p. 125.

2. *Ain*, I, 296.

nfortunately, there is no fixed length for a digit in India,[3] and
ə average derived from the actual measurement of fingers can at
st be a very rough guide to the digit of the *A'īn* or the Mughal admini-
:ation.[4]

Two direct statements belonging to the earlier part of the 17th
ntury are, however, available, which express the length of the *Gaz-i*
ihī in terms of European units of measurement, whose values have
mained constant since that period. In 1620-21 Robert Hughes, writing
om Patna, speaks of the "elahye of Agra" as ⅘ths of the "Jahanger
ved", the length of which is stated to be 40·5 inches at one place and
inches at another.[5] The *Gaz-i Ilahi* should therefore have been
:her 32 or 32·4 in. long, but there is a distinct hint from Hughes him-
' that it was in fact 32⅛ or 32·125 inches.[6] Less than six years later
ɨlsaert observed that "100 Akbari *gaz* made 120 of our (i.e. Dutch)

3. The English mode of reckoning whereby 41 digits equal 30·75 inches has
relevance, though this was accepted provisionally by Prinsep (*op.cit.* 124) and,
lowing him, by Moreland (*Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. II (1919),
t i, p. 17).

4. Col. A. Hodgson, then the Surveyor-General of India, in an attempt to
ermine the length of the *Gaz-i Ilahi*, "measured at Futtehgur the breadth of
· four fingers of the right hand of seventy-six men of different classes" and the
erage result was that, if measured at the middle joints, 41 finger-breadths would
equal to 31·549 inches, and, if across the knuckle-joints, 33·018 inches. (Hodgson,
emoire on the Length of the Illahee Guz", *JRAS*, 1843, pp. 45-49). "Six barley-
ns being also generally understood to be the value of a finger", Halhed at
radabad made an experiment with them and, striking an average, obtained the
gth of 31·843 inches for 41 digits (*ibid*, pp. 49-50). The *Ain* says that an *angusht*
considered by "some" to be equal to "six barley-corns of moderate size joined
width" (I, 295, 597) and by "the sages of Hind" to "8 barley-corns, stripped
husks, laid breadthwise" (I, 598).

Another means adopted by Halhed was to measure by "the mansuri pice", "42
these being held to make a guz": the resultant value was 32·025 inches.
AS, 1843, p. 50). But this apparently is based upon a misunderstanding of Abu-l
l's statements, where the length of 42 *Sikandari* pieces is given to the *Gaz-i*
andarī, as modified by Humayun, and not to the *Gaz-i Ilahi*. The coins which
re used for the experiment were, therefore, also the wrong ones.

5. *Factories, 1618-21*, pp. 192, 197, 236.

6. *Ibid*, p. 236. Hughes, writing to the Surat factors in reply to their letter
nts out that 'the "Jehangery coved" of this place was 40 inches, not 32⅛ as
ted' in their letter. Since Hughes had had previously to distinguish the *Gaz-i*
i from the *Jahāngīrī* for the benefit of the same factors (p. 192), it is probable
t the two units had now again been confounded.

ells",[7] which means that its length was 32·126 inches. Both the sources, therefore, agree very closely, which is all the more significant inasmuch as they alone of our earlier European authorities have explicitly referred to this *gaz*.[8] Other references to unnamed 'coveds' or 'ells' then in vogue are by no means necessarily to be taken as applying to the *Gaz-i Ilāhī*.

Thus in 1614 there were said to be two 'covedas' or measures in use in the cloth trade in the Mughal dominions in general, one of 33 inches and the other of 27 inches. In 1616 Salbank and Fettiplace, writing from Agra and Ajmer, speak of a 'covado' by which their cloth was sold at the court and in the general market, and whose length was ⅞ of the English yard or 31·5 inches.[9] This ought to be read with a statement in Jahangir's Memoirs, where, under the 13th regnal year, the *Gaz-i Ilahi* is stated to be equal to 40 *angushts*.[10] Now, a reduction in the length of the *Gaz-i Ilāhī* by one digit since the time of the *Ain* is not impossible, but it seems more likely that Jahangir has loosely attributed to it the length that, in fact, belonged to a distinct, though almost equal, unit. Writing under the 10th regnal year of Shahjahan, while setting down the measurements of certain buildings at Agra, Lahori assigns the length of 40 digits not to the *Gaz-i Ilahi*, but to what he calls the *Ẕirā'-i Pādshāhī*, the Royal Yard.[11] It is with this *zira'*, probably, that the anonymous 'covado' of Salbank and Fettiplace ought to be identified. It is true that the difference between the latter and the length of the *Gaz-i Ilahi* given by Hughes and Pelsaert is a little less than 1/41; but it should be borne in mind that the equivalents in European measurements have obviously been given in approximate rather than exact terms and a small difference in fractions need not cause us surprise.

7. Pelsaert, p. 29. For the length of the Dutch ell, see Moreland, *Relations of Golconda*, p. 88.

8. The only other traveller during the whole of the 17th century who gave the value of this *gaz* in explicit terms was Marshall. He speaks of "Eckbar Guz, called Taylors Guz, containing 31⅛ inches" (p. 420). His observations were made too late for him to be regarded as an authentic source for the length of the original unit. It is most likely that what he found was not the true *Gaz-i Ilahi*, but a modified or reduced form of it, adapted to a particular trade.

9. *Lett. Recd.* IV, pp. 231 & 238.

10. *T.J.* 234.

11. Lahori I, ii, 237. *Ẕirā', dir'a* and *gaz* are interchangeable terms.

What is possibly a more precise means of discovering the length of the *Ẓirā'-i Pādshāhī* (from which that of the *Gaz-i Ilahi* can, of course, be deduced) is provided by the detailed measurements given by Lahori for the Taj Mahal. He sets these down under the 15th year of his patron's reign, when it was completed, though the foundations had been laid early in the 5th year.[12] The measurements are stated simply in terms of an unspecified *zira'* but it seem certain that it is the same unit of 40 digits which Lahori had used to describe the measurements of other Agra buildings under the 10th year. The measurements, though set down in the 15th year, obviously conform to the original plan that must have been prepared ten years earlier. This is apparent from the size given for the raised marble platform, *viz.* 120 × 120 *zira'*, or exactly 4 *bighas*: a size which would naturally have occured to the planners, but could hardly have been reached by a conversion of the figures of the original into those in terms of some other unit.

The comparative measurements at the Taj Mahal were made by Col. A. Hodgson and his assistants in 1825. He found the raised marble platform to be both the most convenient for measurement and the simplest for comparison: the average length derived for the *zira'* from its measurements was 31·456 inches, while from those of the lower red-stone platform, the corresponding length obtained was 31.464 inches.[13] If these figures are assumed to apply to the *Zira'-i Padshahi* of 40 digits, the length of the *Gaz-i Ilahi*, being 41 digits, should be taken to be about 32·242 inches.

12. Lahori, II, 322-9.

13. The full details of all his measurements will be found in his "Memoire on the length of the Illahee Guz or Imperial Land Measure of Hindostan", *JRAS*, 1843, pp. 45-53. He believed that the *zirā'* used in the Taj was identical with the *Gaz-i Ilahi*, being apparently unaware of the *zira'* of 40 digits. He knew, however, of the unit of 42 digits mentioned by Lahori, II, 534, 709, under the 19th and 20th years, but thought that the increase in the number of digits did not signify any increase in its absolute length, but only a proportional diminution of the length of each digit. It seems that the results of his measurements published earlier had pointed to a much larger length for the *zira'* (Cf. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, ed. Thomas, p. 125). This drew a communication from W. Cracroft, ("On the Measurement of the Illahy Guz of the Emperor Akber", *JASB*, 1834, pp. 360-61), who observed that the measurements of the marble slabs in the *kursī* or raised platform of the Tāj had convinced him that they were cut to conform to the sizes of *gaz*-units or multiples thereof and that the mean length of the *gaz* so derived was just a fraction short of 32 inches.

In the letters of English factors of 1647-8 there are two statements to the effect that in 1647 Shahjahan reduced the length of "the Agra covett" by "at least" 2½ per cent., whereupon it became equal to "the Lahoare covett";[14] and that its length now was "exactly 8/9ths of a yard or 32 inches."[15] Moreland has linked this change with the reference in Lahori, under the 10th year, to the *Zira'-i Padshahi* and he suggests that Shahjahan introduced a new unit which was smaller than the *Gaz-i Ilahi* by one digit, and that this was finally imposed on the markets of Agra in 1647. His conclusion, therefore, is that the *Gaz-i Ilahi*, being identical with the superseded "Agra covett", had a length of 32·8 inches.[16] However, as we have seen, the *zira'* of 40 digits was no innovation of Shahjahan. Furthermore, by the time the change is said to have taken place at Agra, the *Zira'-i Padshahi* seems to have been increased to 42 digits.[17] It is true that this new length is mentioned only in connexion with the distances on the routes, but since it bore the same name as given to the older unit of 40 digits, it is very likely that it prevailed in the spheres of that unit as well. If so, it must have been in force in Agra by 1647 and the change in that year can be best interpreted only as a reduction in the size of the market (not administrative) unit by 2½ per cent, or from 42 to 41 digits, i.e. to the length precisely of the *Gaz-i Ilahi*. In that case, almost the reverse of what Moreland suggests would appear to have happened, and the length of the *Gaz-i Ilahi*, deduced from the factors' statements, works out at just 32, not 32·8 inches.[18]

A different method of ascertaining the length of the *Gaz-i Ilahi* was suggested by Elliot, who examined the distances between the old

14. *Factories, 1646-50*, p. 122.

15. *Ibid*, p. 190.

16. W. H. Moreland, "The Mogul Unit of Measurement", *JRAS*, N.S., 1927, pp. 120-121.

17. Lahori, II, 534, 709 (under the 19th and 20th years).

18. Van Twist, writing c. 1638, says that in Gujarat "they use two different ells: 19 of the larger make fully 23½ Dutch ells; the smaller differ from ours only by the breadth of a thumb" (tr. Moreland, *JIH*, XVI, 72). The Dutch ell being 26·77 inches, the larger ell must have been 33·11 inches in length. Moreland seeks to identify it with the *Gaz-i Ilahi* (*ibid*, p. 73*n*). It is conceivably the enlarged *Zira'-i Padshahi*, but it appears more probable that there has been a mistake in putting down the figures and the larger *gaz* of Gujarat (which was about 35·5 inches but is once put down also as 34 inches) is really meant. For the latter unit, see *Lett. Recd.*, I, 34, 241; II, 214 (refers to the 'covad' at Ahmadabad of 34 inches); III, 11; Foster, *Supp. Cal.*, 47; & Fryer, II, 127.

Mughal route-pillars or *mīnārs,* set up to mark each *kuroh* on the imperial highway near Dehli. Calculating on the basis of 5,000 *gaz* making a *kuroh,* he found that, on the average, the spacing of the *mīnārs* north of Dehli would conform to a *gaz* of 32·818 inches.[19] But he is, perhaps, hasty in assuming that the *kuroh* of these pillars is measured according to the *Gaz-i Ilahi.* The *Ain* says, indeed, that Akbar's *kuroh* consisted of 5,000 *Gaz-i Ilahī,*[20] but this is either a slip or Akbar introduced a new *gaz* for measuring the *kuroh* after the *Ain* was closed. For Jahangir says, under his 15th regnal year, that the *kuroh* in his reign was measured according to the regulation of his father, whereby it consisted of 5,000 *dir'as,* one and a quarter of which equalled two *dir'a-i Shar'ī* of 24 digits each.[21] This means that the *dir'a* used in the *kuroh* consisted of about 38 digits. Mu'tamad Khan also, while giving the distance of Akbar's Empire, as it stood in 1605, explains that each *gaz* used in the *kuroh* comprised 38 digits.[22] Writing in 1631 Mundy carefully describes the "auntient Course", "used by the Kinge and great men", as consisting of 5,000 "Coards", each of which was 4/5 yard or 28·8 inches.[23] Mundy has obviously given a convenient, and therefore approximate, equivalent to the *gaz,* but his statement leaves little doubt that in his day also it was the *gaz* of 38 digits, or, at any rate, a *gaz* substantially smaller than the *Gaz-i Ilahi,* that was used to measure the *kuroh.* The change-over to a longer unit is first signified by Lahori, under the 19th and 20th years of Shahjahan, when he says that the distances given by him are in terms of *kurohs,* each of 5,000 *Zirā'-i Pādshāhī,* the *zira'* being equal to 42 *angushts.*[24]

19. H. M. Elliot, *Memoirs &c.,* II, 194. It is not the direct, but the 'road distance' between the pillars which has naturally to be compared and it is accordingly the latter from which Elliot calculates. The distances in the Mathura district as given by him, seem to point to a lower value for the *gaz* : on an average, 32·432 inches; but 8 of the 12 distances mentioned suggest a uniform length of 32·371 inches only.

Kuroh is the Persian equivalent of the Sanskrit *krośa,* from which is derived the Hindi *kos.*

20. *Ain,* I, 597.

21. *T.J.* 298. As Beveridge (Tr., II, 141 n.) notes, the printed text which makes one *dir'a* of the *kuroh* equal to 2 *dir'a-i Shar'ī* is contradicted by the MSS, which read one and a quarter instead of one *dir'a* of the *kuroh.*

22. *Iqbal-nama,* II, Or. 1834, f. 231b. He makes a serious error, however, in stating that a *kuroh* consisted of 200 *jarīb* and each *jarīb* of 60 *gaz,* thereby making a *kuroh* equal to 12,000 *gaz.*

23. Mundy, 66-67.

24. Lahori, II, 534 & 709.

This enlarged unit continued in use, apparently, right through Aurangzeb's reign, for the *Mir'āt-al 'Ālam*, written after the tenth year of his reign and the *Ma'lūmāt-al Āfāq*, written shortly after his death, give the same value to the *zira'* making up the *Kuroh-i Pādshāhī*.[25] It would thus appear that throughout the 17th century only two *dir'as* had been in use for measuring the *kurohs*: in the earlier decades, one of 38 digits, and during the rest of the period, that of 42. The *Gaz-i Ilahi* could, if at all, have been used for this purpose for a very short period, i.e. for some time between the 33rd year and the close of Akbar's reign. It is, therefore, most improbable that the extant *kos*-pillars are spaced according to the *kuroh* of the *Gaz-i Ilahi*, while it is very likely, on the other hand, that they conform to the *zira'* used last and for most of the period, namely, the *Zirā'-i Pādshāhi* of 42 digits. It follows, then, that Elliot's length of 32·818 is really that of the latter unit, and that being the case, the value of the *Gaz-i Ilāhī*, deduced proportionally, ought to be put around 32·037 inches.

We may recall now that working on the basis of Thomas's measurement of the *Gaz-i Sikandari*, we had found the length of *Gaz-i Ilahi* to slightly exceed 31·92 inches. From the evidence brought together in this Section, it would seem that its length lay somewhere between 32·00 and 32·25 inches. It is probably unsafe to attempt any greater precision, for that can be achieved only by preferring one source to another on rather arbitrary grounds. The *bigha*, or the area of 60 *gaz* square, based on the *Gaz-i Ilāhī* of a length within the limits set above, could not have been smaller than 0·5877 of an acre or larger than 0·5969. It will be noticed that even here the difference between the two limits is insignificant and there would not be much loss to accuracy, perhaps, if, for the sake of convenience in calculation, we were to assume the size of one *bigha* of the *Gaz-i Ilahi* to be equal to 0·59 of an acre, with the understanding that it was, probably, a little larger than this, and quite possibly 0·60 acre, i.e. just $\frac{3}{5}$ths of an acre.

25. *Mir'āt-al 'Ālam*, Aligarh M.S., f. 214a; *Ma'lūmāt-al Āfāq*, Or. 1741, f. 83a. Marshall, 420-21, speaks of two distinct 'courses', each consisting of 8,000 'Covets'. 8,000 is probably a mistake for 5,000. The values of the two 'Covets' derived from his lengths of the respective 'courses' are 31·7 and 29·7 inches. Like Mundy his lengths may not be accurate, yet he is probably describing here the new and the superseded *gaz*-lengths used for measuring the *kuroh*. Similarly Manucci, II, p. 442 (also tr.'s *n.*), who equates 10 European leagues with 12 of India and thus suggests 31·7 inches for the length of the *gaz*, would seem to have the new measure of distance in mind.

3. Bigha-i Daftari

The *Gaz-i Ilāhī* was undoubtedly intended by Akbar to be the sole official standard unit of measurement in almost every sphere.[1] Its displacement of previous official units for measuring land, buildings and cloth is expressly recorded;[2] and the conversion of the areas of all *madad-i ma'āsh* grants, made before its introduction, into the terms of the new unit is attested to by documents belonging to the period.[3] One can be equally certain, therefore, that the *dastūrs* (i.e. the final land-revenue rates) and the *ārāzī* (area) statistics of the *Ain* are both given in terms of the *bigha* of this *gaz*.

The next change in the official unit of land measurement appears to have come in the reign of Shahjahan. About this our knowledge is almost entirely derived from a single passage in Ṣādiq Khān's contemporary history of the reign. We are told that while the *madad-i ma'āsh* grants continued to be defined in terms of the *Bīgha-i Ilāhī*, the standard official unit of measurement for the purposes of records of the land generally was now the *Dir'a-i Shāhjahānī*. The *bigha* based on the new unit was known as the *Bīgha-i Daftarī*, or the *bigha* of the registers, and was exactly, or nearly exactly, two-thirds of the *Bigha-i Ilahi;* it was, at the same time, three times as big as the small *bigha* used by the peasants in the neighbourhood of Dehli and Agra. Ṣādiq Khān declares that "the cultivation (*sic!*) and computation (*ḥisāb*) of the land of the territories of the provinces and the dependencies of Shahjahanabad are entirely based on the *Bīgha-i Daftarī*." In the provinces of the Dakhin too, though the unit recorded, in the first instance, was the local *āūt*, it used to be converted "ultimately" into the *bigha*, i.e., presumably, the *Bigha-i Daftari*.[4] From the relative sizes of the *Bigha-i Daftari* and *Bigha-i Ilahi*,[5] it would appear that the linear length of

1. *A.N.* III, 529.

2. *Ain*, I, 296. The one possible exception is, as we have seen, the measurement of the routes, though the *Ain*, I, 597, declares that here also the *Gaz-i Ilahi* was in use.

3. See references to these documents in note no. 8 in Section 1 of this Appendix. For the use of *Gaz-i Ilahi* in stating the areas of *madad-i ma'ash* grants, see Chapter VIII.

4. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 186b; Or. 1671, f. 91a; Khafi Khan copies the whole passage *verbatim* in the earlier versions of his work. It is printed in a foot-note in the Bibliotheca Indica ed., I, 734-5; cf. also Add. 6573, f. 261b.

5. The *Bigha-i Daftari* is said to have amounted to 3,600 square *Dir'a-i Shahjahani*, and the *Bīgha-i Ilāhī* "a fraction above" 5,400. The natural assumption that this *Bigha-i Ilahi* contained just 3,600 square *Gaz-i Ilahi* is confirmed by a *chak-*

the *Dir'a-i Shahjahani* stood in relation to that of the *Gaz-i Ilāhī* as 60 to 73·485, or that, in other words, it was equal to about 33·5 digits.

Sadiq Khan's statements are fairly clear and precise. Moreover, he was a high official under Shahjahan and could hardly have been ignorant about a matter which must then have been one of common knowledge. It is, indeed, surprising that no other authority should directly confirm his statements, but his evidence is by no means entirely unsupported. There is a suggestion in Pelsaert that indigo cultivators in the neighbourhood of Agra used a *bigha* equal in size to, and, therefore, quite possibly, the parent of, the *Bigha-i Daftari*.[6] In 1680, the land acquired by the English factory at Malda in Bengal was measured, under official auspices, by a *bigha* which corresponds in size almost exactly to the *Bigha-i Daftari*.[7] Again, there is a statement in Khafi Khan to the effect that the *bigha* was measured in his day, i.e. in the earlier part of the 18th century, by the *Dir'a-i Shahjahani*, which, he implies, was different from the unit in use in the time of Raja Todar Mal.[8] In the statistics of the measured areas of the different provinces of Aurangzeb's Empire the *bigha* used is not specified,[9] but the figures would be impossible, if stated in terms of the *Bigha-i Ilahi*, while quite plausible if in those of the *Bigha-i Daftari*.

nama, or boundary-defining document, belonging to the Batala series (I.O. 4438: No. 59). It was itself prepared in the 49th regnal year of Aurangzeb, but it is concerned with a grant originally made in the 7th year of Shahjahan. It expressly speaks of measuring with a sixty-*gaz jarīb*.

6. Pelsaert, p. 10, speaks of indigo being sown "at the rate of 14 or 15 lb. of seed to the *bigha* or 60 Holland ells"; so that the Dutch ell would have been exactly equal to the *gaz* by which this *bigha* was measured. Now the ell, according to Pelsaert elsewhere (p. 29), was 100/120 *Gaz-i Ilahi*, so that the ratio between the two was as 60 to 72—almost the same as that between the *Dir'a-i Shahjahani* and the *Gaz-i Ilahi*.

7. "Malda Diary & Consultations", *JASB*, N.S., XIV, 1918, pp. 81-2, 122-3. The size of the *bigha* is thus stated (p. 82): "each Begae qts eighty large Coveds of Nine Nailes of an English yard." It, therefore, consisted of 2,025 square yards or 0·418 of an acre. The *Bigha-i Daftari*, being 2/3rds of the *Bigha-i Ilahi*, was probably equal to 0·400 acre.

8. Khafi Khan, I, 156; Add. 6573, f. 69b. He attributes the first use of the *bigha* to the genius of Todar Mal, a statement, which, needless to say, is without any foundation. It is to be noted that the Bib. Ind. ed. contains two serious misprints or misreadings: one is the reading '*tanka*' for '*bīgha*' and the other, '*ḥāṣil*' for '*paimā'ish*'.

9. Under Orissa, equivalent area figures are also given in terms of two other much smaller units (Fraser 86, f. 60b; *Intikhāb-i Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Pādshāhī*, Edinburgh 224, f. 11a).

All this is good confirmatory evidence, and if this cannot still be regarded as decisive, there is little with which it can be countered. When, for example, we turn to the accountancy and administrative manuals, from which some precise information might have been expected, we find instead the greatest confusion concerning the name and length of the *dir'a* used in measuring the land. One manual, belonging to Shahjahan's reign, speaks of the *Dir'a-i Ilahi* as the unit whereby a *bigha* ought to be measured;[10] another, written about the time of Aurangzeb's accession, does not refer to the *gaz* or *dir'a* at all, but to cubits (*dasts*) of 24 digits each, one *bigha* being 100 cubits square.[11] Of two other manuals, dating from the middle and later years of Aurangzeb's reign, one puts the length of the *dir'a* (unnamed) at 48 digits,[12] while the other says that the *Dir'a-i Ilahi* was used for "the measurement of the cultivated area", but gives its value as 36 digits.[13]

On the other hand, by the latter part of the 18th century the *Bigha-i Ilahi* appears firmly established as the only official measure of area in use in Northern India.[14] The survey officers of the British Government, who organised revenue 'settlements' early in the following century also found the *Gaz-i Ilahi* to be the only common, or non-local, unit of land measurement used in the various districts of the then 'North Western Provinces'.

Neither the discrepancies in the statements of the manuals, nor the solitary survival of the *Gaz-i Ilahi* need be regarded as obstacles to an acceptance of Sadiq Khan's statements. His *Bigha-i Daftari*, as its name also signifies, was meant primarily to obtain uniformity in the records and it can reasonably be conjectured that actual measurement generally continued to be made in terms of the local units, which, in

10. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, f. 171a.
11. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 2a-b.
12. *Khulasatu-s Siyaq*, f. 75a; Or. 2026, f. 24b.
13. *Farhang-i Kardani*, ff. 12a-13a, Edinburgh 83, f. 7a. It also mentions the *Dir'a-i Shahjahani* which, it explains, was used for measuring cloth, stone, wood and buildings; it puts its length at 41 digits—exactly that of the *Gaz-i Ilahi*! That there was a larger unit promulgated by Shahjahan for cloth appears, however, from Marshall, 420, who speaks of "Shaujahauns Guz, called the Mulmull Guz, containing 41¼ English inches."
14. See a brief report in Persian on the local and official *bighas* in use in the provinces of the Panjab, Shahjahanabad, Awadh and Ilahabad, drawn up some time before 1788 for the benefit of the British administrators of Bengal. (Add. 6586, f. 164a-b). Cf. also Add. 6603, f. 51b, which puts one *Dir'a-i Ilahi* at 40 digits.

the records, were converted at some stage into those of this unit. With the disruption of the Empire the *raison d'etre* of the *Bigha-i Daftari* would have disappeared and the local administrations would have gradually dropped it out of their records. The *Bigha-i Ilahi*, on the other hand, had actually been in use for measuring the limits of the *madad-i ma'āsh* lands and as such enjoyed a universality denied to any of its rivals. The holders of grants as a class had a permanent interest in its survival in order to retain the original limits of their lands. And so it has come about that the present *Pakka Bigha* in Uttar Pradesh is really the *Bigha-i Ilahi* with just a trifling alteration in size.

Appendix B

WEIGHTS

1. Standard Mans

The customary Indian scale of weights for bulk, 40 *sers* = 1 *man*,[1] was used almost exclusively throughout the Mughal Empire, except for certain regions in the east and north-west and in the Dakhin, where it either intermingled or co-existed with other systems of weights, or, in two cases at least, of measures of capacity.

The *ser* in Hindustan, says Abu-l Fazl, used formerly to be equal to the weight of either 18 *dāms*, or 22. From the beginning of Akbar's reign, however, the current standard *ser* was 28 *dams* in weight, but it was raised to 30 *dams* by the emperor some time before the *Ain* was written.[2] The weight of the *dam* in terms of the *tola* scale is given elsewhere in the same work[3] and the weight of the latter unit has been determined fairly precisely on the basis of numismatic and other evidence.[4] The *dam*, accordingly, should have weighed 322·7 grains, so

1. The Anglicised monstrosity 'maund', as old as the 17th century, when it was born apparently out of a fusion of the Indian name with the Portuguese corruption *mão* (*Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke, 563-4), has, probably, come to stay. In the present work it has been applied only to the present standard unit, which officially bears the name in this garb. The distinction might as well serve to emphasise that the Indian official 'maund' (= 82$\frac{2}{7}$ lb. avdp.) is no guide to the units in use in our period.

2. *Ain*, II, 60; also *ibid*, I, 284.

3. *Ibid*, I, 26: 1 *dam* = 1 *tolcha*, 8 *masha*, 7 *surkh*; or 1$\frac{71}{96}$ *tola*.

4. Prof. S. H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, pp. 224-34. He fixes the weight of the *tola* at about 185·5 grains, after assembling almost the entire evidence directly bearing upon this point. He has, however, made no attempt to arrive at its value by working back from the weights of the *mans* found in European sources. This is noted here solely to clear the argument in the text in advance from any suspicion that the evidence adduced later on in its confirmation is really part of the material that led to the initial assumption. Prinsep, who tried to determine the weight of the *man-i Akbari* confused the jewellers' weights with those of the bankers', and his value for it is accordingly impossibly low (*Useful Tables*, ed. Thomas, 111). Thomas steers clear of this confusion, but he uses Prinsep's value for the Mughal *tola* (186·0 grains), which, as he himself notes, is based on a misreading of the text by Gladwin. (*Ibid*, 19-20

that the *man* based on the *ser* of 28 *dams* was equal to about 51·63 lb. avoirdupois, and that of 30 *dams* to the *ser*—called *Akbar-shāhī* or *Akbarī*—to about 55·32 lb. The values for the latter *man* in European authorities seem to approximate to the same figure.[5]

On his accession Jahangir promulgated a new *man* (*man-i Jahāngīrī*) based upon the *ser* of 36 *dams*. He withdrew it in or a little earlier than the 14th regnal year, but restored it finally during that year.[6] In terms of avoirdupois weights the new unit must have been equal to about 66·38 lb.[7]

Shahjahan, in his turn, established a new *man*, raising its weight so that the *ser* equalled 40 *dams* in weight.[8] The date when it was

& 20 *n.*; *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, 421, 425, 429-30). But the difference between Hodivala's and Prinsep's values for the *tola* is so small that Moreland could not go far wrong in his weights of the various *mans* which he determined on the basis of Prinsep's value (*India &c. of Akbar*, 53; *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 334).

5. Ufflitt in 1614 noted that the 'maund' based on 'the Achabe (*Akbari*) sera, equalling 30 pices' was equivalent to 56 lb. (avdp.) (Foster, *Supplementary Calendar*, 48). Pelsaert, 29, says '1 Akbari *ser* weighs 30 pice, or 1¼ lb.', i.e., 1 *man-i Akbari* = 50 lb. Holland or 54·5 avdp. Hawkins (*Early Travels*, 105) is, probably, referring to the same *man* when he says, 'every maune is five and fiftie pounds weight'. Cf. Moreland, *India &c. of Akbar*, pp. 53-62; *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 334, 342. A discordant note is struck by certain references in English records where the *man* is considered equal to 50 lb. avdp. (*Lett. Recd.* III, 60, 87; *Factories, 1630-33*, p. 328). The first and third of these are expressly concerned with indigo trade and perhaps include an allowance of 9 per cent. for dryness, a proportion estimated elsewhere in the same records. (*Lett. Recd.* VI, 236).

6. *T.J.*, 96, 281. Jahangir's statements appear to have been misunderstood. Moreland, for instance, says that it was in 1619 that, on the advice of the mystic Jadrūp, he "promptly" ordered the *ser* to weigh 36 *dams*. (*Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 335). Jahangir does not speak, under the 14th year, of promulgating, but, in quite clear terms, of restoring his previous standard. To the original fixation at the accession there is an incidental, but definite reference under the 6th year (*T.J.*, 96). There are equally definite references in the English records of 1614 and 1615 to "the maund of Shawsalem, which is 36 pices to the seara" (Foster, *Supplementary Calendar*, 43, 47, 48; *Lett. Recd.* III, p. 11).

7. Ufflitt puts its value at 65 lb avdp. (Foster, *Supplementary Calendar*, 48) and Pelsaert, 11, at 60 lb. Holland or 65·4 lb. avdp. Cf. also Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 335, 342, and the authorities cited there. Mundy, 237, equates "16 Maund Jehangueere" with "neere 1000 (lb.) weight English", thus suggesting that 1 *man* = 62½ lb. avdp., but it ill accords with his own weight for the pice, or *dam*, *viz.* 22 pice = 1 lb. given elsewhere (p. 156), from which a weight of 65·36 lb. would be deduced for the *man-i Jahangiri*.

8. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, f. 179b; *D. 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 2b; *Factories, 1634-36*, p. 156.

.blished does not appear in our authorities, but the first references ; are found in Dutch and English commercial literature in 1634[9] and 5.[10] Assuming that the *dam*-weights correctly represented its real o with the *man-i Akbari* — an assumption fortified by the definite imony of a contemporary manual[11]—the *man-i Shāhjahānī* should e been equal to about 73·76 lb. avoirdupois.[12]

There seems good reason to believe that Aurangzeb did not intro- e a new *man* of his own, in so far as this might imply a change in olute weight.[13] A new difficulty must have arisen, however, with discontinuance of the issue of the *dams* at their old weights, the ones being replaced in the very first decade of the reign by *dam*- :es lighter by a third.[14] If the weights were to go on being determin- at the former ratios of the *dams*, only old coins would now be avail- e for use and these would wear off with the passage of time. Appa-

9. *Dagh Register*, October 22, 1634, cited by Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 42.

0. *Factories, 1634-36*, pp. 129, 133.

1. The *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, f. 179b, giving the arithmetical formula converting the *man-i Shahjahani* into *man-i Akbari* and *vice versa*, assumes the former was equal to 1⅓ of the latter. The late 17th century manual, the *›abit-i 'Alamgiri* (Ethe 415, f. 170b; Or. 1641, f. 50a; Add. 6598, f. 153a) also down the weight of the *man-i Akbari* in terms of the *Shahjahani* as 30 *ser*.

2. A Dutch record (apparently the same one in the *Dagh Register* as above 1) puts the value of this *man* at 67 lb. Dutch (i.e. 73·03 lb. avdp.) (Moreland, cit., 335). It is equated with 74 lb. in a Surat Consultation of 1639 (*Factories, '-41*, p. 192), but with 73½ or 73⅓ the next year (*ibid*, 274). In Tavernier, 2, and Thevenot, 25, if they are speaking of the same *man*, its weight seems be overstated, even if we accept Moreland's value for the French *livre* of period, rather than that of Ball (Moreland, *op. cit.* 333; Ball's Appendix, ernier, I, 331. Cf. also Hodivala, *Mughal Numismatics*, 231). The two tra- ers put the value of the *man* at 69 and 70 *livres* respectively, which, if we ›w Moreland, could not have been much less than 75·21 and 76·30 lb. avdp. It lso to be noted that Tavernier's value for the *man-i Akbari*, viz 53 *livres* p. 132; II, p. 7) would similarly be a distinct overstatement of the real weight onverted into lb. avdp. according to Moreland's rate.

3. The *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri* (*op. cit.*) shows the *man-i 'Alamgiri* as identical veight with the *man-i Shahjahani*. In 1676 Fryer describes "The Maund Pucka Agra" as "double" the Surat *man*, the latter based on the *ser* of 20 "Pice"; only other "maund" at Agra, known to him, was the "Maund Ecbarry" pp. 126-7).

4. Cf. S. H. Hodivala, 'The Weights of Aurangzeb's Dams', *JASB*, NS, XIII, , pp. 62-67. See also Appendix III.

rently, the *ser*-weight was not re-stated in terms of the new pieces,[15] but the rate in terms of the old was at length increased to 42 for the *ser-i Shahjahani.* Perhaps this also became outdated in course of time so that the rate of 43, and still later 44 *dams*, was instituted, the units of weight being renamed *'Alamgiri,* although no alteration in real weight seems to have been intended.[16]

2. The Mans and other Weights used in the Various Regions

The evidence we possess, being largely confined to incidental references, does not permit any comprehensive statement of the markets and lines of trade in which the standard and local weights were used at different times. Whatever information we have suggests that the successive official weights were widely enforced; that the enforcement did not come immediately upon the first introduction of the new unit, but was applied gradually in different markets or in specific trades; and that in many regions local weights and measures of capacity, sometimes

15. For the clearest contemporary statement on this point see Marshall, 416.

16. The argument of the passage is largely based on the tables of official weights given in the *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri, op. cit.* It gives their values in terms of the old *dams* (*fulūs-i qadīm*) on one side and in those of the *man-i Shahjahani* on the other. In the former table 30 *dams* go to the *ser-i Akbari*, 36 to *Jahangiri*, but 42 to *Shahjahani* and 43 to *'Alamgiri*, while, as we have already seen above, the *man-i Akbari* is equated with 30 *ser-i Shahjahani* and the *man-i Jahangiri* with 36 (MS. var. 31), and the *man-i 'Alamgiri* is declared to be the same as the *man-i Shahjahani.* Writing on the basis of his observations in 1668-72 in Bengal and Bihar, Marshall, 421, says: "19¾ mass (*masha*) make one pice Shawjahan, being copper, 42 which pice make one seer bazar weight". This weight for the *dam* is distinctly less than the standard weight given to it in our other authorities (20⅞ *mashas* in the *Ain*, and, perhaps, less precisely, 21 *mashas* in the *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, I, 267, 385; *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Ethe 415, f. 179b, Or 1641, f. 49b, Add. 6598, f. 48b). Assuming that Marshall's weight allows for the depreciation since the last issue of the old *dams*, an increase in the number of the *dams* going to a *ser*, from 40 to 42—the rate which he in fact himself gives here—must have become necessary, if the *ser* was to be prevented from gradually falling in weight. The *Farhang-i Kardani*, Edinburgh 83, f. 5b, after giving the usual weights for the *ser-i Akbari* and *Jahangiri* in terms of *dams* assigns 40 as well as 42 to the *ser-i Shahjahani.* Under the *ser-i Aurangshāhī*, we have 44 and 48 *dams* to the *ser*. The first figure probably represents the result of a further depreciation in weight of the old *dams*. The second figure is rather difficult to explain. The same manual, f. 6a, shows that the *dam* issued by Aurangzeb's mints in Bengal, where the work was written, was 18 *mashas* in weight, and it might be that these are the *dams* meant by the latter figure. But in that case, 47 would have been more accurate than 48.

officially recognised, or even altered, continued to exist, occasionally alone, but generally side by side with the imperial standards. To all this is to be added another factor, namely, the varying customs of different trades and markets, whereby apparent variations in weight-units and scales really represented commercial allowances or commissions to either party.[1]

It seems that the *man-i Akbari* had come very near to being the single, universal unit of weight in the markets of the central regions of the Empire. This view is certainly not backed by any definite statement, but is based rather upon the silence of our authorities in regard to any other unit. For instance, while giving prices of different commodities, Abul Fazl might well have mentioned the presence of another weight, if such was used in the case of one or a few of them. Similarly, there is no reference at all in the English records of the early years of the 17th century, to any unit in the markets of Agra or Ajmer, which may possibly be conjectured to have had an earlier origin than Akbar's *man*. The monopoly of the latter went, however, with the promulgation of the *man-i Jahangiri*, though it was by no means entirely superseded. For a number of years afterwards it still continues to be referred to as the general unit in use in the Agra market.[2] In the indigo trade of the Agra region it lasted throughout our period, or at any rate till the eighth decade of the century.[3] It endured similarly in the trade in silk and 'other fine Goods',[4] specifically quicksilver and vermilion,[5] and musk.[6]

It is not clear in what lines of trade precisely the *man-i Jahangiri* was used. Most statements about its use in the Agra market are couch-

1. To take two examples from the Indigo trade of Ahmadabad: The English factors report in December 1614: "We here buy of good Sarques (Sarkhej) indigo for 11 rupees the maund, they allowing us 42 seers of the new (i.e. the less dry) and 41 seers of the old to the maund..." (*Lett. Recd.*, II, 250). In 1647 over thirty years later complaint is made from the same place of "the prejudicial custom of weighing (indigo) 40 s(e)r net introduced by the prince (Aurangzeb)." (*Factories, 1646-50*, p. 143).

2. Hawkins, *Early Travels*, 105; *Lett. Recd.* III, 87 (refers to Ajmer while the court was there); and other references in the notes below

3. *Lett. Recd.* III, 69; Pelsaert, 16-17; *Factories, 1622-3*, 284-5; *1630-33*, 328; *1642-5*, 84; *1646-50*, 202; Tavernier, I, 32, II, 7; Fryer, II, 127.

4. Thus Fryer, II, 127. Also, *Factories, 1618-21*, 194, 213.

5. *Factories. 1630-33*, 213.

6. *Factories, 1618-21*, 47.

ed in general terms only. The one specific reference we have shows that it continued to be used in the cochineal trade down to about 1652, when it was finally displaced there by the *man-i Shahjahani*.[7]

Apart from its ultimate entry into this trade, the *man-i Shahjahani* was probably imposed chiefly upon the trade in foodstuffs and other agrarian produce (except indigo). We hear of its use at Agra in 1639 and 1646 in connexion with sugar and gum-lac;[8] and in the next half of the 17th century it comes to be spoken of as the "ordinary" *man* of the market.[9]

Turning eastward, we find that the Patna market responded to the changes in the official standard weights effectively enough, but with peculiar deviations of its own. In 1620, the English factors sent there reported that the unit used in the silk trade of the place was not the *man-i Akbari*, but a *man* based upon the *ser* of 34½[10] or, as stated by themselves elsewhere, 33½ pice, or *dams*,[11] by which, nevertheless, they apparently meant the *man-i Jahangiri*.[12] The lower value in terms of *dams* may signify a sellers' allowance in the particular trade at that time. On the other hand, Mundy, who visited Patna in 1632, says that the *man* used there, apparently for all goods, was based upon the *ser* of 37 *dams*,[13] and this would indicate an allowance in favour of the buyer.[14] The *man-i Jahangiri* was ultimately superseded here by its official successor, for Marshall (1668-72) speaks of the *man* current there in his time as based on a *ser* weighing 42 *dams*, and itself equivalent to 78 lb. avdp.; "but the custom of the place is to allow 2 seer in every maund".[15]

7 *Factories, 1655-60*, 18.

8. *Factories, 1637-41*, 192; *1646-50*, 62.

9. Tavernier, I, 32; Thevenot, 25.

10. *Factories, 1618-21*, 193-194.

11. *Ibid*, 205, 213.

12. Thus when they refer to the despatch of goods, purchased by them, from Patna, they reckon the rate of payment for transport in terms of the 'Jehanger maund'. Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 335, seems to have misunderstood their statements for he cities one of them, Hughes, as saying that the *man-i Akbari* was also current at Patna.

13. Mundy, 156.

14. Cf. Moreland, *op. cit.*

15. Marshall, 419. His statements are not consistent. If 2 *sers* were allowed in a *man*, the *man* would have weighed, in the result, nearly 82 lb. avdp, but he elsewhere (127, 149, 413) speaks of the *man* as weighing 80 lb. only. In any case he gives a very high value for the *man-i Shahjahani*. It is tempting to think

In Bengal we do not come across any reference to the actual use of the *man-i Akbari*, but the *man-i Jahangiri* is frequently met with. In 1634 the English sold lead by its weight[16] and in 1642 we find them charging freight on cloth and sugar, taken aboard at Balasore, at respectively the 'maunds' of 64 and 128 lb. av.,[17] which are obviously single and double *man-i Jahangiri*. In a formal attestation in 1657, a Portuguese merchant equates the '*mão* of Bengala' with 64 arates or 64·64 lb. av.,[18] so that till this date at least it continued to hold its position in the province. But in 1659 the *man-i Shahjahani* ('the maund of 75 lb.') is found in use for cotton yarn at Balasore,[19] although a manual belonging to the later years of Aurangzeb says the *man-i Jahangiri* was employed in Bengal and Orissa, presumably at the time it was written, chiefly in the trade of this very commodity.[20] Indeed, henceforth in the English commercial records, the *mans* of different markets in the province seem only to be either equivalents or minor variations of the *man-i Shahjahani*;[21] the greatest variation occurred in the grain trade, where the *man* continued to be based upon the *ser* of 40 *dams* and so lost, with

that 42 *dam*-weights per *ser* really signified an increase in the weight of the *man-i Shahjahani*, founded originally on the *ser* of 40 *dams*. But this is belied by Marshall's own weight for the *dam*-piece (p. 421), which, as seen above, distinctly reveals loss from depreciation.

16. *Factories, 1634-36*, 49.

17. *Factories, 1642-45*, 72. Moreland says, 'the Dutch records mention a maund of about 66 lb. (avdp.) at Hooghly in 1636 and at Balasore in 1642, but in 1645 the Shahjahani maund was used at the port of Pipli' (*Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 335). For the last statement he refers us to the page in the *Factories* given at the head of this note. It would appear that he has mixed up his Dutch and English authorities.

18. Master, II, 62.

19. *Factories, 1655-60*, 297.

20. *Farhang-i Kardani*, Edinburgh 83, f. 6b-7a. The word used is *sūt*.

21. The *man* at Hugli is stated to have weighed 73 lb. avdp. by Marshall, 419, but 70 lb. by Bowrey, 217. The latter also gives the value of 75 lb. avdp. to the *man* at Balasore; and 68 lb. to that of Qasimbazar, which means that it was identical with the *man* used for foodstuffs. An interesting distinction is drawn by Marshall between two units: one, the *man* of which the *ser* weighed 42 pice 'Shawjahaun', and each pice 19¾ *mashas*, it being known as the 'buzar weight'; the other a *man* whereof the *ser* weighed 40 pice 'Modussay', 'or one old pice' of 18½ *mashas* the 'factory weight' at Hugli (p. 421). The latter would have come, according to the weight of the particular pice, to about 62·3 lb. av. But the weight of the *madhushahi paisa* is stated to be 16 *mashas* in the *Farhang-i Kardani*, Edinburgh 83, f. 6a. Perhaps Marshall meant the *Aurang-shahi paisa* (of local mintage?), which in the same manual is assigned the weight of 18 *mashas*.

the depreciation of the old *dams*, in terms of absolute weight and in relation to the *man*-weights elsewhere.[22] We should not omit to note, however, the local scale of measures of capacity, based upon the *gauṇi*, or basket, which is stated to have been in use in the provinces of Bengal and Orissa in the trade in food-grains.[23]

We have little information about the weights used in the Lahor market. Prices current there of sugar and indigo are quoted in 1639 in terms of a 'maen packa' and 'the greate maen',[24] both of which, at that time, should have meant the *man-i Shahjahani*. 'The great maen' is also used with reference to the prices of the same goods at Multan.[25] The *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri* lists "the *mānī*, i.e. (*sic!*) the *topa*, a wooden measure", among the recognised weights; the weight of this at Lahor is given as 6 and at Multan, 12 *man* (-*i Shahjahani?*).[26] This measure of capacity, in slightly varying scales, has survived in the Panjab proper down to the present day, being used particularly in rural trade.[27]

The English factors, who visited Sind in 1635, found that while in Sehwan the *man-i Jahangiri* was still current in the indigo trade, the Thatta market had gone over to the *man-i Shahjahani*.[28] Subsequently the latter unit alone is referred to, at any rate in the indigo trade of Sind.[29] In this province we first come across the great rival of the

22. *Farhang-i Kardani*, Edinburgh 83, ff. 5b-6a: "In *baqqālī* (grain-trade) the established weight is in terms of the *murādī* (or *dām*) *Shāhjahānī* by the forty-weight." Cf. Bowrey, 217: "Graine, butter. Oyle, or any liquid things, all the River of Hugly over, allow but 68 pound to the maund."

23. Or. 1840, f. 187a; *Farhang-i Kardani*, Edinburgh 83, ff. 6b-7a. The *gauṇi* appears in both these authorities as *gaudi*. For this measure see Wilson's *Glossary*, 170; *Cuttack Dist. Gazetteer*, 1906, p. 144, where it is stated that the weight of the *gauni* varies from 1¾ to 7 seers the present standard. The measure now appears to be used in Orissa only.

24. *Factories, 1637-41*, p. 135.

25. *Ibid*, 136.

26. *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Ethe 415, f. 171a; Or. 1641, f. 50a; Add. 6598, f. 153a.

27. The various local scales, as described in the *District Gazetteers*, show that whatever the size of the *topa*, its ratio to the next higher unit, the *pai*, is everywhere the same, i.e. 4 *topas* make a *pai*. In Multan 80 *pais*, and in Montgomery and the Rechna tract of the Lahore district 50 *pais* make a *mani* or *mahni*. (See *Lahore Dist. Gaz.*, 1893-4, pp. 194-5; *Montgomery Dist. Gaz.*, 1898-9, pp. 182-3; *Multan Dist. Gaz.*, 1901-2, p. 258).

28. *Factories, 1634-36*, p. 133. The *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, written in Sehwan in 1634, does not refer to *man-i Shahjahani* at all, but has two references to *man-i Jahangiri* (pp. 146, 182).

29. *Factories, 1637-41*, pp. 274, 276.

man in the north-west, namely, the *kharwār*, or the 'ass-load'.[30] We find it in use in 1634 in Sehwan for stating the quantity of all food-grains. It was then equated with either 9 or 10 *man-i Jahangiri*, that is, either 597·3 or 663·8 lb. avdp.[31] In 1635 the English factors considered the "corwaur" at Thatta as equal to 8 *man-i Shahjahani*, or some 590 lb. avdp.[32]

While in Sind the *kharwar* co-existed with the *man*, in Kashmir it enjoyed exclusive dominance.[33] Abu-l Fazl equates one *kharwar* of Kashmir with 3 *mans* and 8 *sers* in *Akbar-shahi* weight,[34] i.e. 177·02 lb. avdp., which is all but identical with the weight assigned to it by a modern authority, viz., 177·74 lb.[35]

In the Mughal Dakhin the *man-i Jahangiri* was certainly in use at Burhanpur in 1622, when the English sold their lead by it.[36] However, the *man-i Akbari* seems to have outlasted it even here, for in an official inventory of the royal stores, the *Khāṣa-i Sharīfa*, at the fort of Daulatabad, made in the 10th regnal year of Shahjahan, the weights of a number of articles, cannon-balls, sulphur, &c., are expressly given in terms of the *man-i Akbari*.[37] The *man-i Shahjahani* is used for quanti-

30. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 182-5. A *kharwar* consisted of 60 *kāsas* and a *kāsa* of 4 *toyas* (p. 182; also pp. 146 & 172).

31. The *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* at one place equates 5 *kasas* with 30 *ser-i Jahangiri* (p. 146), but says elsewhere that one *kasa*, "by the weight of stones", is equal to 6⅝ *ser-i Jahangiri* and 1½ *dam*-weights (p. 182).

32. *Factories, 1634-6* p. 133.

33. The *Ain*, I, 570, gives the following scale of the weights current in Kashmir: 2 *dams* weight = 1 *pal;* 7½ *pal* = 1 *ser;* 4 *sers* = 1 *man;* 4 *mans* = 1 *trak;* 16 *traks* = 1 *kharwar*. Blochmann's text makes a serious omission while giving this scale, whereby it makes 4 *sers* equal to one *trak*. (This remains uncorrected in Jarrett's tr., II, ed. Sarkar, 366). MSS Add. 7652 & Add. 6552 are quite clear in their reading and they are supported by T.J., 315. The scale is the same today, for 30 *pals* are considered equal to one *manwata* (W. R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir, London*, 1895, p. 242).

34. *A.N.* III, 548; *Ain*, I, 570.

35. W. R. Lawrence, *op. cit.* Jahangir (*T.J.*, 297, 315), giving equivalents of the Kashmiri units in terms of the *man* scale has simply copied Abu-l Fazl despite the fact that he himself had changed the official standard weight.

36. *Factories, 1622-3*, 30: 'maund of 36 pices to the ser and 42 sers to the maund', which means a trade allowance of 5% presumably.

37. *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, 92-98. Cf. also an undated document in *ibid*, 219-20.

ties at the end of the list, comprising some edible materials (viz., betel-nut, poppy-seed, *bhang* and *bajri*-grains) and a couldron.[38] In a document of c. 1638, however, the *man-i Shahjahani* is used for reckoning the quantities of sulphur, charcoal and saltpetre as well.[39] And Bhimsen uses the *man-i Shahjahani* in his reminiscences of the prices current in the Dakhin provinces during the early years of Aurangzeb's reign.[40]

In Gujarat, the prevalent *man* was probably of local origin, but it was kept, partly, at least, by administrative action, at exactly half the weight of the current imperial standard. There is one reference in 1611 to the 'smaller' *man* at Surat of 27 or 27·5 lb.—i.e. half the *man-i Akbari*—, and again in 1614, when it is said to have been in use "for elephant's teeth, gold and silver".[41] But it is not noticed afterwards and must have gone entirely out of use. Henceforth the 'larger' *man* alone appears: it was based on the *ser* of 18 *dams*' weight and was, therefore, half the *man-i Jahangiri*. Its weight must, accordingly, have been 33·19 lb. avdp., and the English and Dutch records generally confirm this value[42] The *man* was used for everything—or, as one source puts it, "for butter, meat, sugar, indigo, saltpetre, wood, salt, etc. and everything that is weighable"[43] and was current not only at Surat and Ahmadabad, but "practically throughout Gujarat".[44] The intro-

38. *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, p. 98. The *man-i Shahjahani* is termed *man ba-wazn-i chihal-dāmī* ('the *man* by the forty *dam*-weight').

39. *Ibid*, 223. Here the term *man ba-wazn-i Shāhjahānī* is actually used. The document is undated, but a reference to preparations for the expedition against Baglana enables us to determine its approximate date.

40. *Dilkusha*, f. 20b. From the *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Ethe 415, f. 71a, Or. 1641, f. 50a, Add. 6598, f. 153a, it appears that the southern unit, *khandi*—the 'Candy' of European commercial literature—was incorporated into the official scale of the Dakhin provinces at its usual value of 20 *mans*, which in this case are specified as the *man-i Shahjahani*.

41. *Lett. Recd.* I, 34; Foster, *Supplementary Calendar*, 47.

42. The English estimates range from 32 to 33 lb. avdp. (*Lett. Recd.* I, 34, 241; II, 214, 238; III, 11; Foster, *Supplementary Calendar*, 47; *Factories, 1618-21*, 60, 76; Fryer, II, 126), while one estimate (*Lett. Recd.* III, 69) gives it as low a value as 30 lb. avdp. Pelsaert, p. 42, says its weight was 30 lb. Dutch, or 32·7 lb. avdp., but Broeke (*JIH*, xi, 10) and van Twist (*JIH*, xvi, 72) have 30½ lb. Dutch or 33·2 lb. avdp.

43. Van Twist, *JIH*, xvi, 72.

44. Pelsaert, 42. This is also to be deduced from the fact that the factors dealing at Baroch or Baroda, for example, do not speak of a separate *man*. At

duction of the *man-i Shahjahani,* in or before 1634, caused a corresponding change in the *man* of Gujarat, whose weight was now raised to 20 *dams* per *ser*: the new weight was imposed at Ahmadabad in 1635 and at Surat early in the following year by an imperial *farman*.[45] The value of the new *man* should have been 36·88 lb., and this again is confirmed by European evidence.[46] This *man* completely superseded the older one, which is not heard of after the change: not only were all the articles in which the European merchants were interested, sold by the new *man,* but also 'all sorts of Grain....and other Goods of Weight'.[47] It does not appear to have been altered for the rest of our period.[48]

3. Weights used in European Sources

Since European weights are quite often used in our European authorities, their values must also be borne in mind. The English factors always used the avoirdupois ('English' or 'haberdepoiz', &c.) weights, while the unit used by the Dutch was the Amsterdam pound, equal to '0·494 kilograms, or practically 1·09 lb.' (avdp.).[1] Moreland says that the 'French *livre* of the period was slightly less than the Dutch pound',[2] which suggests a value much less than that assigned to it by Ball.[3] But, as has been discussed in a footnote in connexion with the values for the *man-i Shahjahani,* given by Tavernier and Thevenot, it would seem that even Moreland's rate is too high for the *livre* these two French

Khambayat (Cambay), we are told, opium was sold by 'the maund of 45 seer at 17 pice the seer', which seems to be the result of peculiar trade allowances. (*Lett. Recd.* III, 41).

45. *Factories, 1634-6,* 143, 156.

46. 37 lb. av. in *Factories, 1646-50,* 206, and Fryer, II, 126; 36⅔ lb. in *Factories, 1661-5,* 113. Moreland says 'the Dutch took it as 34½ (lb. Holland)' (*Akbar to Aurangzeb,* 336), which means 37·6 lb. avdp. Tavernier (II, 7, 14) puts its value at 34½ or 34 French *livres* (or, at Moreland's rate for the latter, slightly less than 37·6 or 37·06 lb. avdp. respectively). Thevenot, 25, says a *ser* of Surat equalled 14 oz. French, and the *man,* therefore, should have weighed 35 lb. French or 38·15 lb. avdp. which is much too high. On the other hand, Ovington, 133, certainly underrates it, when he says, 'a sear' = 13⅓ oz. avdp., so that the *man* = 33·3 lb.

47. Fryer, II, 126.

48. Cf. *ibid.* Does Ovington's value (A.D. 1690-93) for it, 33·3 lb. avdp., signify a reduction in weight owing to the wearing off of the old *dams?*

1. *Akbar to Aurangzeb,* 333.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Tavernier, I, 331.

travellers were using. The Portuguese used 'the *quintal* or *kintal*' of about 130 lb. av.[4] and the *arratel* of 1·01 lb.[5]

European merchants and factors frequently use another set of terms with reference to indigo and sugar—viz., 'churl', 'bale', 'fardle', all of which signify a package of weight and size convenient, in the case of inland marts, for transport on pack-animals and roughly equivalent, therefore, to a full or half ox- or buffalo- or camel-load.[6] As such the terms by themselves do not denote a definite weight, but customary weights were assigned to them for different goods at different places, that were acceptable, presumably, to the owners of the animals and the carters, while the English and Dutch strove to achieve some standardisation for their own convenience. The indigo at Agra, for example, was packed in churls or fardles of just slightly above 4 *man-i Akbari*.[7] In Bengal the bale of sugar is stated, at Qasimbazar, to be '2 Maunds, 6½ seers, Factory Weight' in 1683,[8] which, at the value given to the Qasimbazar *man* by Bowrey,[9] should have come to nearly 2 *man-i Shahjahani*.[10] In Guja-

4. *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 334.

5. *Relations*, p. 90. This is stated to be the 'value of the 'new' arratel of 16 ounces. The old one of 14 ounces 'was obsolete in India, except for the pepper trade, before the end of the sixteenth century.'

6. Cf. *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 340-41. Mundy, 95, says that while journeying from Agra to Patna he saw oxen carrying '4 great Maunds' each, which load, if the *man-i Jahangiri* is meant, would amount to 265·5 lb. avdp. On p. 98, he puts the ox-load at 2½ cwt. or 280 lb. av. Tavernier, I, 32, says an ox could carry 300 or 350 *livres*, i.e. 327·0 or 381·5 lb. avdp.

7. In 1615 the Surat factors speak of indigo brought from Agra in terms of 'fardles', each, 'by estimation', of 6½ 'maund', i.e. presumably the *man* of Surat, and so equivalent to a little below 4 *man-i Akbari*. (*Lett. Recd.* II, 194). In 1617 Hughes at Agra gives figures of fardles and weights of indigo packed, which imply that a fardle contained 4·1 *man-i Akbari* 'net', i.e. apparently without counting the packing materials. (*Ibid*, IV, 236) In 1621, in a complaint against the Mughal authorities one churl of Agra indigo is put at 4½ *man-i Akbari*, but the occasion is such as naturally to breed exaggeration. (*Factories, 1622-3*, 284-5). In 1633-4 and 1643 a 'bale' of Bayana indigo is put at just 4 *mans* (*ibid, 1634-6*, p. 1; *1642-5*, p. 48). Pelsaert, 16-17, also reckons a bale of Agra indigo as equal to 4 'maunds' net. Moreland (*Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 340-41) says the Dutch records give its weight as 230-240 lb. avdp., i.e. between 4·25 and 4·5 *man-i Akbari*, the unit in use in this trade, but this might include the packing materials as well.

8. Hedges, I, 75.

9. Bowrey, 217.

10. This is very close to the weight of the bale of Bengal silk (143 lb. avdp.), which Moreland found in 'Dutch records' (*op. cit.*).

rat, the weight of a bale of indigo at Ahmadabad was fixed by the English in 1619 at 4 Surat *mans* (of 18 dams per *ser*) as the maximum,[11] but there are later references to a slightly higher weight.[12] A bale of Gujarat sugar was taken in the Dutch records as the equivalent of 8 *mans* of 20 *dams* per *ser*.[13]

11. *Factories, 1618-21*, p. 76.

12. '4 maunds, 7 seers' in 1629 (*Factories, 1624-29*, p. 230). Moreland cites the Dutch records as giving a value of 145·155 lb. avdp. to the bale (*Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 340, 342). He also refers to an invoice in the *Old Correspondence* of 1656, where a bale of Gujarat indigo is reckoned as 148 lb. net, or, apparently, exactly 4 *mans* of 20 *dams* per *ser*.

13. *Dagh Register*, May 21, 1641, cited by Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 340.

APPENDIX C

THE COINAGE, AND THE GOLD AND COPPER VALUES OF THE RUPEE

1. THE COINAGE

It must be regarded as a notable achievement for the time that the Mughals were able to establish a currency of a very high metallic standard and uniformity throughout their vast empire. They coined gold, silver and copper: the gold issues were almost cent. per cent. pure, while in the silver the proportion of the alloy never rose above 4 per cent.[1] The currency system, moreover, was one of 'free" coinage; that is to say, it was open to anyone to take bullion to the mint and get it converted into specie.[2] The result, therefore, was that the coins circulated at values practically corresponding to their weights in the respective metals, and the ratios at which one unit exchanged for another of a different metal was a matter to be determined by the market, and not by the administration.

In so far as both the administration and the commercial world were concerned, the basic unit for all cash transactions was the silver coin, *rūpya*, or, in its Anglicised form, the rupee. The silver fractional unit of *āna*, or anna, equivalent to 1/16th of the Rupee, seems to have come into common use in the 17th century.[3] The gold *muhr*, known also as

1. For the best discussion of the subject see S. H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, pp. 235-44.

2. This follows from the *Ain*, I, pp. 16, 31-33 (cf. Hodivala, op. cit.) and the innumerable instances scattered in English records (e.g. *Factories, 1634-6*, pp. 68-9; *1646-50*, p. 185); also Tavernier, I, pp. 7-8, 20. For exceptions to and lapses from tne usual efficiency of the Mughal minting system, see Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 277, citing Dutch records, and *Factories*, NS, II, p. 391, both relating to Bengal; also an order of Aurangzeb (*Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 282a-b), condemning malpractices at the Burhanpur mint.

3. The two lowest fractional units of the rupee in the *Ain*, I, 26, are the *sūki*, 1/20th, and the *kalā*, 1/16th. It is uncertain when the latter, under the name *āna*, established itself as the basic fractional unit, but it was already in use in Bengal about 1600 (*Haft Iqlim*, 94-95). It appears in commercial use as early as 1620 at Patna (*Factories, 1618-21*, pp. 94, 204). It is definitely employed in the official accounts of Shahjahan's reign. (See *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, pp. 93, 97, 98, 180, 194-5, 216-18, 220).

the *ashrafi*, was not in general commercial use, but mostly employed for hoarding purposes especially by the aristocracy.[4] The main copper coin was the *dām*. In Akbar's reign it gradually replaced the copper *ṭanka*, of which it was supposed to be half in value.[5] The *dam* was also known as *paisa*, while the half-*dam* was called *adhela*.[6] An element of confusion was introduced in the 17th century, when with the disappearance of the old *tanka* it became common to use its name for the official *dam*, and *paisa* for the old *adhela*.[7] Moreover, owing to the rise in the silver price of copper the standard ratio of 40 *dams* to a Rupee instituted under Akbar could no longer be maintained for purposes of actual payments. Since, however, the old rate continued to be used in the accounts, notably in connexion with the *jama'* figures and the calculation of salaries, the *dam* of these accounts became an imaginary coin, a mere theoretical fraction of the rupee.[8]

The weights of the rupee and the *muhr* remained practically unaltered throughout our period. Only Aurangzeb at his accession made a trifling increase in the weights of both coins, which, however, left their relative weights unaffected.[9] Jahangir gave currency to two heavier

4. Pelsaert 29; Travernier, I, pp. 15, 16.

5. The copper *ṭanka* is sometimes also called *ṭanka-i Dihlī*, *ṭanka-i Murādī* and *ṭanka-i siyāh*. See Hodivala, *JASB*, NS, XXVIII, pp. 80-96. To the authorities cited there we may add 'Arif Qandahari, 179, & Mu'tamad Khan, *Iqbalnama*, Or. 1834, f. 232b.

6. *Ain*, I, p. 27. It should be noted that Akbar's introduction of *dam* as half-*tanka* played havoc with the traditional Indian scale of copper money, which was as follows:

3 *dāms* = 1 *damrī*, 4 *damrīs* = 1 *adhela*, 2 *adhelas* = 1 *paisa*, 2 *paisas* = 1 *ṭanka*; but 1 *paisa* = 25 *dams* and 1 *ṭanka* = 50 *dams*. (*Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 3a, 17b, 19a; Marshall, 416; Or. 1840, f. 134a; *Farhang-i Kardani*, Edinburgh 83, f. 6a; Elliot, *Memoirs, &c.*, ii, p. 296).

The *dam* is invariably described as 'pice' (or by numerous other corruptions of the word *paisa*) in the European records, when the reference is to *dam*-weight and not to *dam* as a unit of account. See the next note.

7. Thus Pelsaert 29, 60; van Twist, *JIH*, XVI, pp. 72, 73, 74*n*. For a similar interpretation of English references see Hodivala, *Mughal Numismatics*, p. 140*n*., and Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 331. Some later authorities, e.g. *Mirat*, I, p. 267, and Marshall, p. 416, however, continue to use the earlier and probably official terminology.

8. This *dam* came to be known as the *dām-i tankhwāhī*, 'the *dam* of salaries' (*Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 3a). Cf. Manucci, II, pp. 374-5.

9. The heaviest of the rupees of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan weigh 178 grains troy, and *muhrs* 169 grains, in both the British Museum and Indian Museum collections. Those of Aurangzeb, on the other hand, reach 180 and 171 grains res-

kinds of rupees and *muhrs*, but the innovation was short-lived and the new issues bore special names so that there is usually no risk of confusion between them and the ordinary issues in contemporary references.[10] The weight of the *dam* was also kept at the same standard till the growing scarcity of copper compelled Aurangzeb to issue a new *dam* that was one-third lighter than the old. It began to be uttered from certain mints in the sixties, but seems to have gradually superseded the old *dam*.[11]

Since the values of the coins closely corresponded to their weights in metal, a coin lost in value if it lost in weight through clipping or wear. A peculiarity of the Mughal currency system was that a coin also lost in value simply on account of its age. The year in which it was minted was inscribed on it, along with the name of the mint and the titles of the reigning Emperor. The newly coined rupees were known as *sikka* or *hundwī*. These bore a premium over those struck in the preceding years of the same reign which were known as *chalanī* or *peth*. These in turn had a higher value than the coins current from former reigns, known as *khazāna*. Normally, however, the discounts on account of age-depreciation were quite small.[12] They can be generally ignored when considering the prices of articles. Indeed, prices are often quoted

pectively. (See S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum*, and H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. III, Mughal Emperors.) The alteration in the weight of the rupee is noticed in the Surat factors' letters to Ahmadabad and to the Company, written in September 1659 (*Factories 1655-60*, pp. 211-12 & 211 *n.*)

10. The question is best discussed in Hodivala, *Mughal Numismatics*, pp. 132-146. To the authorities cited there one might add Pelsaert, p. 29, whose statements are exceptionally clear on the point.

11. The lighter *dam* was first issued from the capital cities in A.D. 1663-4; it began to be uttered in Gujarat from 1665-6, and in Bihar its use was just spreading in 1671. The overwhelming majority of Aurangzeb's copper issues belongs to this type. See *Mirat*, I, pp. 265, 267; Marshall, 416-17; *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Ethe 415, f. 170b, Or. 1641, f. 49b, and Add. 6598, f. 152b; *Farhang-i Kardani*, Edinburgh No. 83, f. 6a. Cf. Hodivala, *JASB*, NS, XXVIII, pp. 62-67.

12. That the discounts were not large may be inferred, for example, from the rates in terms of copper money quoted for rupees of the different kinds as at Aurangabad in 1661. The market rate for the *sikka* (*'Alamgiri*) rupee was 15 *dams*-14 7/8 *dams*, for the *chalani*, 14 57/100-14 7/16 *dams*, and for the *khazana*, 14 7/16-14 5/16 *dams*. (*Waqa'i' Dakhin*, 32-33: For an interpretation of copper money rates, see note No. 24 in Section 3 of this Appendix).

For a general discussion of the Mughal Currency System, see an article on the subject by the present writer in *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, IV, pp. 1-21.

in our sources without any specification of whether they were in terms of the newly coined or the older rupees. As for land revenue, regulations promulgated during Akbar's reign imply that the demand was assessed in terms of the *chalani* rupees, since they prohibit any discount on the Emperor's coins, if of "correct assay and full weight", whatever their age.[13]

The Mughals imposed their standard currency on all the regions that came under their sway, an achievement certainly of great importance for trade.[14] Yet in certain regions local currencies inherited from the previous régimes continued although no longer uttered by the imperial mints. The most important of these were the silver coins of a rather heavy alloy which were current in Gujarat and Western India and were very close to each other in worth. Malawa had *muzaffaris*, each worth about half a rupee;[15] Berar had silver *tankas* worth 16 *dams* or ⅖ of a Rupee.[16] In Khandesh *tankas* were probably only units of account, for their value was arbitrarily raised by Akbar from ⅖ to ⅗ of a rupee.[17] In Gujarat the *maḥmūdī* continued to be used at the great

13. Todar Mal's Regulations of the 27th Year laid down that the Mints were to exchange new coins with the old ones so that "the *karoris, fotadars* and *ṣarrāfs* (bankers) changed new and old coins according to the prescribed regulations". The rates of discount which are then given allow only for loss in weight, "the *jagirdars, karoris* and *fotadars*" being again told to conform strictly to these rules (Original text of the Regulations in *Akbarnama*, Add. 27,247, f. 332b). In Abu-l Fazl's paraphrase of Todar Mal's Regulations in his final draft, it is directly stated that "the revenue collectors and *sarrafs* should not (the negative is omitted in the Bib. Ind. text, but is given in Add. 26,207, f. 162a) levy discounts by distinguishing between the old and new coins" (*A.N.*, III, p. 383). But Abu-l Fazl himself says elsewhere that up to the 39th year the revenue-collectors of the *Khalisa* and the *jagirdars* used to demand the pure coin as defined by the money-changers (*sikka-i khāliṣ-i ṣairafī*) and to charge *ṣarf*, or discount, on other coins of "correct assay and full weight". This was now prohibited. (*A.N.*, III, p. 651: the printed text omits the key-word *ṣarf*, although it occurs in Add. 26,207, f. 275b, and most of the MSS consulted by the editor himself).

14. Apart from the evidence of the existing collections which shows that the Mughals did not continue the mintage of the older currencies of the conquered provinces, one may refer to Lahori, II, pp. 562-3, where an exception made with regard to Balkh and Badakhshan during the temporary occupation of 1646-7 is proclaimed as a great concession in favour of the local inhabitants.

15. This is deduced from a passage in Firishta, Lakhau lith., II, p. 287 (cited by Hodivala, *Mughal Numismatics*, 350*n.*, 351).

16. *Ain*, I, p. 478; *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Ethe 415, f. 171a, Or. 1641, f. 50a, Add. 6598, f. 153a.

17. *Ain*, I, p. 474. The *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, op. cit., also equates it with 12 *tankas* or 24 *dams*.

port of Surat. Its value at the beginning of the 17th century was about $\frac{2}{5}$ths of a rupee, but it tended to rise, perhaps owing to the cessation of its mintage, to about $\frac{4}{9}$ths of a rupee.[18]

2. Gold Value of the Rupee

In Chapter III, Section 3, where we have attempted to trace the main trends in agrarian prices during our period, we referred to the importance of a study of the value of the rupee in terms of precious metals for providing the data from which the main changes in its general purchasing power may be deduced. Our task is greatly simplified because, the Mughal monetary system being one of an unrestricted coinage of great metallic purity, the rates at which *muhrs* and *dams* exchanged for rupees must have closely corresponded to the market values of the three metals.[1] In considering contemporary quotations of *muhr*-rupee rates, the possibility of variations at any given time among the different regions must, of course, be borne in mind; but so long as the routes remained open, these differences probably tended to be kept at the minimum, owing to the relatively low cost of transport of gold and silver.

At the time of the *Ain* the *muhr* was considered to be worth exactly nine rupees,[2] and it had remained stationary at this value apparently for well over a decade.[3] Hawkins (1608-12) took an *ashrafi* of Akbar

18. The *mahmudis* were minted by the chiefs of Baglana and Navanagar down to 1638 and 1640 respectively. (Cf. Hodivala, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-30.).

Abū Turāb Walī equates the *mahmudi* with $\frac{5}{12}$ of the Rupee (*Tarikh-i Gujarat* (c. 1584 A.D.), Bib. Ind. ed. p. 27, cited by Hodivala, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-6). The early English factors regarded it as equal to $\frac{2}{5}$ Rupee (e.g. *Lett. Recd.*, I, p. 306) and this was the rate accepted in English accounts (*Factories, 1633-4*, p. 209); the Dutch rate, however, seems to have conformed to the rate adopted by Abu Turab Wali (cf. Pelsaert, p. 42).

The new value of $\frac{4}{9}$ths of a rupee is first noticed in 1636, when it is said to have become established 'of late yeares' (*Factories, 1634-6*, p. 224). In 1638 we have the definite statement that the book rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mahmudis* to the rupee in English accounts was misleading since the actual rate was $2\frac{1}{4}$ (*ibid, 1637-41*, p. 91). But both the market-rate and the English book-rate seem to have remained unchanged for the rest of the period (*ibid, 1651-4*, p. 58; Fryer, II, pp. 125-6).

1. It may be noted that both the rupee and the *muhr* were worth a little more than their weight in bullion. The amount of seignorage may be gathered from *Ain*, I, pp. 31-2, where the amount of bullion to be deposited in the mint for a certain number of minted pieces is specified.

2. *Ain*, I, 25, 196.

3. Under the Regulations of Todar Mal, formulated in the 27th Year, the *Lal-i Jalali*, a gold coin, equal to $1\frac{1}{10}$ *muhrs* in weight, was rated at 400 *dams*,

to be equal to ten rupees,[4] and it was quoted at the same rate in 1614.[5] Jahangir's statements indicate that the ratio stood at Rs. 10·7 to the *muhr* in his tenth regnal year,[6] but was back at 10 in 1621.[7]

In the next five years, however, a great rise must have taken place in the silver-price of gold, for in 1626 the *muhr* is stated to have fetched 14 Rupees.[8] This is supported by the prices realised by foreign gold coins this year at Surat.[9] Indeed, it was thought an "unexpected cheapness of gold" when in 1628 the 'sunneas' or *muhrs* at Ahmadabad could not be disposed of for more than Rs. 13, and, subsequently, for just 12¾ each.[10] From this year onwards gold seems to have stabilised at about these prices: In 1633 *muhrs* were sold at Jalor for Rs. 12½ each,[11] and in 1640 the price prevailing in Bengal is stated to be about Rs. 13.[12]

while the square rupee was considered worth 40, and the round 39 *dams.* (*A.N.*, III, 383; original text in Add. 27,247, f. 332b).

4. *Early Travels*, 101.

5. Foster, *Supplementary Calendar*, p. 48.

6. Prof. Hodivala examines two statements of the Emperor, of this year, the purport of which is that a special *Nūrjahānī Muhr*, weighing 500 *tolchas*, was worth Rs. 6,400. In Jahangir's weights for the gold coins, an ordinary *muhr* weighed 10 *mashas*, so that the real equation suggested is 600 *muhrs* = Rs. 6,400, or 1 *muhr* = Rs. 10⅔. Prof. Hodivala takes the given weight to be in terms of Akbar's weights, but admits that the result arrived at, viz. 1 *muhr* = Rs. 11, 12 as., looks a little out of place. (*Mughal Numismatics*, 249).

7. *T.J.*, 286. The half-*muhr* was worth 5 Rs. at Burhanpur this year. (*Factories, 1618-21*, 320.).

8. Pelsaert, 29. His statements, it is true, are not above criticism. He describes the *muhr* as weighing 'a tola, or 12 mashas', which would suggest that it was the *Muhr-i Nurjahani*. But the minting of this coin had ceased almost 15 years earlier. Moreover, he also speaks of the "single" *muhr* (pp. 7, 29), with a value of Rs. 7, and this could only have been the half-piece of ordinary *muhr*.

9. Of these, the 'Hungary ducketts', which fetched the highest price, were sold for 13¼ *mahmudis* (or, between Rs. 12½ and 13) per *tola* (*Factories, 1625-9*, pp. 155-6), and we must remember that even this coin, which was bought like the rest for its bullion, was much less refined than the *muhr*. In 1628, when a *muhr* was worth Rs. 13, the Hungarian ducat was sold for just Rs. 13 per *tola* at Ahmadabad (*ibid*, 235).

10. *Ibid*, 235, 270.

11. Mundy, 290. But elsewhere (pp. 310-11) he gives equivalents in English money from which the equation, 1 *muhr* = Rs. 14, is to be deduced. (Cf. Hodivala, *op. cit.*, p. 252).

12. Manrique, II, 129.

The value of the *muhr* was back at Rs. 14 by 1641-2,[13] and this rate is quoted in 1644-5[14] and 1653.[15] Another rise seems to have begun during the early fifties,[16] and a writer remembered the rate to have reached Rs. 16⅗ at Aurangabad in 1658.[17] In May 1661 the market rate for the *ashrafi* was officially reported to be Rs. 14, as 10 — Rs. 14, as 9, at Aurangabad;[18] but in February, 1662, the rate of Rs. 15, as. 8—Rs. 15, as. 0, was reported from Ramgir in the Bidar province.[19] It was probably generally rated at Rs. 16 in 1666,[20] and we have the testimony of the English factors at Surat to the effect that the *muhr* had been usually worth Rs. 15 some time before 1676,[21] while it had certainly passed this rate in Bengal.[21a]

In 1676, however, there was a sudden crash in the gold market "all India over", and the *muhr* fell to 12 and 11 Rupees—a fall attributed by market gossip to the dishoarding of his ancestral treasure by Aurangzeb.[22] But there was a partial recovery soon afterwards, for in the following year the rate quoted at Surat was 13¾ Rs. per *muhr*.[23] At Qasimbazar, in Bengal, the *muhr* sold at 13 Rs. in 1678 and 12 $^{14}/_{16}$ in 1679.[24] In the latter year, gold had again been at very low prices at Surat,[25] while a fall of Rs. 2, as. 5, in the price of the *muhr* was report-

13. Lahori, II, 259, cited by Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 250.
14. Lahori, II, 396, cited by Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 250n.
15. Tavernier, I, 246; also 15-16.
16. In December, 1652, the Surat factors predicted that gold was "more likely to rise then to fall" (*Factories, 1651-4*, p. 141).
17. *Dilkusha*, f. 15b.
18. *Waqa'i' Dakhin*, 32. The prices of the *ashrafi* are given in four pairs (each of maximum and minimum)—for *ashrafis* of Aurangzeb and Shahjahan in both *'Alamgiri* and *Shahjahani* rupees. The differences among the four pairs of rates are very small: I have quoted rates in terms of the *'Alamgiri* Rupees.
19. *Daftar-i Diwani o Mal o Mulki, &c.*, p. 173; *Waqa'i' Dakhin*, 75.
20. Ma'muri, f. 134b; K͟hafi K͟han, II, 190, cited by Hodivala, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-51. K͟hafi K͟han says a little earlier (II, 189) that a *muhr* was then equal to Rs. 17, but this is not supported by Ma'muri. On the other hand, Thevenot in 1666-7 gives such values for the *muhr* and the rupee in terms of the French livres as suggest that 1 *muhr* = Rs. 14.
21. *JRAS*, 1925, p. 315.
21a. Bowrey (1669-79), speaking of Bengal and Orissa, says, the *muhrs* "passe very currant at 15¼ and 15½ rupees each." (p. 217).
22. *JRAS*, 1925, pp. 314-16 (W. Foster's communication); *Factories*, NS, I, 267-8.
23. *Factories*, NS, I, 267n.
24. Master, II, 304. By one reading, accepted in the text, the latter figure would be Rs. 12 only.
25. *Factories*, NS, III, 240.

ed from Bengal.[26] In 1680 the market rate was reported to be Rs. 13 in the Ajmer province,[27] while it remained below Rs. 13 and even touched Rs. 12½ at Qasimbazar.[28] Gold was still at low rates at Surat in 1681.[29] In 1684 the *muhr* fetched Rs. 12½ in Bengal and even less was being offered.[30]

Perhaps, the price of gold improved a little in the next decade. In the early nineties, the price quoted for Surat was Rs. 14 per *muhr*;[31] in 1695, the *muhr* was said generally to have fetched 13¼ Rs.;[32] and in 1697 the English at Surat in their records calculated on the basis of a value of Rs. 13, as. 2, for the *muhr*.[33]

3. Copper Value of the Rupee

The *dam* was as much an index of the value of copper, as the rupee was of silver. It purchased 1·15 of its own weight in copper at the time of the *Ain*,[1] and we may assume that this ratio remained about the same for the rest of the period. It must, however, be remembered that regional price-variations attained a much greater importance in the case of this baser metal than in that of gold or silver. Although seaborne imports of copper became important with time,[2] the main supplies appear to have come from inland mines, notably those situated on the northern and eastern slopes of the Aravali range,[3] and proximity to these could play a large part in determining the extent of differences in price among various markets.[4]

26. *Ibid*, IV, 219. This is, perhaps, an exaggeration. Or, does it mean 2⁵⁄₁₆ per cent.?

27. *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 678-9.

28. *Factories*, NS, IV, p. 243.

29. *Ibid*, III, 270.

30. *Ibid*, IV, 342, 353-4.

31. Ovington, 131-2.

32. Careri, 253.

33. Surat Persian Letters, I.O. 150, f. 63b.

1. *Ain*, I, 33.

2. Cf. Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 183-5.

3. There were a number of mines in the *sarkar* of Narnaul of Agra province, all situated in the midst of, or under the ridges at the far northern end of, the Aravali range (*Ain*, I, 454). Waris, *a*: f. 488a, *b*: f. 129a, indicates that there were mines also at Birat, which lay in the *sarkar* of Alwar (Agra province). In the Ajmer province there were copper mines at Chinpur and other places in the *mahal* of Mandal (*sarkar* of Chittor) (*Ain*, I, 505; *Waqa'i'-i Ajmir*, 13).

4. Tavernier, I, 23. On his journey from Rajmahal to Patna in 1671 Marshall obviously found the price of copper falling distinctly as he proceeded westwards. (Marshall, 118, 121, 122, 125-6).

The price of copper seems to have been falling in the early years of Akbar's reign: first, 35,[5] then 38 *dams*,[6] went to a rupee. By the 27th Ilahi year, 39 *dams* were regarded as equal to the round or ordinary rupee and 40 to the square.[7] But two years later the former was also declared to be worth 40 *dams*,[8] and when the *Ain* was written the actual market rates still fluctuated around this figure.[9] Indeed, copper remained pretty stable till at least the close of the first decade of Jahangir's reign, and quotations extant in English commercial literature suggest that the market rate for the *dam* deviated very little, if at all, from the standard official rate during this period, whether in the central regions or in Gujarat.[10]

5. *Ain*, I, 176.

6. *Ibid*, 196. The editor's suggestion that 48 in the text is a mistake for 38 has been followed here.

7. *A.N.* III, 383; *Ain*, I, 28.

8. *Ain*, I, 28. In view thus of the four rates of the *dams* to the rupee which are known to have successively prevailed in the reign of Akbar, it may be judged how over-confident Thomas (*Chronicles*, 410) and Wright (*Coinage, &c. of the Sultans of Delhi*, 384) are in assuming, and building theories upon the assumption, that the copper-silver ratio was the same in the time of Sher Shah as at that of the *Ain*.

9. *Ain*, I, 26.

10. The English factors, when talking of money and not of weights, mean the half-*dam* when they say *paisa* or 'pice' &c. In 1609 a *mahmudi* was stated at Surat to be worth "32 paisaes or 31", "varying also as copper riseth and falleth" (*Lett. Recd.*, I, 34); and in 1611, it was 32 (*ibid*, I, 141). Taking the rupee as equal to 2½ *mahmudis*, the rupee should have been worth exactly 80 pice (40 *dams*), when the *mahmudi* was 32. But when, as was probably more frequently the case in the market, the rupee was but worth 2⅗ *mahmudis*, it could only have fetched 38¼ *dams*. In 1614 at Ahmadabad, the rate assumed was either 38.5 or 39.7 *dams* to the rupee; but within ten days of this despatch, it was reported to be 42. (*Lett. Recd.* II, 214, 249-50). Ufflitt's value of '96 to 102 pices' for the ordinary rupee (which he distinguishes from *sawai* and *Jahangiri*) at Agra in the same year must be a slip (Foster, *Supplementary Calendar*, 48). His value for the *mahmudi* was 32 to 34 'pice' (*ibid*; also p. 46). Early next year the *mahmudi* was reckoned at Surat as equal to 34 'pice' or 17 *dams* (*Lett. Recd.*, III, p. 11), and at Khambayat the rupee was worth 38 *dams* (*ibid*, 41). At the same time the *sikka* rupee at Ahmadabad was said to be worth 43 *dams* (*ibid*, 87). The following equations were adopted permanently by the English factors for their accounts: 1 *mahmudi* = 32 'pice'; 1 rupee = 80 pice, the latter, therefore, conforming to the official value for the *dam*. (*Lett. Recd.*, III, 87; *Factories, 1633-4*, 209; Fryer, II, 126).

Mitford, writing from Ajmer, in 1615, says the *chalani* rupee at Agra fetched 83 'pisas', or 41½ *dams*, and the *khazana* just 80 'pisas', or 40 *dams*. (*Lett. Recd.* III, 87).

A large, but unspecified, increase in the price of copper is noticed, however, in 1619 in Gujarat.[11] This was a prelude to what must have been a rapid and substantial ascent, for by 1626 the value of the rupee in terms of *dams* had fallen to 29 or 30 at Agra.[12] This is even more than faithfully reflected in the quotations from Gujarat, of the years 1628 and 1633, which show that the rupee was down to 25 *dams*, if not still lower.[13] In 1634 in Sehwan (Sind) a rupee only fetched 24 *dams*.[14]

A slight recovery in silver seems to have set in by 1636 in Gujarat, where the rupee is then quoted at 26 or 27 *dams*.[15] At Agra, the *dam*-rate for the rupee in the Dutch accounts rose steadily from 25 *dams* in January, 1637, to 29 in October, 1638.[16] In 1640 the rupee seems to have fetched 28 *dams* at Rajmahal, although copper must have been dearer there than at Agra.[17]

Information about the next decade is lacking,[18] but during the fifties, when evidence again becomes available, it attests uniformly to a spectacular rise in the price of copper. It seems certain that a par-

11. The Surat factors were looking this year for copper to send to Persia and found it to be at such excessive rates that they decided to melt down 'ten maunds of pice'. They were, however, deterred from this by an official prohibition and had to despatch the coins unmelted. (*Factories, 1618-21*, 142, 144).

12. Pelsaert, 29, 60. He says, first, that a rupee = 58 pice or more; and, secondly, that 5 or 6 *takas* were equal to 4 or 5 stivers, while 24 stivers equalled a rupee.

13. In Ahmadabad, the rupee was fetching only 51 pice, or 25½ *dams* in 1628 (*Factories, 1624-9*, p. 235); and at Surat, in 1633, the 'pice' were "20 to a Mohmoodee, sometymes more, sometymes lesse" (Mundy, 311). This is supported by a statement in a letter from the Surat factors, of 1636, to the effect that before the Gujarat famine the *mahmudi* was not above '20, 21 and 22 pice' (*Factories, 1634-6*, 206).

14. *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, 184: the *dam* is here termed *tanka-i muradi*.

15. Thus van Twist, *JIH*, XVI, 72-3. He says, 1 *mahmudi* = 24 or 25 pice = 12 or 13 *tankas* (i.e. *dams*); and 1 rupee = 53 or 54 pice = 26 or 27 *tankas*. According to the Surat factors the *mahmudi* had risen to 25 and 25½ 'pice' by 1636 (*Factories, 1634-6*, p. 206).

16. Cited by Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 148n. The figures in the original are, as usual, in terms of 'pice'.

17. This appears from the equations given in Manrique, II, 102, 136, 174.

18. It may be tempting to draw inferences from the prices given of silver-ingots, in terms of 'pice' per tola, for the years 1646 and 1647 (*Factories, 1646-50*, p. 187). But these pice are clearly the half-*dams* of account, 80 of which were rated to the rupee in the books of the English factory. The prices expressed are therefore those of silver bullion in terms of silver specie.

the cause, at least, of this ascent lay in the failure of some of the copper mines in the Aravalis. The court historian tells us that there was such a serious fall in the output of the mines in Birat and Singhana that a change in their management became necessary in 1655.[19] The next year the rupee was quoted at so low a rate as below 45 pice or 22½ *dams* in Sind,[20] and a manual of c. 1659 shows the rate to have been 24 *dams*.[21] In 1660 the Surat factors declared that copper was "exceeding deare"[22] and a Dutch letter from Surat the following year attributed its scarcity to the disorganisation of the inland mines and the inadequacy of foreign supplies.[23] In 1661 the market rate of the newly coined '*Alamgiri* rupee was reported to be 15—14⅞ *dams* from Aurangabad and 16³⁄₁₀ — 16⁹⁄₃₀ *dams* from Daulatabad.[24] Early next year the rate was 14½ — 14¼ *dams* at Ramgir in the Bidar province.[25] Later the same year, the rate at Surat was a mere fraction above 16 *dams*;[26] and early in 1663 the *mahmudi*, stated to have been worth 10 *dams* formerly, was rated at 7 *dams* or less.[27] In 1665-6 "copper had become so scarce that the *sarrafs* of the city of Ahmadabad introduced an iron pice into circulation and sold it at high rates", a situation which was sought to be mitigated by the coining of the lighter *dams* of Aurangzeb.[28] Thevenot says that when he landed at Surat in January 1666, the rupee was rated at 33½ 'pechas' and when he left, in February, 1667, at 32½

19. Waris, *a*: f. 488a; *b*: f. 129a. Singhāna was a *mahal* in the *sarkar* of Narnaul.

20. *Factories, 1655-60,* p. 78.

21. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 19a. It obviously uses the word *tanka* for *dam.*

22. *Factories, 1655-60*, p. 306.

23. Cited by Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 184.

24. *Waqa'i' Dakhin*, 32-33, 59. The editor reads the copper values in '*tankas*' and '*dams*'. Thus the value we have put as 14⅞ *dams* is given as '14 *tankas*, 43¾ *dams*' in the edited text. It may be remembered (see note 6 of Section 1 of this Appendix) that in the traditional scale of copper money, the *tanka* was the highest and the *dam* the lowest unit, 50 *dams* making a *tanka*. It seems that here not only has the name *tanka* been applied to the *dam*-coin, but the term *dam* too has been relegated to its old position.

25. *Daftar-i Diwani o Mal o Mulki, &c.*, 173; *Waqa'i' Dakhin*, 75. This value is given presumably in terms of the old *dams*. A second set of rates, viz. 19¾ and 19 *dams*, is also given. These are possibly the new lighter *dams* minted by Aurangzeb.

26. *Factories, 1661-64*, p. 112.

27. *Ibid*, 121.

28. *Mirat*, I, p. 265.

'pechas', falling thus from a little under 17 to a little above 16 *dams*.[29] Quotations of copper prices similarly reflect the great scarcity of the metal. In 1635, the English had purchased copper at Surat at the rate of 20 *mahmudis* for the *man* then in use, i.e., for 22·2 *mahmudis*, had the later *man* been in use.[30] The Surat price quoted in 1660, however, was no less than 45 *mahmudis* per 'maund'.[31] It had risen to Rs. 22¼ in 1662,[32] but was quoted at from Rs. 20 to 22 in 1664,[33] and Rs. 20 or lower in 1665.[34] It was again at Rs. 21½ per *man* in 1668, when further demand for copper was still anticipated.[35] The rise was as remarkable in Bengal, from where the Balasore factors reported in 1669 that "copper usually fetched from 36 to 42 rupees per maund [which was about double the Surat *man*], but was for the moment at 50 rupees."[36]

In 1671 Marshall gives the rates of the 'pice' to the rupee at various places between Rajmahal and Patna and these are, in order, 28, 26, 28, 33½ and 33, thus generally increasing as he proceeded westwards.[37] He rates the rupee at Patna at 30 pice.[38] His statements suggest that the 'pice' he had in mind was identical with the full old *dam*,[39] but we may well question if this is actually so, for it would mean that the copper-price of the rupee had doubled itself almost within a year. If he really means the half-*dam* the high price of copper would seem to have continued. However, no confirmation is to be obtained from any of the authorities closely following upon him. The introduction of the new *'Alamgiri* issues introduced an element of confusion during the transition period, to which Fryer, for one, seems to have entirely succumbed.[40] No further data are available until the last

29. Thevenot, 25-26. Tavernier, I, 22-3, says, however, that on his "last journey (1665-7) the rupee at Surat was quoted at 49 paisa, but there are times when it falls to 46". Probably he has made a slip and means an earlier journey, for he had been travelling in these parts since 1640.

30. *Factories, 1634-6*, p. 148.

31. *Factories, 1655-60*, p. 306.

32. *Factories, 1661-4*, 113.

33. *Ibid*, 210.

34. *Factories, 1665-7*, pp. 31, 77.

35. *Factories, 1668-9*, p. 24.

36. *Ibid*, 311. Cf. Bowrey, 232-3.

37. Marshall, 118, 121, 122, 125, 126.

38. *Ibid*, 416.

39. *Ibid*, 416-17.

40. "Pice, a sort of Copper-Mony current among the Poorer sort of People; of these, sometimes 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, to 24 make, or are reckoned to a Mamoodie." (Fryer, II, 126).

decade of the century. The rates now appearing, presumably in terms of Aurangzeb's lighter *dams*, are 21·3 to the rupee in 1691-2 on the western coast,[41] 30 (±1·5) in 1690-93 at Surat,[42] and 27 in 1695,[43] that is to say, respectively, 14·2, 20 (±1) and 18, in terms of the old *dams*. These quotations certainly suggest that little change had taken place since the sixties, and we will, perhaps, be justified in assuming that the copper-price of the rupee at the end of the century was about half, or a little less, of what it had been at the time of the *Ain*.

4. The 'Price Revolution' in India

From the changes in the ratios between the value of the rupee, on the one hand, and of the gold and copper coins, on the other, as traced above, it becomes obvious that silver depreciated very greatly in relation to both the other metals during the course of the 17th century. We can see that there were two great falls in the value of silver. The first took place in the twenties, when (with the *Ain's* gold and copper prices of the rupee as the base =100) gold rose to 156 (in 1626) and copper to 161 (in 1628). After a slight recovery, the second fall bagan in the forties and continued till the sixties, when gold stood at 178 (in 1666) and copper reached 276 (in 1662). Frdm the later seventies silver showed sharp recovery, at least in terms of gold, but by the end of the century, gold again approached 150 and copper stood at above 200.

There is no discussion in contemporary sources about why this great depreciation in the value of silver took place. The rise in the price of copper in the late fifties and early sixties was attributed, as we have seen, to the failure of inland mines. Similarly the recovery of silver in relation to gold in 1676 was ascribed to Aurangzeb's dishoarding of the gold accumulated by his ancestors. Such explanations were, however, given, and can be accepted only, for temporary fluctuations in the price of either metal. But the real source in the general upward trend lay in a fall in the value of silver, from which both gold and copper benefitted.

41. Sadiq Khan's continuator (Ma'muri, f. 183b-184a; Khafi Khan, II, 401-2) writes, under A.H. 1103, that the coins current in the Portuguese possessions on the western coast were an "*ashrafi*", worth 9 *anas*, and a *bazurk*, worth ¼ *fulūs* (*dam*). The "zeraphin" consisted of 48 "Bugerookes" (or 24 'Pice') (Fryer, II, 131), so that the rate to be deduced from the above equations would be 9/16 Rupee = 12 *fulus*.

42. Ovington, 132.—Sixty "Pice...sometimes two or three more or less."

43. Careri, 253.—"Pieces, call'd Pesies, 54 whereof make a Roupie."

This is shown best by the fact that the ascents in the prices of both the metals, during the twenties and the mid-century, closely synchronise, though it is true that copper rose in price considerably more than gold.

It has apparently not been appreciated by modern writers that the influx of silver and gold from the New World which had caused a 'Price Revolution' in Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries was bound to make its impact on India sooner or later.[1]

Imports of American silver and gold had begun with the Spaniards' plunder of the wealth of the Aztecs and Incas in the first part of the 16th century. But it was the discovery and working of the "immensely productive" silver mines in Bolivia and Mexico round about 1550 that really ushered in the European Price Revolution.[2] The American silver output continued to increase till 1630, after which a decline set in.[3] American supplies of gold to Europe were a mere trickle compared to those of silver,[4] so that gold appreciated in terms of silver during this period.[5]

This influx of American silver and gold was passed on by Europe to the East in the course of the 17th century. A great controversy developed in Western Europe about this drain of bullion eastwards, the total worth of which was estimated at £ 100,000,000 at the close of the century.[6] India stood out as the greatest among the recipients of this treasure. "India is rich in silver for all nations bring coyne and carry

1. Moreland, for example, ignores this aspect altogether. He notices the rise in the price of copper, but insists that its cause was "connected with copper and not with silver" and so denies any fall in the value of silver generally (*Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 185). This was, perhaps, partly due to the fact that his investigation of the changes in the gold-silver ratio was so cursory (*ibid*, 182).

The Price Revolution is a familiar fact of European economic history. In Spain prices (in terms of silver) rose by 400 per cent. within the 16th century and in Britain by about 300 per cent. between 1550 and 1650 (Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, London, 1947, p. 236 *n*).

2. J. H. Parry in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, Cambridge, 1958, Vol. II, p. 582.

3. H. Heaton, *Economic History of Europe*, New York, 1948, p. 248.

4. Between 1521 and 1660 about 18,000 tons of silver, but only 200 tons of gold, entered Spain from America through official channels (*ibid*, 249).

5. See E. Lipson, *The Economic History of England*, London, 1947, Vol. III, p. 75.

6. For the estimate and controversy, see *ibid*, II, pp. 277-82.

away commodities for the same", wrote Hawkins in 1613.[7] During the early years of Aurangzeb, Bernier analysed at length the pattern of trade which had made this possible.[8] As late as 1762-3, an Indian observer noted that while ships from foreign lands brought precious metals to India, they did not take away any bullion but only commodities.[9]

With this influx of bullion, a fall in the value of silver and gold was inevitable. It is interesting to note that silver should have stabilised in India in the 1670s, for such a delayed result might be expected from the fall in American silver output from 1630 onwards. Similarly, gold appreciated in terms of silver, achieving ratios established in Europe a little earlier. Thus while the gold-silver ratio of 1:9·5 at the time of the *Ain*, stood behind the statutory proportion in Elizabethan England (1:12), the ratio in India at the end of the 17th century (1:13·8) was still behind that established in England after 1660 (1:14·5).[10] At the same time, owing to the gold imports from Europe,[11] the general value of gold must have fallen, although to a much smaller extent, of course, than that of silver.

It would thus appear that copper was the most stable of the three precious metals. It could never have been imported in large quantities and, indeed, early in the 17th century the English had exported Indian copper to Persia.[12] The stability of copper is of considerable significance in tracing the trend in the general price-level during the 17th century, because it means that the copper-price, not the gold-price, was the more accurate index of the changes in the purchasing power of the rupee.

7. Hawkins, *Early Travels*, 112.
8. Bernier, 202-4. Cf. Fryer, I, 282-3.
9. Azad Bilgrami, *Khizana-i 'Amira*, p. 111.
10. In this comparison the rupee-*muhr* value ratios set out in this Appendix have been used; but in translating them into those of bullion adjustments have had to be made for the difference in the weights of the two coins. For the statutory proportions in England, see Lipson, *op. cit.*, III, p. 75.
11. For gold exported to India by the English East India Company, see Lipson, *op. cit.*, II, p. 278. The price of gold was unaffected by changes in domestic supplies if only because the output of gold in India was negligible. (See *Ain*, I, p. 32; Bernier, 205; Fryer, I, 283).
12. *Factories, 1618-21*, pp. 114, 142, 144. The first indexed reference in *Factories* to import of copper into India from Japan is in *1622-23*, p. 260; see also *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 184.

APPENDIX D

THE JAMA' AND HASIL STATISTICS

1. JAMA'

No other statistics, comparable in detail to those of the *Ain*, are available, but a large number of tables setting out the *jama'-dāmī* figures for the various provinces of the Empire are preserved in the literature of the 17th century. They appear in the most unexpected places—in administrative manuals, in historical works, in travellers' accounts and once even in a work on household management.

Thomas was the first to attempt a study of these statistics,[1] and Sarkar[2] and Moreland[3] have followed in his footsteps. The information that they have collected is not inconsiderable but can still be supplemented from a number of sources not used by them. Moreover, the chronology of the statistical tables seems to require reconsideration. In some cases these are more or less definitely dated by statements in the sources themselves,[4] but most tables carry no explicit indication of their exact date. This is not surprising since the *jama'* figures represent the standard assessments and not the receipts of particular years. Thomas and Moreland have as a rule assigned such undated statistics to the time when the works containing them were compiled. This is, however, open to the objection that the tables might really have been long out of date when they were copied into our sources, whether the authors of the latter abstracted them from semi-official papers or from works earlier than their own. The dates of the works themselves are, therefore, of value only as representing the lowest possible limits for dating the respective tables.

It is then the internal evidence of the statistics on which alone we can rely. Significant clues are provided, for example, by the inclusion

1. Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, London, 1871, pp. 431-50; and *The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire in India*, London, 1871.

2. *The India of Aurangzeb*, pp. xxix, ff.

3. *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 322-28.

4. The *Ain*, I, p. 386, indicates that the statistics given under the 'Account of the Twelve Provinces' relate to the 40th *Ilahi* year. The *Iqbalnama*, II, Or. 1834, f. 231b, says of the statistics given in it that they had been placed before Jahangir after his accession in 1605; and Jagjīvandās (Add. 26,253, f. 51a) tells us similarly that the revenue statistics reproduced by him had been submitted to Bahadur Shah I, after the war of succession, i.e. in or about 1709.

or omission of certain provinces. Thus any list containing figures for the province of Telingana could only have been compiled before 1656 (and probably not earlier than 1633), since it became a part of the newly formed province of Ẓafarābād Bidar in 1656.[5] Similarly, Baglana could appear only on tables prepared between 1638 and 1658, the two decades that it remained a separate province by itself.[6] The inclusion of Balkh and Badakhshan, occupied temporarily in 1646-7, would be even a more precise indication, but that of Qandahar may be less significant since it probably continued to be claimed for the Empire even after the the last seige of 1653. Finally, Bijapur and Haidarabad became provinces of the Empire in 1686 and 1687 respectively, and this again provides a useful key for dating statistics. A study of the number of *sarkars* and *mahals* assigned to each province in the tables may also be of some help. Khandesh consisted of only one *sarkar* till 1632, when Galna was added as a separate *sarkar*;[7] then towards the close of 1633 it received further accession of territory through the transfer of two whole *sarkars* and a large portion of a third from Malawa.[8] No table showing three or more *sarkars* under Khandesh can, therefore, be dated earlier than 1633. Similarly we know that owing to the transfer of two *sarkars* from the Agra province to Dehli some time before 1659, the number of *sarkars* in the former province was reduced from 14 to 12;[9] and so any table showing 14 *sarkars* against Agra must be antecedent to the reign of Aurangzeb. Changes in nomenclature may serve as a guide as well. Agra was renamed Akbarābād in 1629,[10] and Dehli became Shāhjahānābād in 1648.[11] The old province of

5. *Dastur-al 'Amal-i Shahanshahi*, ff. 79a-89a. Telingana appears as a *sarkar* of the Berar province in the *Ain* and first appears as a separate province only in the reign of Shahjahan. (Cf. Lahori, I, ii, pp. 62-3, 205; II, p. 712).

6. Cf. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, ff. 60b-61a, 87b-88a; Or. 1671, ff. 34a, 48a.

7. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 60a-b, Or. 1671, ff. 33b-34a; also *Dastar-al 'Amal-i Shahanshahi*, f. 28a.

8. Lahori, I, ii, pp. 62-3; also Sadiq Khan, *op. cit.*

9. The *sarkars* transferred were those of Tijara and Narnaul. They are shown under Agra in the *Ain* and the *Iqbainama*, but under Dehli in the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, f. 109b. The last-named work was compiled in 1659, but the statistics it contains show Telingana as a separate province and must, therefore, have been prepared either in 1656 or a little earlier. The inclusion of the two *sarkars* among those under Dehli in the *Chahar Gulshan*, f. 35b, Sarkar 125-6, shows that the transfer was permanent.

10. Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 9a, Or. 1671, f. 5b.

11. *Ibid*, Or. 174, ff. 155a, 156b-157a, Or. 1671, ff. 79a-80a.

Ahmadnagar was renamed after Daulatābād in 1636;[12] and subsequently it assumed the name of Aurangābād. The later names, it is true, could be put by a scribe or copyist on an earlier list, but a table belonging to the later period is not likely to carry the earlier names.

Owing to limitations of space it is not possible to discuss the date of each of the *jama'* tables that has come down to us. However, by proceeding on the lines outlined above we have been able to assign most of them to reasonably narrow limits. These are shown in the following list which presents the statistics serially in a chronological order:

No.	Date	Source
1.	1595-6	*Ain*, I, pp. 386ff.
2.	1605	*Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri*, II, Or. 1834, ff. 231b-232b.
3.	pre-1627	*Majalisu-s Salatin*, Or. 1903, ff. 114a-115b.
4.	1628-1636	*Bayaz-i Khushbu'i*, I.O. 828, ff. 180a-181a.
5.	1633-38	*Farhang-i Kardani*, Aligarh MS., Abdus Salam, Farsiya 85/315, ff. 19a-20b.
6.	1646-47	Add. 16,863, ff. 120a-121a.
7.	"	Lahori, II, pp. 709-12.
8.	"	Sadiq Khan, Or. 174, f. 151a-b, Or. 1671, f. 77a-b.
9.	1638-56	Bernier 455-8.
10.	"	Thevenot, *passim*.
11.	"	Or. 1840, ff. 138a-140a.
12.	"	*Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Ilm-i Navisindagi*, ff. 143a-144b.
13.	"	Bodl. O. 390, ff. 9a-30a.
14.	"	Sujan Rai, *passim*.
15.	"	Manucci, II, pp. 413-15.
16.	"	*Farhang-i Kardani o Kar-amozi*, Edinburgh 83, ff. 15b-17a.
17.	"	*Siyaqnama*, pp. 102-104.
18.	1646-56	*Dastur-al 'Amal-i Navisindagi*, ff. 166b-167b.
19.	c. 1656	*Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, ff. 109a-120b.
20.	c. 1667	*Mirat-al 'Alam*, Add. 7657, ff. 445b-446a; Aligarh MS, ff. 214b-215b.
21.	1687-c. 1691	*Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*, Add. 6598, ff. 130b-132a, Or. 1641, ff. 4a-6b.
22.	1687-c. 1695	Fraser 86, ff. 57b-61b.
23.	1687-?	*Intikhab-i Dastur-al 'Amal-i Padshahi*, Edinburgh No. 224, ff. 1b-3b, 3a-11b.
24.	c. 1709	Jagjīvandas, *Muntakhabu-t Tawārikh*, Add. 26,-253, ff. 51a-54a.

12. Lahori, II, p. 712. It seems to have been known officially as simply the province of 'Dakhin' (cf. *Selected Documents, &c.*, p. 158—A.D. 1645).

Some of the entries on this list call for special comment. Nos. 2 and 3 describe the figures given by them as *ḥāṣil* or *ḥāl-i ḥāṣil*. But the figures are expressed in *dams* and not rupees, and it is, therefore, probable that they really represent the *jama'*, the word *hasil* having been only loosely used. This is certainly the case in No. 6 where the *jama'* figures in *dams* are followed by "*ḥāṣil*" figures in rupees, though the latter are the exact equivalents of the former.

Nos. 9, 10 and 15 are preserved in the pages of foreign travellers. It has been here assumed, though there is no definite proof, that they are ultimately derived from some *jama'-dami* tables. The figures are expressed in terms of rupees in 9 and 15 and in those of livres in 10. They have been reconverted in each case into *dams* for convenience of comparison.[13]

In the following pages the *jama'* figures given for the Empire and the different provinces have been reproduced from the statistical tables listed above. Information incidentally supplied by other authorities has also been included.[14] No attempt has been made to collate the figures given for the Empire with the totals of figures of the provinces in the respective sources, except in the case of the *Ain*. Statistics for the provinces of Kabul, Qandahar, Balkh and Badakhshan have been omitted.

Authorities included in the list above are cited by the serial numbers assigned to them.

13. In converting livres into *dams* Thevenot's own equation of 1 Re. = 1·5 livres (pp. 25-26) has been adopted.

Manuchy's figures (No. 15) seem to have been copied mainly from a table belonging to Shahjahan's reign, for Baglana is shown separately while 14 *sarkars* are entered against Agra. But at the end, figures are also given for Bijapur and Haidarabad, which must have been taken from some later source.

14. At different places in his Memoirs Jahangir mentions the *jama'* of some of the provinces. We may expect that his should have been the most authoritative information, giving us the *jama'* as it stood in the year when he was writing. But in every case he seems to have merely borrowed from the *Ain*, the only difference being that he has converted the *Ain's* figures into round numbers. See *T.J.*, 101 (Bengal & Orissa), 172 (Malawa), 299 (Kashmir). His figures have, therefore, been omitted from the *jama'* statistics reproduced in this Appendix.

THE *JAMA'* OF THE EMPIRE

Source	Date	Amount in *dams*
Ain-i Akbari, I, p. 386	1580	3,62,97,55,246[15]
Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, p. 546	1593-4	4,40,06,00,000[16]
1.	1595-6	5,16,25,12,491½[17]
2.	1605	5,83,46,90,344
3.	pre-1627	6,30,00,00,000
Lahori, II, p. 711	1628	7,00,00,00,000
4.	1628-36	6,57,73,57,625
6.	1646-47	9,15,09,90,776
7.	"	8,80,00,00,000
8.	"	7,65,25,20,000[18]
9.	1638-56	9,03,74,20,000
11.	"	7,82,30,49,662
12.	"	9,70,71,81,000
13.	"	7,84,99,47,640
14.	"	8,68,26,80,573
15.	"	8,68,77,60,000[19]
16.	"	7,82,00,49,662
18.	1646-56	8,90,00,00,000
19.	c. 1656	9,12,24,45,846

15. The *Ain* gives this figure as representing the total of the *Jama'-i Dah-sala*, and not of the *jama'* of the Empire at the time the *Ain* itself was completed. The *Jama'-i Dah-sala* had been established in 1580.

16. This figure must be used with the greatest caution. Apart from being confusedly written, it is termed *hasil*, not *jama'*. Moreover the amount is stated to be in terms of the *tanka-i muradi*, or the double-*dam*. It has been assumed here that this is a mistake for *dam*.

17. This figure represents the total of the *Ain's* figures for the various provinces, set out in this Appendix, plus the figure for the *sarkar* of Kabul. In the case of Kabul the figure of 8,05,07,465 given in the statistical table for the *sarkar* has been accepted and not the one (6,73,06,983 *dams*) given in the text preceding the table (*Ain*, I, p. 594). Owing to the miscellaneous nature of the units of money and kinds of articles in which the revenues of Qandahar are stated (*Ain*, I, p. 588), our figure for the *jama'* of the empire excludes the *jama'* of Qandahar.

18. This figure has been converted from one given in terms of rupees. Moreover, it is said to represent *tahṣil* or actual collection. But the provincial statistics of Sadiq K͟han are all explicitly made up of *jama'*-figures given in both *dams* and rupee-equivalents. One should not, therefore, perhaps, take the word *tahsil* too literally.

19. Manuchy's figure for the whole Empire is really Rs. 32,71,94,000, but from this the figures for Bijapur and Haidarabad (being later additions) should be deducted.

Source	Date	Amount in *dams*
20.	c. 1667	9,24,17,16,082
21.	1687-c. 1691	13,80,23,56,000
22.	1687-c. 1695	12,07,18,76,841
23.	1687-?	13,21,98,53,981[20]
24.	c. 1709	13,33,99,91,841

BENGAL AND ORISSA

(Undivided)

Source	Date	Amount in *dams*
1.	1595-6	59,84,59,319
2.	1605	41,91,07,870
3.	pre-1627	50,00,00,000

Source	Date	BENGAL *dams*	ORISSA *dams*
1.	1595-6	42,77,26,681[21]	17,07,32,638[22]
Manrique, II, p. 395	1632	36,00,00,000	
4.	1628-36	40,25,20,000	20,05,45,000
5.	1633-38	42,71,91,000	17,02,04,000[23]
6.	1646-47	44,73,90,000	28,02,40,000
7.	"	50,00,00,000	20,00,00,000
8.	"	50,00,00,000	30,00,00,000
11.	1638-56	42,71,91,000	18,02,40,000
12.	"	72,71,91,000 (!)	19,10,00,000
13.	"	42,71,91,000	18,02,40,000
14.	"	46,29,00,000	40,41,05,000 (!)
15.	"	40,20,00,000	23,13,00,000

20. The *jama'* of the Empire given in this work excludes Bijapur and Haidarabad. The figures for these have been added to it to arrive at the figure in our table.

21. This represents the *jama'*-figure of Bengal and Orissa (undivided) less that of Orissa shown in the accompanying column.

22. This is made up of figures given separately for the *sarkars* of Orissa.

23. The amount stated in Rupees is equal to 18,02,04,000 *dams*.

Source	Date	BENGAL *dams*	ORISSA *dams*
16.	„	42,71,00,000	18,02,00,000
17.	„	44,00,00,000	39,10,00,000
18.	1646-56		19,10,00,000
19.	c. 1656	45,78,58,000	12,55,80,000
20.	c. 1667	52,37,39,110	19,71,00,000
21.	1687-c. 1691	52,46,36,240	14,28,21,000
22.	1687-c. 1695	52,46,36,240	14,28,21,000
23.	1687-?	52,46,36,240	14,28,21,000
24.	c. 1709	52,46,36,240	14,28,11,000
Add. 6586, ff. 36b-37a	1720	56,46,14,760	

Source	Date	BIHAR *dams*	ILAHABAD *dams*
1.	1595-6	22,19,19,404½[24]	21,24,27,819[25]
2.	1605	26,27,74,167	30,43,55,746
3.	pre-1627	31,27,00,000	30,70,00,000
4.	1628-36	30,33,55,744	30,33,55,744
5.	1633-38	36,88,30,000[26]	36,13,90,000
6.	1646-47	37,56,92,299	37,36,04,358
7.	„	40,00,00,000	40,00,00,000
8.	„	40,00,00,000	40,00,00,000
9.	1638-56	38,32,00,000	37,88,00,000
10.	„	72,09,00,000[27]	37,38,00,000
11.	„	36,88,30,000	36,13,90,000
12.	„	38,32,00,000	37,88,00,000
13.	„	36,88,30,000	46,90,00,000
14.	„	38,07,30,000	37,60,61,000
15.	„	48,60,00,000	30,95,20,000
16.	„	36,88,30,000	
17.	„	38,22,00,000	37,88,00,000

24. This is the *jama'* given in the *Ain* for the province as a whole. The total for the figures of the various *sarkars* of the province amounts, however, to 30,18,48,096 *dams*.

25. Almost all statistical tables from the *Ain* onwards assign to the *jama'* of Ilahabad, in addition to the cash amounts, the quantity of 12,00,000 betel leaves.

26. This is the equivalent in *dams* of the figure given in Rupees. The amount stated in *dams* is only 16,88,30,000, which is an obvious error.

27. Thevenot has probably confused Bihar with Berar.

Source	Date	BIHAR *dams*	ILAHABAD *dams*
18.	1646-56	38,32,00,000	37,88,00,000
19.	c. 1656	54,53,00,335	52,78,81,196
20.	c. 1667	72,17,97,019 (!)[28]	43,66,88,072
21.	1687-c. 1691	40,71,81,000	45,65,43,278
22.	1687-c. 1695	40,71,81,000	45,65,43,248
23.	1687-?	40,71,81,000	45,65,43,248
24.	c. 1709	40,71,81,000	45,65,43,248

Source	Date	AWADH *dams*	AGRA *dams*
1.	1595-6	20,17,58,172	54,62,50,304
2.	1605	22,98,65,014	77,04,89,055
3.	pre-1627	23,22,00,000	82,25,00,000
4.	1628-36	25,97,58,140	77,04,89,055
5.	1633-38	25,82,10,000	94,11,60,000
6.	1646-47	26,35,00,565	96,99,27,705
7.	"	30,00,00,000	90,00,00,000
8.	"	100,00,00,000 (!)	90,00,00,000
9.	1638-56	27,32,00,000	1,00,90,00,000
10.	"	26,70,00,000	98,79,00,000
11.	"	25,82,10,000	94,11,00,000
12.	"	25,82,10,000	1,00,90,00,000
13.	"	25,82,10,000	94,11,60,000
14.	"	26,45,40,000	98,18,65,600
15.	"	28,80,00,000[29]	88,81,50,000
16.	"	25,82,10,000	94,11,60,000
17.	"	27,32,00,000	1,90,80,00,000[30]
18.	1646-56	27,32,00,000	1,00,90,00,000
19.	c. 1656	36,39,82,859	1,36,46,02,117
20.	c. 1667	32,00,72,193	1,05,17,09,283
21.	1687-c. 1691	32,13,17,119	1,14,17,00,157
22.	1687-c. 1695	32,13,17,819	1,14,17,60,157
23.	1687-?	32,13,17,719	1,14,17,00,157
24.	c. 1709	32,13,17,119	1,14,17,60,057

28. Aligarh MS. var.: 70,17,97,110.

29. I assume that 'Nande' against which this figure is put in Manucci is a mistake for something like 'Avade', rather than Nander as Irvine suggests.

30. Probably an error for 1,01,90,80,000.

Source	Date	DEHLI *dams*	LAHOR *dams*
1.	1595-6	60,16,15,555	55,94,58,423
2.	1605	62,62,33,956	64,67,30,311
3.	pre-1627	65,61,00,000	82,50,00,000
4.	1628-36	62,62,33,753	64,73,30,611
5.	1633-38	73,93,10,000	84,42,90,000
6.	1646-47	33,94,24,481 (!)	89,22,18,399
7.	"	1,00,00,00,000	90,00,00,000
8.	"	1,00,00,00,000	90,00,00,000
9.	1638-56	78,10,00,000	98,78,00,000
10.	"	1,00,12,50,000	98,79,00,000
11.	"	78,93,00,000	84,42,90,000
12.	"	78,20,00,000	93,48,00,000
13.	"	73,93,00,000[31]	87,71,90,000
14.	"	74,63,35,000	89,33,70,000
15.	"	50,20,00,000	93,22,00,000
16.	"	93,00,000 (!)	84,41,90,000
17.	"	77,20,00,000	93,48,00,000
18.	1646-56	78,28,00,000	93,78,00,000
19	c. 1656	1,55,88,39,127	1,08,97,59,776
20.	c. 1667	1,16,83,98,269	90,70,16,125
21.	1687-c. 1691	1,22,29,50,177	89,89,32,170
22.	1687-c. 1695	1,22,29,50,137	89,81,32,170
23.	1687-?	1,22,29,50,137	89,81,32,170
24.	c. 1709	1,22,29,50,658	89,81,32,107

MULTAN AND THATTA

(Undivided)

Source	Date	*Dams.*
1.	1595-6	26,71,27,811[32]
2.	1605	25,39,64,173
3.	pre-1627	40,00,00,000

31. The figure expressed in terms of *dams* has been corrected by reference to the rupee-equivalent given under it.

32. This is the total for all the *sarkars* of the Multan province. The *jama'* for the province stated in the text of the *Ain*, I, p. 550, is 15,14,03,619 *dams* only.

Source	Date	MULTAN *dams*	THATTA *dams*
1.	1595-6	21,65,22,226[33]	5,06,05,585[34]
4.	1628-36	25,39,97,855	41,51,70,790 (!)
5.	1633-38	24,27,00,000[35]	9,30,28,000[36]
6.	1646-47	25,46,04,499	9,23,40,000
7.	"	28,00,00,000	8,00,00,000
8.	"	28,00,00,000	8,00,00,000
9.	1638-56	47,76,20,000	9,28,00,000
10.	"	46,72,50,000	9,07,80,000
11.	"	24,47,00,000	9,20,00,000
12.	"	22,55,00,000	9,28,00,000
13.	"	24,47,00,000	9,20,00,000
14.	"	24,46,55,000	9,49,70,000
15.	"	29,70,00,000[37]	24.04,80,000 (!)
16.	"	24,48,47,000	9,20,00,000
17.	"	26,56,00,000	9,18,00,000
18.	1646-56	26,56,00,000	9,28,00,000
19.	c. 1656	33,84,21,178	8,92,30,000
20.	c. 1667	24,53,18,505	7,49,86,900
21.	1687-c 1691	21,43,49,896	6,88,16,810
22.	1687-c. 1695	11,43,42,896	6,88,16,810
23.	c. 1709	22,43,49,893	6,88,16,800

Source	Date	AJMER *dams*	KASHMIR *dams*
Ain, I, pp. 570-71	1592-3		7,46,70.411
Ibid	1594-5		7,63,72,165¾ 6,22,02,203¼[38]

33. This is the total for all the *sarkars* of the Multan province except the *sarkar* of Thatta but including the sub-*sarkar* of Siwistan.

34. The figure given in the *Ain* for the *sarkar* of Thatta less that given for Siwistan.

35. The amount stated in Rupees is equal to 24,47,00,000 *dams*.

36. The amount stated in Rupees is equal to 9,01,20,000 *dams*.

37. Made up of figures shown separately against Multan and Bhakkar.

38. These two figures represent the *jama'* worked out by Āṣaf Khān, while the figure against 1592-3 represents that determined by Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī. The *jama'* of Kashmir was fixed in terms of *kharwars* (ass-loads) of rice which were then converted into *dams*. At the rates of conversion used by Qazi 'Ali, Asaf

Source	Date	AJMER *dams*	KASHMIR *dams*
1.	1595-6	28,84,01,557	6,21,13,045
2.	1605	30,99,17,724	
3.	pre-1627	42,05,00,000	
4.	1628-36	30,99,37,734	
5.	1633-38	54,03,50,000	11,93,80,000[39]
6.	1646-47	56,66,21,310	13,64,12,039
7.	„	60,00,00,000	15,00,00,000
8.	„		15,00,00,000
9.	1638-56	87,88,00,000	14,00,00,000[40]
10.	„	86,77,50,000	14,68,50,000[41]
11.	„	54,00,50,000	11,43,80,000
12.	„	87,68,00,000	14,02,00,000
13.	„	54,00,50,000	11,71,80,000
14.	„	55,53,60,000	12,62,85,000
16.	„	54,00,00,000	11,43,80,000
17.	„	87,68,00,000	14,02,01,900
18.	1646-56	98,68,00,000	14,02,00,000
19.	c. 1656	64,87,61,685	11,43,90,000
20.	c. 1667	63,68,94,883	21,30,74,826
21.	1687-c. 1691	65,26,45,602[42]	22,49,11,687[43]
22.	1687-c. 1695	65,23,45,382	22,99,11,397
23.	1687-?	65,53,45,702	22,99,11,397
24.	c. 1709	65,33,45,702	22,99,11,300

K͟han's *jama'* should have amounted to 7,63,72,165¾ *dams*. A remission of *bāj* and *tamg͟hā* (tolls and cesses) caused a reduction of 8,98,400 *dams*. Then for the revenues paid in grain the amount of *dams* equal to a *k͟harwar* (hitherto 29 to 1) was reduced by 5. This together with the tax remissions would have brought the *jama'* down to 6,22,02,203¼ *dams*. It is not clear how Abu-l Fazl can say that after these reductions the *jama'* of Asaf K͟han was only 8,60,304½ *dams* less than the *jama'* of Qazi 'Ali.

39. The amount stated in Rupees is equal to 11,43,80,000 *dams*.

40. Figure in the original actually equal to 1,40,00,000 *dams*.

41. Figure in the original equal to 1,46,850 *dams* only.

42. MS. var.: 85,26,45,702.

43. MS. var.: 27,99,21,397.

Source	Date	MALAWA *dams*	GUJARAT *dams*
1.	1595-6	24,06,95,052	43,68,22,301
2.	1605	25,73,78,201	46,91,59,424
3.	pre-1627	28,00,00,000	50,64,00,000
4.	1628-36	25,78,78,361	46,99,59,421
5.	1633-38	36,25,10,000	46,32,80,000
6.	1646-47	39,81,53,749	53,37,91,485
7.	"	40,00,00,000	53,00,00,000
8.	"	40,00,00,000	53,00,00,000
9.	1638-56	36,65,00,000	53,58,00,000
10.	"	37,38,00,000	54,73,50,000
11.	"	36,25,10,000	46,32,80,000
12.	"	39,85,00,000	53,00,00,000
13.	"	36,35,10,000	46,32,60,000
14.	"	36,90,70,000	58,37,90,000
15.	"	29,62,50,000	93,58,00,000
16.	"		46,32,60,000
17.	"	39,85,00,000	53,58,00,000
18.	1646-56	39,85,00,000	53,58,00,000
19.	c. 1656	55,73,17,320	86,92,88,069
20.	c. 1667	42,54,76,670	44,88,83,096
21.	1687-c. 1691	40,39,80,658	45,47,49,135
22.	1687-c. 1695	40,39,01,658	45,47,49,135
23.	1687-?	40,39,80,653	45,47,49,135
24.	c. 1709	40,39,80,658	45,47,44,135
Mirat, I, p. 25	c. 1719		79,96,45,213

THE DAKHIN

(An asterisk indicates that the figure is not directly stated in the source, but is the total of the figures given in it for the different provinces of the Dakhin).

Source	Date	*Dams*
1.	1595-6	84,49,56,264*[44]
2.	1605	1,10,08,16,547*
3.	pre-1627	1,15,67,00,000*

44. This is the total of the *jama'* of Berar and Khandesh. The *jama'* of both is stated in *tanka-i Barari*, which was equal to 16 *dams* (*Ain*, I, p. 478). Converted at this rate, the *jama'* of Khandesh amounts to 20,23,5[illegible],992 *dams*, and this figure has been used in making our total. Abu-l Fazl adds that after the reduction of Asirgarh Akbar increased the *jama'* of Khandesh by 50 per cent. through re-valuing the local *tanka* at 24 *dams* (*Ain*, I, 474). Since Asirgarh was captured in 1601, Abu-l Fazl must have interpolated this statement after the completion of his work; moreover, this increase cannot of course be taken into account for calculating the *jama'* as it stood in 1595-6.

Source	Date	*dams*
4.	1628-36	1,25,08,05,955*
5.	1633-38	1,73,04,72,000*
Lahori, I, ii, pp. 62-63	1635	2,12,00,00,000*
Ibid, p. 122	1636	2,00,00,00,000
6.	1646-47	2,19,00,87,798
7.	"	1,82,00,00,000*
8.	"	1,78,00,00,000*
Adab-i 'Alamgiri, f. 40b; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir*, 121-2	1653-54	1,44,90,00,000
9.	1638-56	2,36,15,00,000*
10.	"	2,39,63,25,000*
11.	"	1,57,77,90,000*
12.	"	2,56,55,00,000*
13.	"	2,13,62,70,000*
14.	"	1,56,71,69,000*
15.	"	2,14,00,90,000*[45]
16.	"	1,52,56,40,000*
17.	"	2,42,51,00,000*
18.	1646-56	2,06,55,00,000*
19.	c. 1656	1,85,64,48,000*
20.	c. 1667	2,96,70,00,000
21.	1681-c. 1691	6,00,22,22,140
22.	1681-c. 1695	5,86,99,94,307*
23.	1687-?	5,91,72,36,140*
24.	c. 1709	6,03,73,74,000

Nos. 21-24 above include the figures for Bijapur and Haidarabad. If these were deducted for convenience of comparison, the net figures for Mughal Dakhin in these tables would stand as follows:

21.	2,65,45,30,000*
22.	2,56,69,74,307*
23.	2,57,05,74,000
24.	2,57,05,74,000*

2. HASIL

We have seen in the previous Section that certain earlier works style as *ḥāṣil* what are really *jama'* statistics. It is only in three authorities belonging to the last two decades of our period that the *hasil* figures given alongside the *jama'-dami* statistics can inspire any confid-

45. This excludes Manuchy's figures for Bijapur and Haidarabad.

ence. One set of these figures is designated *ḥāṣil-i san-i kāmil,* or simply *ḥāṣil-i kāmil,* the collection of the 'best' year. Other *ḥāṣil* figures are assigned to particular years, but in some cases there is no reference to date or time at all. They are all expressed in terms of rupees.

The three sources are: the *Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri,* Fraser 86 and Jagjivandas. We have already cited and dated their statistics in the preceding section. They are represented below by 'A', 'B' and 'C' respectively.

HASIL-I (SAN-I) KAMIL

	A	B	C
The Empire, excluding Bijapur and Haidarabad		17,51,02,039	17,51,02,039
Dehli	3,10,12,154	3,10,12,154	68,49,110 (!)
Agra	2,06,97,371	2,00,71,103	1,30,97,371
Ajmer	1,06,96,393	6,00,97,341 (!)	1,06,97,371
Panjab	1,67,06,386	1,87,04,383	87,04,383
Multan	51,59,699[1]	51,69,399	51,69,389
Thatta	91,25,551	13,65,397 (!)	93,65,397
Kashmir	24,58,384	24,31,339	24,62,593
Ilahabad	1,05,97,671	1,05,97,341	1,05,98,371
Awadh	91,25,511	92,25,591	91,25,651
Bihar	93,05,431	93,25,551	93,05,431
Bengal	86,19,247[2]	86,19,247[3]	86,19,267[4]
Orissa	16,58,116[2]	16,58,856[3]	16,57,826
Malawa	84,72,299	84,72,299	84,72,291
Gujarat[5]	83,49,103	89,62,830	89,65,806
The Dakhin Provinces:			
Aurangabad		1,00,50,000	1,00,50,000
Berar		96,16,309	90,16,309
Bidar		31,00,000	
Khandesh		40,86,719	40,80,019

1. Called simply '*hasil*' in the original.
2. Only '*hasil*' in the original.
3. Described as '*hasil-i kamil* of the 9th (regnal) year (of Aurangzeb?)'.
4. Described as '*ḥāṣil-i ākhir*' in the original.
5. The *Mirat,* I, p. 26, puts the *ḥāṣil-i sāl-i akmal* of Gujarat at 1,23,56,000 and *sal-i kamil* at 1,00,00,000 Rs. *San* and *sāl* are synonymous and *akmal* probably signifies a year better than the previous best.

OTHER *HASIL* STATISTICS

The regnal years, presumably of Aurangzeb, to which some of the *hasil* figures are assigned, are indicated by Roman numerals. The figures given in C are uniformly termed *'ḥāṣil-i ākhir'*, or the latest receipts, and may accordingly be dated about 1708-9.

	A	B	C
The Empire	23,24,18,890	24,14,01,391	26,17,72,029
Dehli		2,22,56,400 (XVIII)	94,04,030
Agra		1,82,67,000 („)	68,92,897
Ajmer		68,92,877 („)	68,92,895
Panjab		1,30,42,327 („)	30,42,327
Multan		24,75,349 („)	24,75,649
Thatta		4,49,675 („)	34,49,657
Kashmir		17,11,324 („)	24,08,389
Ilahabad		68,82,897 („)	68,92,890
Awadh		98,85,771 („)	47,85,871
Bihar		48,85,571 („)	57,14,873
Bengal & Orissa		—	—
Malawa		48,13,283 („)	48,13,283
Gujarat[6]		71,84,685 („)	71,84,685
The Dakhin Provinces[7]	8,39,68,648	—	11,26,20,223
Aurangabad	1,28,36,043	96,99,000 („)	96,99,005
Berar	1,09,46,641	75,89,220 („)	75,89,220
Bidar	66,59,811	31,00,000 (XVI)	46,42,732
		42,42,332 (XIX)	—
Khandesh	47,39,562	41,19,067 (XVIII)	31,19,017
Bijapur	3,33,94,771	4,57,46,000	5,88,87,500
Haidarabad	2,00,94,478	2,05,53,352	2,47,82,500

6. Cf. *Mirat,* I, p. 26, where it is stated that "in years past" the revenue collection sometimes amounted to 60,00,000 Rs.

7. According to Aurangzeb the collection in the Dakhin provinces, which did not then include Bijapur, Haidarabad and the larger part of Bidar, amounted in the 27th year of Shahjahan (1653-4) to no more than 1,00,00,000 Rs. (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri,* f. 40b; *Ruq'at-i 'Alamgir,* pp. 121-2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the following list the works are numbered serially for convenience of reference. When the serial number is followed by another number, prefaced with a capital S and placed within brackets, this indicates that the particular work has been described in C.A. Storey's *Persian Literature—a Bio-bibliographical Survey* under that number.

Manuscripts are generally identified by their press-marks. When a MS. belongs to any collection of the British Museum other than the Additional or Oriental, the abbreviation 'Br.M.', for British Museum, is put before the name of the collection and the press-mark. But all MSS. simply designated 'Add.' or 'Or.' should be assumed to belong respectively to the Additional or Oriental Collections of the British Museum. 'Aligarh' indicates the Maulana Azad Library (Arabic & Persian MSS. Section), Aligarh Muslim University; 'Bodl.', the Bodleian Library, Oxford; 'Edinburgh', the Edinburgh University Library, Persian Collection; 'I.O.', the India Office Library, London; 'Lindesiana', the collection of this name in John Rylands Library, Manchester; and 'R.A.S.', the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. A few MSS. of the India Office Library and the Bodleian have been identified by the numbers in the printed catalogues and not their press-marks. In the case of the India Office MSS., the catalogue numbers whenever given are prefaced by the name 'Ethe', while in that of the Bodleian MSS., the numbers are preceded by the abbreviation 'Bodl.' without the name of any collection.

When more than one MS. or edition is listed under any work in the Bibliography, but only one of them has been cited in the foot-notes of this book, the latter is here marked with an asterisk. If two or more have been cited in the foot-notes, all such are asterisked. Abbreviations or symbols used to indicate them in the foot-notes are here put within brackets after the respective MSS. or editions. Where no abbreviation or symbol is shown after an asterisked MS. or edition, it is to be assumed that the MS. or edition is cited in the foot-notes by folio or page references following immediately upon the title of the work (or its abbreviation) without any separate abbreviation or symbol for the particular MS. or edition.

Contemporary Sources

A. AGRICULTURE

1. *Nuskha dar Fan-i Falāḥat*, I.O. 4702*; Or. 1741, ff. 25a-48a; Aligarh, Lytton: Fārsiya 'Ulūm, 51. The initial words of the text in the I.O. and Br. M. MSS. suggest that here we have the 11th chapter (*'amal*) of a larger work. The colophon of the Aligarh MS., which was transcribed in 1793 (but is incomplete at both ends), says it is a fragment of the *Ganj-i Bādāwurd* of Dārā Shukoh. A statement made in the *Risāla-i Nakhlbandiya* (Add. 16,662, f. 95b), written in 1790-91, which is practically a copy of this tract, gives the same title to its parent work, but ascribes

it to Amānullāh Khān Ḥusainī. This ascription is probably correct because Amānullāh Ḥusainī Khānazād Khān, son of Jahangir's great noble, Mahābat Khān, is in fact said to have left "a *majmū'a* called Ganj-i Bādāvard" (Rieu's British Museum Catalogue, ii, 509b).

Our author acknowledges his debt to a work which he calls the *Kitāb-i Shajaratu-n Nihāl*, which is almost certainly identical with the work preserved in Lindesiana 484, Add. 23,542 (fragment) and Add. 1771. The latter work had obviously been written in Persia, and Amānullāh seems to have revised and enlarged it to include information about the produce (fruits and crops) of India.

B. ADMINISTRATIVE LITERATURE

General Works

2. (S. 702:2) Abū-l Faẓl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*. Ed. Blochmann, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1867-77*. Blochmann's edition, though a very painstaking work and far superior to the two previous editions (Saiyid Ahmad's ed., Delhi, 1855, & Nawal Kishor's ed., Lucknow, 1869; Nawal Kishor's ed. of 1882 being a mere verbatim reproduction of Blochmann's ed.), was not unfortunately based on the best available MSS. I have, therefore, collated his edition throughout with two 17th century MSS., Add. 7652 and Add. 6552, which are by far the most accurate of all the MSS. I have seen. I.O. 6, also of an early date, is only a copy of Add. 6752. I have also occasionally consulted Add. 6546 (A.D. 1718). It may be noted that R.A.S. Persian 121 (Morley 161), though dated 1656, is carelessly written. The dates assigned to the *Ā'īn* MSS. in Lindesiana by its catalogue are misleading. Lindesiana 170 was transcribed in A.D. 1680, not 1626-7 (and it is a worthless copy any way); and there are no grounds at all for assigning No. 800 to 1627-8. Lindesiana 223 is not a copy of the *Ā'īn* at all. Browne's *Supplementary Handlist of Muhammadan MSS. in Cambridge*, p. 16, seems to imply that King's College Or. MSS. No. 31 contains a very early (A.D. 1598-99) copy of the *Ā'īn*, but Palmer's catalogue of this collection (*JRAS*, 1867, p. 108) suggests that it is only a part of a copy of the *Akbarnāma* which has been bound in three volumes.

It has not always been possible, specially when using a large number of figures from the statistical portion of the *Ā'īn*, to indicate where and why I have departed from Blochmann's text. As a rule I have always preferred the reading on which both Add. 7652 and Add. 6552 are agreed to that of Blochmann. The translations, when cited, are those of Blochmann, revised and edited by Phillott, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1927 and 1939, and of Jarrett, revised by Sarkar, Vols. II and III, Calcutta, 1949 & 1948.

3. Yūsuf Mīrak, son of Abū-l Qāsim 'Namkīn', *Maẓhar-i Shāhjahānī*, A.D. 1634, Vol. II, Karachi, 1961(?). Vol. II of this work is a memoir on the administrative history of Sind under the Mughals down to the year it was written. The author gives the accounts of the Bhakkar, Thatta and Sehwan regions separately, but concentrates on Sehwan. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Pir Husamuddin Rashidi of the Sindi Adabi Board, Karachi, for his courtesy in letting me use a press copy of Vol. II, which he has edited and annotated.

4. (S. 730). Rāi Chandrabhān Brahman, *Chār Chaman-i Barhaman*, c. 1656. Add. 18,863* ('A'), Or. 1892* ('B').

ADMINISTRATIVE AND ACCOUNTANCY MANUALS, STATISTICAL TABLES, &c.

A note is perhaps needed on this class of literature. A large number of works were written in our period for the guidance of persons seeking to acquire proficiency in accountancy (*siyāq*) and clerical work (*navīsindagī*), and knowledge of details of administrative procedure (*dastūr-al 'amal*). They were in the nature of text-books for candidates for clerical offices in the administration, and some of them aim at being comprehensive enough to be of use to persons serving almost any official of the Empire in any department. Thus the functions of various officials, the papers prepared under them, the mode of drawing up such papers, explanations of various terms used, tables of pay-scales of *manṣabdārs* and details of obligations, fines, etc., imposed upon them, account for the larger part of the contents of these works. Sometimes information of a miscellaneous nature is also provided, such as revenue statistics, tables of routes, lists of titles of nobles, etc. It should be remembered that these works, though often written by those who were serving, or had served, as officials, were not official manuals but written by their authors in their private capacity. But they often reproduce official papers to serve as illustrations, and sometimes seem to have copied *verbatim* detailed official regulations laying down routine procedures.

In view of the great importance of these works as sources of administrative and revenue history, it is certainly a pity that none of them has been printed so far, except for No. 15, which was printed some eighty years ago.

5. *Yād-dāsht-i Mujmil-i Jama'*, &c., c. 1646-47. Add. 16,863.

6. *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Navīsindagī*, late Shahjahan. Add. 6641, ff. 150-195.

7. Tables of revenue statistics, &c. Bodl. Ouseley 390. The heading attributes the statistics to the reign of Aurangzeb, but internal evidence suggests that they belong to the period 1638-56.

8. *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i 'Ālamgīrī*, c. 1659. Add. 6598, ff. 1a-128b*; Add. 6599. Its date presents some difficulty. According to its text it was written in "the third regnal (year)" of Aurangzeb, which is said to have corresponded to 1069 *Faṣlī* and A.H. 1065. But the awkward phrase *sih-i julūsi* is almost certainly a scribe's error for *san-i julūs*, the Year of the Accession. Moreover, 1069 *Faṣlī* and 1065 A.H. do not correspond either with Aurangzeb's 3rd regnal year or with each other. It has to be supposed that the eras of 1069 and 1065 have been interchanged, and that the work was actually written in Aurangzeb's first regnal year, 1069 A.H. and 1065 *Faṣlī*, all of which correspond with each other.

9. *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Mumālik-i Maḥrūsa-i Hindūstān*, Aurangzeb: post-1671. Or. 1840, ff. 133a-144b.

10. *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i 'Ilm-i Navīsindagī*, Aurangzeb: post-1676. Add. 6599, ff. 133b-185a.

11. Jagat Rā'i Shujā'ī Kāyath Saksena, *Farhang-i Kārdānī*, A.D. 1679. Aligarh, Abdus Salam, Fārsiya 85/315.

12. *Intikhāb-i Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Pādshāhī*, Aurangzeb: post-1686. Edinburgh 224.

13. *Ẓawābiṭ-i 'Ālamgīrī*, Aurangzeb: post-1691. Add. 6598; Or. 1641; Ethe 432; Ethe 415, ff. 161a, ff. (fragment).

14. *Dastūr-al 'Amal*. Aurangzeb: post-1696. Bodl. Fraser 86.

15. Munshī Nand Rām Kāyasth Shrīvāstavya, *Siyāqnāma*, A.D. 1694-6. Lithograph, Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1879.

16. Udai Chand, *Farhang-i Kārdānī o Kār-āmozī*, A.D. 1699. Edinburgh 83. This work is partly based on No. 11.

17. *Khulāṣatu-s Siyāq*, A.D. 1703. Add. 6588, ff. 64a-94a (slightly defective)*; Aligarh, Sir S. Sulaiman 410/143* ('Aligarh MS.').

18. *Dastūr-al 'Amal*, Aurangzeb: post-1703. Or. 2026. Practically an unacknowledged copy of No. 17.

19. *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Shāhjahānī*, &c. Late Aurangzeb (?). Ethe 415, ff. 23b-109b; Add. 6588, ff. 15a-47b; Aligarh, Sir S. Sulaiman 675/53.

20. Revenue statistics of the Mughal Empire, with detailed *maḥal*-wise statistics of the Ajmer province, Aurangzeb (?). R.A.S. Persian 173.

21. Statistical account of the area, divisions and revenues of the provinces of the Mughal Empire, drawing upon the *Ā'īn* and the Village and Area Statistics of Aurangzeb's Reign. Compiled after the death of Aurangzeb. Or. 1286, ff. 310b-343a.

22. Hidāyatullāh Bihārī, *Hidāyat-al Qawā'id*, A.D. 1714. I.O. 3996A*; Aligarh, Abdus Salam, 149/339* ('Aligarh MS.'). The texts of these two MSS. vary considerably, and the contents of the Aligarh MS. are more extensive.

23. Jawāhar Nāth 'Bekas' Sahaswānī, *Dastūr-al 'Amal*, A.D. 1732. Aligarh, Subhanullah 954/4.

24. *Risāla-i Zirā'at*, c. 1750. Edinburgh 144. The preface shows it was written in Bengal probably a little before the British conquest.

25. Braj Rā'i, *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Shāhanshāhī*, c. 1727, enlarged by Ṭhākur Lāl, 1776. Add. 22,831.

ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, INCLUDING COLLECTIONS OF ACTUAL OR SPECIMEN PAPERS

No attempt at completeness has been made in this section. Documents of which I have only seen a translation, analysis or description, but not the text, have been excluded.

26. Persian documents, etc., relating to lands and cash allowances granted to a family of Parsi physicians of Navsari, Gujarat, A.D. 1517-1671; and papers, in Gujarati, of property and financial transactions of another Parsi family of Navsari, 16th and 17th centuries. Published and translated with a discussion of their significance in S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History*, Bombay, 1920, pp. 149-253, with photographic reproductions of a number of the documents at the end of the volume.

27. *Farmāns, parwānas* and other papers relating chiefly to *madad-i ma'āsh* grants in the *pargana* of Batala (Panjab), A.D. 1527-1758. I.O. 4438 (Nos. 1-70). No. 1 in this collection of documents, which is a *farmān* of Babur granting *suyūrghāl* has been printed in IHRC, 1961, pp. 49-54, with a photographic reproduction of the original, by Dr. Muhiuddin Momin.

28. *Farmāns* of Babur, Sher Shah and Humayun, printed in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, Vol. IX, No. 3, May 1933, pp. 115-28, by Maulvi Muhammad Shafi.

29. Documents in the Central Record Office (U.P.), Allahabad, arranged in two series: (I) Accessioned in the Accession Register of the U.P. Regional Records Survey Committee, till March 31, 1958*; (II) Accessioned in the Register of the Committee, from April 1, 1958 *('II').

The Persian records in these two collections consist largely of *farmans* and other documents concerning land grants, sale deeds, legal depositions, judgments,

revenue papers, etc. They date from the 16th century onwards, beginning with a *farman* of Sher Shah (Series I: No. 318). I have used the following documents:

Series I: 1, 5, 8, 24, 36, 154, 179-80, 224, 279-80, 294-96, 299, 315, 317-18, 323, 329, 359, 362, 370, 375, 414, 421, 424, 435, 457, 464, 782, 786, 789, 810, 851, 869, 873-74, 879, 881, 884-94, 896-97, 1177, 1180, 1183, 1185-87, 1189-92, 1194-98, 1200-06, 1208, 1210-17, 1219-25, 1227-28, 1231-32, & 1234.

Series II: 23, 53, 55, 56, & 284.

30. Akbar, *Farmān,* conferring *madad-i ma'āsh,* A.D. 1558-59, with confirmation, A.D. 1575, Allahabad II, 23 (original); Or. 1757, ff. 39-51 (copy).

31. Akbar, *Farmān,* transferring *madad-i ma'āsh* to new land, A.D. 1567-68. Aligarh, display case.

32. Akbar, *Farmān,* conferring *madad-i ma'āsh,* A.D. 1575. Original in possession of Mr. Mohd. Akbar Ali, Vakil, Gorakhpur. Examined when sent on loan to the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, which now has a transcript of it.

33. *Imperial Farmans (A.D. 1577 to A.D. 1805) granted to the Ancestors of ... the Tikayat Maharaj,* photographic reproductions of the originals and their translations in English, Hindi and Gujarati, with notes, by K. M. Jhaveri, Bombay, 1928.

34. *Parwāncha* concerning a land-revenue grant, A.D. 1580. I.O. 4433.

35. *Farmāns* and other documents of Akbar's reign relating to a *madad-i ma'āsh* grant in Gujarat. Texts printed with facsimile reproductions of the originals, translated and copiously annotated by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi in *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar,* Bombay, 1903, pp. 91ff.

36. Maryam Zamānī, *Ḥukm,* exhorting officials to protect the interests of a *jāgirdār* from encroachments by a refractory *zamīndār,* Jahangir's reign. Photographic copy and text printed in *IHRC,* VIII, 1925, pp. 167-69, by Zafar Hasan.

37. Jahangir, *Farmān* granting *zamīndārī* and *chaudhurā'ī,* A.D. 1618. Text printed in *IHRC,* XVIII, 1942, pp. 188-96, by M. L. Roy Chaudhuri.

38. Har Karan, *Inshā'-i Har Karan,* Jahangir's reign. Ed. & tr. Francis Balfour, Calcutta, 1781*; reprinted 1881. The texts of the MSS. of this work vary very greatly in the later portions.

39. Shahjahan, *Farmān* appointing a *qāẓī* with grant of *madad-i ma'āsh,* A.D. 1629. Or. 11,697 (original).

40. *'Persian Sources of Indian History',* collected and edited, and translated into Marathi, by G. H. Khare, Vol. II, Poona, 1937. Mughal documents will be found on pp. 1-19. The bulk of the documents in this volume and in Vol. III (Poona, 1939) belong to the 'Adilshahi administration. I have not seen Vol. I.

41. *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign,* published by the Daftar-i Diwani, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1950. The documents have been excellently deciphered and printed; there are also some photographic reproductions.

42. *Daftar-i Dīwānī o Māl o Mulkī-i Sarkār-i A'lā,* Hyderabad, 1939. Texts and facsimile reproductions of Urdu and Persian documents, arranged in the inverse chronological order, including documents of the reigns of Shahjahan (pp. 253-81) and Aurangzeb (pp. 155-251).

43. Shahjahan, *Farmān* in favour of certain money-lenders. Text with translation printed in *IHRC,* Dec. 1942, pp. 59-60, by Dr. A. Halim.

44. Lashkar Khān, *Parwāna* appointing a *shiqqdār,* 1658-59. I.O. 4434.

45. *Akhbārāt-i Darbār-i Mu'allā*. News-letters from the Imperial Court, Aurangzeb's reign. 9 volumes in Case 47 at the R.A.S. It may be noted that these include some *Akhbārāt* of Bahadur Shah's reign as well, although Morley, the cataloguer of R.A.S. MSS., seemed unaware of this, and they have actually been bound up with those of Aurangzeb's early years in the first volume. The *Akhbārāt* have been cited by their year and the serial number put on them in the R.A.S. Library. One volume contains news-letters from Prince A'ẓam's headquarters in Gujarat. These have been cited as *Akhbarat A.*

46. *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign, 1659-1706*, ed. Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, Hyderabad, 1958. The texts of the documents, all from the Hyderabad archives, are given in full with a few photographic reproductions of the originals.

47. *Selected Waqai of the Deccan (1660-1671)*, ed. Y. H. Khan, Central Records Office, Hyderabad, 1953. Text printed with introduction, and a calendar of the documents and notes in English.

48. Aurangzeb, *Farmān* to Rasikdās, 8th regnal year. Text published by Jadunath Sarkar, from a MS. in Berlin and one in his own possession, in *JASB*, N.S., II (1906), pp. 223-55. I have collated this with the texts of the *farmān* contained in the following MSS.: I.O. 1146; I.O. 1566; I.O. 4014, ff. 8a-11b; Add. 19,-503, ff. 62a-63b; *Nigārnāma-i Munshī*, Or. 1735, ff. 162b-164b, 129a-132b (Nawal Kishor ed., pp. 123-4, 99-102). Detailed references to the various texts have been avoided by citing the relevant articles (or preamble) only.

49. Aurangzab, *Farmān* to Muḥammad Hāshim, A.D. 1668-69. I have used the text published by Sarkar in *JASB*, N.S., II (1906), pp. 238-49, collating it with the texts in *Durr-al 'Ulūm*, ff. 139b-149b, and *Mirāt-i Aḥmadī*, ed. Nawab Ali, Vol. I, pp. 268-72 (MSS.: I.O. 222, ff. 172b-175b; & I.O., p. 3597, ff. 156a-159a). This *farmān*, like No. 48, has serially numbered articles, which have been usually cited in all references to it.

50. Aurangzeb, *Farmān* concerning *madad-i ma'āsh* grant, A.D. 1677-78. I.O. 4436.

51. Aurangzeb, *Farmān* appointing a *qāẓī* with grant of *madad-i ma'āsh*, 1677-78. I.O. 4370.

52. *Waqā'i'* of Ajmer, &c., A.D. 1678-80. Asafiya Library, Hyderabad, Fan-i Tā'rīkh, 2242; transcript in Research Library, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Nos. 15 & 16 (2 vols.).* In the beginning there are a few reports sent from Ranthambhor. The writer was then appointed *waqā'i' navīs* of Ajmer and finally accompanied the army of Pādshāh Qulī Khān, as news-writer, in the Rajput War.

53. 'Malikzāda', *Nigārnāma-i Munshī*, a collection of administrative documents, letters, etc., A.D. 1684. Or. 1735*; Or. 2018; Bodl. MS. Pers. e-1* ('Bodl.'); lithographed ed., Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1882* ('Ed.').

54. *Durr-al 'Ulūm*, a collection of papers belonging to Munshī Gopāl Rā'i Sūrdaj, arranged by Ṣāḥib Rā'i Sūrdaj, A.D. 1688-89. Bodl. Walker 104.

55. Aurangzeb, *Farmān* appointing a *qāẓī* with *madad-i ma'āsh* grant, A.D. 1692. Or. 11,698.

56. Copies of *farmāns* and official letters concerning affairs in the Karnatik, 17th century. 2 vols., Br. M. Sloane, 4092 & 3582.

57. Mu'azzam, *Nishān* concerning *madad-i ma'āsh* grant, 1696-97. Printed in *IHRC*, XVIII, 1942, pp. 236-45.

58. Copies of *farmāns, nishāns* and *parwānas* issued in favour of the English East India Company, 1633-1712. Add. 24,039.

59. Bahadur Shah, *Farmān* conferring *āl-tamghā* grant, A.D. 1710. Or. 2285.

C. EPISTOLARY COLLECTIONS

Nos. 38, 53 and 54 above can also be treated as epistolary collections.

60. (S. 709) Abū-l Faẓl, *Inshā'-i Abū-l Faẓl.* Collection made by 'Abdu-ṣ Ṣamad. Lithographed ed., Nawal Kishor, Kanpur, 1872.

61. Khānazād Khān, *Inshā'-i Khānazād Khān*, Jahangir's reign. Or. 1410.

62. Letters written on behalf of Saif Khān, collected in 1641. Aligarh, Subhanullah, Fārsiya 891.5528/15.

63. Jahānārā, Letters to Rāja Budh Prakāsh of Sirmur, 13th-21st regnal years of Shahjahan. Printed in *JASB*, N.S., VII, 1911, pp. 449-58.

64. Khān Jahān Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān Bārha, *'Arẓdāsht-hā-i Muẓaffar*, Shahjahan: pre-1656. Add. 16,859, ff. 1a-25a & 109b-122b. This collection includes a letter written by Khān-i A'ẓam 'Azīz Koka to Jahangir, ff. 17a-19b.

65. Bālkrishan Brahman, Letters written by Shaikh Jalāl Ḥiṣārī and himself, late years of Shahjahan and early years of Aurangzeb. Add. 16,859, ff. 27a-109b & 122b-127a. Rieu (ii, 837) failed to identify these letters or to distinguish them from No. 64. Jalāl Ḥiṣārī was a servant of Khān Jahān Bārha; and Bālkrishan Brahman was a pupil of Jalāl Ḥiṣārī.

66. Aurangzeb, *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, a collection of letters written on behalf of Aurangzeb before his accession by Abū-l Fatḥ Qābil Khān, together with a collection of letters written on behalf of Prince Akbar, c. 1680, by Muḥammad Ṣādiq, who finally edited this whole collection in A.D. 1703-4. Or. 177*; Add. 16.847.

67. Aurangzeb, *Ruq'āt-i 'Ālamgir*: Correspondence of Aurangzeb with Shahjahan, Jahanara and other princes before his accession, largely extracted from No. 66. Edited by Saiyid Najib Ashraf Nadvi, Vol. I, Azamgarh, 1930. The other volumes planned have not appeared.

68. Jai Singh, *'Arẓdāshts* (Petitions) to the Court and Princes, A.D. 1655-58, &c. R.A.S., Pers. Cat. 173, ff. 8-76. The collection also includes a few *'arẓdāshts* from other nobles belonging to Aurangzeb's reign.

69. Munshī Bhāgchand, *Jāmi'-al Inshā'*, a collection of letters, the bulk consisting of letters written by Jai Singh and the correspondence between the Mughal and Persian courts. Compiled during Aurangzeb's reign. Or. 1702.

70. 'Ḥadīqī', Collection of specimen letters, A.D. 1661. Br. M. Royal 16, B XXIII.

71. (S. 738) Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū Lāhorī, *Bahār-i Sukhun*, 1663-64. Add. 5557; Or. 178.

72. *Khulāṣātu-l Inshā'*, A.D. 1691-92. Or. 1750, ff. 107b-162a (extracts).

73. Īzid Bakhsh 'Rasā', *Riyāẓ-al Wadād*, A.D. 1673-95. Or. 1725.

74. *Bayāẓ* attributed to Īzid Bakhsh 'Rasā'. I.O. 4014.

75. English Factory at Surat, Persian Correspondence, 1695-97. I.O. 150.

76. Chathmal 'Hindū', *Kārnāma*, a collection of letters written on behalf of Luṭfullāh Mu'tabar Khān, c. 1688-98. I.O. 2007. Mu'tabar Khān is mentioned in *Akhbārāt* 43/191 & 46/154 as the *thānadār* of Kalyan.

77. Bhūpat Rā'i, *Inshā'-i Roshan Kalām*, letters written on behalf of Ra'd-andāz Khān, *faujdār* of Baiswara, 1698-1702, and of his son and deputy, Sher-andāz Khān. I.O. 4011*; Aligarh, Abdus Salam, 109/339; Aligarh, Sir S. Sulaiman, 394/82. The letters are undated, but the period with which they are concerned is established from their references to contemporary events, and from references to Ra'd-andāz, Khān in *Akhbārāt* 45/232 & 267.

78. Aurangzeb, *Raqā'im-i Karā'im*, letters to Amīr Khān (d. 1698). Bodl. Ouseley 168 & 330; Add. 26,239.

79. Aurangzeb, *Kalimāt-i Taiyabāt*, letters and orders collected by 'Ināyatullāh Khān, 1719. Bodl. Fraser 157.

80. Aurangzeb, *Ahkām-i 'Ālamgīrī*, letters and orders collected by 'Ināyatullāh Khān (d. 1725). I.O. 3887. This must be completely distinguished from the unreliable anecdotes of Aurangzeb also entitled *Ahkām-i 'Ālamgīrī*, preserved in I.O. 4071, &c., and attributed by Sarkar to Hamīdu-ddīn Khān 'Nīmcha-i 'Ālamgīrī': the latter collection has been edited and translated by Sarkar as 'Anecdotes of Aurangzib', Calcutta, 1912 &c. (S. 754).

81. Aurangzeb, *Ramz o Ishāra-hā-i 'Ālamgīrī*, letters and orders collected by Sabadmal(?), 1739-40. Add. 26,240.

82. Aurangzeb, *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Āgahī*, letters and orders collected in 1743-44. Add. 26,237*; Add. 18,422.

83. Aurangzeb, *Ruq'āt-i 'Ālamgīr*, letters and orders. This is the popular collection, deriving its materials from Nos. 78 and 81, but containing some letters not found elsewhere. Add. 18,881 contains this collection, although at the beginning for a few pages it follows No. 82. Lithographed at Kanpur, A. H. 1267*.

84. Muhammad Ja'far Qādirī, *Inshā'-i 'Ajīb*, letters written by the compiler himself and by his brothers and others, largely on private matters, 1706-7. Lithographed ed., Nawal Kishor, Kanpur, 1912.

85. Lekhrāj Munshī, *Matīn-i Inshā'* or *Mufīd-al Inshā'*, letters written on behalf of Kāmgār Khān and (in fact almost entirely) on behalf of 'Alī Qulī Khān. Collected by Champat Rā'i in 1700-01, according to a chronogram, but includes letters of later date. Bodl. Bodl. 679. 'Alī Qulī Khān was the *faujdār* of Kuch Bihar, and he is mentioned in *Akhbārāt* 46/93.

86. Miscellaneous collection of letters, from the reigns of Akbar to Aurangzeb. I.O. 2678. The letters of Haridairām 'Rām' Munshī, ff. 77a, ff., belonging to the earlier part of the 17th century appear to be of particular interest. I regret I have not been able to make full use of this collection.

87. Miscellaneous collection of letters of the reigns of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah, including five letters from Shivaji. R.A.S. Morley 81 (Pers. Cat. 71).

88. *Faiyāz-al Qawānīn*, letters of Mughal emperors, princes, nobles and other rulers, collected by 'Ibādullāh Faiyāz in 1723-24. Or. 9617 (2 vols.).

89. Shāh Walī-ullāh, Political letters, to c. 1761. Ed. with Urdu tr. under the title, *Shāh Walī-ullāh ke Siyāsī Maktūbāt*, by K. A. Nizami, Aligarh, 1950.

D. HISTORICAL WORKS

90. (S. 698) Babur, *Bābur-nāma*: Turki text, Haidarabad Codex, facsimile reproduction, ed. A. S. Beveridge, Leiden & London, 1905; Persian tr. by 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān, Or. 3174; English tr. by A. S. Beveridge, London, 1921. Mrs. Beveridge's tr. from the Turki text largely supersedes the older translation of

Leyden and Erskine. Unfortunately at certain points Mrs. Beveridge's rendering of Persian words and terms is not as accurate as that of the older version. Ignorance of Turki has prevented me from directly using the Haidarabad Codex, except for occasional reference where the Persian words used by Babur could offer some guidance. Otherwise I have relied heavily upon 'Abdu-r Raḥīm's literal translation, as preserved in Or. 3714, which is a splendid MS. illustrated by some of Akbar's best painters.

91. (S. 698: 1) Shaikh Zain 'Wafā'ī' Khwāfī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Bāburī*. Or. 1999.

92. Ḥasan 'Alī Khān, *Tawārīkh-i Daulat-i Sher Shāhī*. A fragment of the text and Dr. R. P. Tripathi's translation of a portion of the original which is not now traceable, have been published by Prof. S. A. Rashid in *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1950). The endorsements on the fly-leaf of the surviving fragment are later forgeries, but there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the body of the work whose author claims to have been a companion of Sher Shah from his youth.

93. (S. 671) Rizqullāh 'Mushtāqī', *Wāqi'āt-i Mushtāqī*. Add. 11,633*; Or. 1929.

94. (S. 672) 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī, *Tuḥfa-i Akbar Shāhī*. I.O. 218.

95. (S. 701) Mihtar Jauhar, *Taẕkirat-al Wāqi'āt*. Add. 16,711.

96. (S. 702) Bāyazīd Bayāt, *Taẕkira-i Humāyūn o Akbar*. Ed. M. Hidayat Hosain, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1941.

97. (S. 707) 'Ārif Qandahārī, *Tā'rīkh-i Akbarī*. Transcript of MS. of Raza Library, Rampur, in Research Library, Dept. of History, Aligarh Muslim University.

98. (S. 613) Niẓāmu-ddīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. Ed. B. De, Bib. Ind., 3 vols. (Vol. III revised and partly edited by M. Hidayat Hosain), Calcutta, 1913, 1927, 1931 & 1935.

99. (S. 614) 'Abdu-l Qādir Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhabu-t Tawārīkh*, ed. Ali, Ahmad and Lees, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1864-69.

100. (S. 709 : 1) Abū-l Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Bib. Ind., 3 vols., Calcutta, 1873-87*. I have collated the Bib. Ind. text extensively with Add. 26,207, an early MS. 'corrected' here and there in a fortunately distinct hand by the poet Shaidā in 1628-29. Beveridge collated some MSS. for his translation, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1897-1921, and his notes on MS. variants are often very helpful.

In Add. 27,247, we have probably the text of the first draft of the *Akbarnāma*. Its language, though sometimes identical with that of the final version, is generally less polished, and it has also many lacunae. On the other hand, in some places it is much fuller: It gives us the original text of Todar Mal's recommendations of the 27th year concerning land-revenue administration and Akbar's comments thereon (ff. 331b-332b). Another document of interest, and one not found anywhere else, is the text of Akbar's order issued to Prince Murād in answer to his queries about recruitment of *manṣabdārs*, etc. (f. 401b). I have generally cited Add. 27,247 for Todar Mal's recommendations, but in other cases only when it has disclosed any important variation from the final version.

101. (S. 824) Mīr Ma'ṣūm, *Tārīkh-i Sind*, ed. U. M. Daudpota, Poona, 1938.

102. (S. 710) Ilāh-dād Faiẓī Sirhindī, *Akbarnāma*. Or. 169.

103. (S. 712) Asad Beg Qazwīnī, Memoirs. Or. 1996.

104. (S. 673) 'Abdullāh, *Tā'rīkh-i Dāūdī*, ed. Prof. S. A. Rashid, Aligarh, 1954.

105. (S. 674) Aḥmad Yādgār, *Tā'rīkh-i Salāṭīn-i Afāghina*, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1939.

106. (S. 826) Mīr Ṭāhir Muḥammad Nisyānī, *Tā'rīkh-i Ṭāhirī*. Or. 1685.

107. (S. 711) 'Abdu-l Bāqī Nihāwandī, *Ma'āṣir-i Rahīmī*, ed. H. Hosain, Bib. Ind., 3 vols., Calcutta, 1910-31.

108. (S. 616) Nūr-al Ḥaqq Dihlawī, *Zubdatu-t Tawārikh*. Add. 10,580. Largely based on No. 102 for events of Akbar's reign before 1601.

109. (S. 715) Jahangir, *Jahāngīr-nāma* or *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*. Edited by Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur & Aligarh, 1863-64*. The chief merit of Saiyid Ahmad's edition is that it represents the authentic memoirs; otherwise, it is full of errors. Some of these errors have been corrected in the translation of Rogers and Beveridge, 2 vols., London, 1909-14. But the latter also is not free from inaccuracies, particularly in respect of figures.

110. (S. 955) 'Alā'u-ddīn 'Ghaibī' Iṣfahānī 'Mirzā Nathan', *Bahāristān-i Ghaibī*, tr. Borah, 2 vols., Gauhati, 1936. I regret I have not been able to consult the unique MS. of this work in the Bibliothique Nationale, Paris.

111. (S. 717) Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī*. For the first two volumes (coming down to the death of Akbar) I have used the Lucknow lithographed edition of Nawal Kishor, 1870, and for the third, the Bib. Ind. ed. of Abdul Hai and Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1865. I have checked the Lucknow edition at places with Or. 1768 and Or. 1834. Or. 1834, although probably transcribed in the earlier part of the 19th century, contains a very important supplement to Vol. II, giving the revenue statistics, salary scales of *manṣabdārs*, etc., at the time of Akbar's death, which is not found in the Lucknow edition nor in such other MSS. as I have seen (Or. 1768, Ethe 312 & Ethe 313).

112. (S. 619) Muḥammad Sharīf Najafī, *Majālisu-s Salāṭīn*, Or. 1903.

113. (S. 718) Kāmgār Ḥusainī, *Ma'āṣir-i Jahāngīrī*. Or. 171.

114. (S. 720) Anonymous, *Intikhāb-i Jahāngīr Shāhī*. Or. 1648, ff. 181b-201b (extracts). This work contains some material of interest to us, e.g., a reference to Jahangir's liberality in conferring *madad-i ma'āsh* grants. But, though purporting to be written by a contemporary, it is probably an 18th century fabrication.

115. (S. 274) Amīn Qazwīnī, *Pāshāhnāma*. Or. 173*; Add. 20,734; transcript of MS. of Raza Library, Rampur, in Research Library, Dept. of History, Aligarh Muslim University (Nos. 19-21).

116. (S. 734) 'Abdu-l Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Pādshāhnāma*. Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1866-72.

117. (S. 734) Muḥammad Wāriṣ, Continuation of No. 116. Add. 6556*('A'); Or. 1675*('B').

118. (S. 735) Muḥammad Ṣādiq Khān, *Shāhjahān-nāma*. Or. 174; Or. 1671. The author has hidden himself behind a pseudonym, and the autobiographical facts he gives appear to be fictitious. Yet it is a contemporary work of considerable historical importance.

119. (S. 738:1) Ṣāliḥ Kanbū Lāhorī, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, ed. G. Yazdani, 4 vols. (vol. IV: index), Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1912-46.

120. (S. 743) Shihābu-ddīn Ṭālish, *Fathiya-i 'Ibriya*. Bodl. Or. 589*. This MS. is unique for its text of the continuation to 1666. The first portion of this work is preserved in numerous MSS., and has been printed as *Tārīkh-i Mulk-i Ashām*, Calcutta, 1847.

121. (S. 745) Muḥammad Kāẓim, *'Ālamgīrnāma*, ed. Khadim Husain and Abdu-l Hai, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1865-73.

122. (S. 151:2) Shaikh Muḥammad Baqā 'Baqā', *Mir'āt-al 'Ālam*. Add. 7657*; Aligarh, Abdus Salam, 84/314.

123. (S. 748) Mehta Isardās Nāgar, *Futūḥat-i 'Ālamgīrī*. Add. 23,884.

124. (S. 622) Sujān Rā'i Bhandārī, *Khulāṣatu-t Tawārīkh*. Ed. Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918*. I have also used MSS. Add. 16,680* ('A'), Add. 18,407* ('B') and Or. 1625* ('C'), which I have cited only in case of any obscurity in the printed text.

125. (S. 753) Abū-l Faẓl Ma'mūrī, Continuation of No. 118. Or. 1671.

126. (S. 750) Bhīmsen, *Nuskha-i Dilkushā*. Or. 23.

127. (S. 752) Sāqī Musta'idd Khān, *Ma'āṣir-i 'Ālamgīrī*. Bib. Ind. ed., Calcutta, 1870-73*. I have also consulted MS. Add. 19,495.

128. (S. 623) Jagjīvandās Gujarātī, *Muntakhabu-t Tawārīkh*. Add. 26,253.

129. (S. 627) Muḥammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab-al Lubāb*. Vol. II and portions relating to the Dakhin, ed. K. D. Ahmad and Haig, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1860-74, 1909-25*. Khāfī Khān has plagiarised wholesale from Nos. 118 and 125. What is perhaps the first version of his work is preserved in Add. 6573 & 6574, and in these the text is still more often identical with that of Nos. 118 and 125.

130. (S. 629) Yaḥyā Khān, *Tazkirat-al Mulūk*, I.O. 1147.

131. (S. 984) 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī*. Ed. Nawab Ali, 2 vols. & Supplement, Baroda, 1927-28, 1930*. Mr. Nawab Ali's edition was based on the author's own MS., transcribed by his secretary, but the edition is not free from printing errors. I have checked some pages with MSS. I.O. 222 & I.O. 2597-9.

132. (S. 1471) Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āṣir-al Umarā'*, 'Abdu-l Ḥai's recension. Ed. Abdu-r Rahim & Ashraf Ali, Bib. Ind., 3 vols., Calcutta, 1888-91.

133. (S. 1162:17) Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Ḥusainī Bilgrāmī, *Khizāna-i 'Āmira*, Nawal Kishor, Kanpur, 1871.

For the period antecedent to the Mughal Empire (and to the Lodi Kingdom) the two principal historical works I have consulted are:

134. (S. 666) Ẓiyā'u-ddīn Baranī, *Tā'rīkh-i Fīrūz-shāhī*. Ed. Sayid Ahmad Khan, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1862. A new edition of this work by Prof. S. A. Rashid, Aligarh Muslim University, is in the course of publication.

135. (S. 669) Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, *Tā'rīkh-i Fīrūz-shāhī*. Ed. Wilayat Husain, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1891.

E. TOPOGRAPHICAL WORKS

136. (S. 1649) Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, *Haft Iqlīm*. Or. 204; Add. 16,734. Ed. Ross, Harley & Haqq (3 fasciculi published, up to Partavī of Shiraz), Calcutta, 1918, 1927, 1939.

137. 'Abdu-l Laṭīf, *Journey to Bengal*, 1608-9. Abridged tr. of fragment by J. Sarkar in *Bengal Past & Present*, XXXV, Part II (1928: April-June), pp. 143-46.

138. Amīnu-ddīn Khān, *Ma'lūmāt-al Āfāq*, A.D. 1707-13. Aligarh, Subhanullah, 362/124: a magnificent MS. transcribed for the author himself in 1713, marred slightly by the vandalism of a modern fountain-pen.

139. (S. 780:9:3) Ānand Rām 'Mukhliṣ', *Safarnāma-i Mukhliṣ*, ed. S. Azhar Ali, Rampur, 1946.

140. (S. 631) Rā'i Chaturman Saksena, *Chahār Gulshan* or *Akhbār-i Nawādir*. Bodl. Elliot 366*. Portion tr. J. Sarkar in *India of Aurangzib*, Calcutta, 1901* ('Sarkar').

F. DICTIONARIES

141. Jamālu-ddīn Ḥusain Injū, *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, A.D. 1608-9. Pub. Samar-i Hind Press, Lucknow, 1876.

142. 'Abdu-r Rashīd al-Tattawī, *Farhang-i Rashidī*, A.D. 1653-54. Ed. Abu Tahir Zulfiqar 'Ali Murshidabadi, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1872.

143. Munshī Tek Chand 'Bahār', *Bahār-i 'Ajam*, A.D. 1739-40. Lithographed edition, Nawal Kishor, 1916. Perhaps the most comprehensive of the old Persian dictionaries.

144. (S. 780:2) Ānand Rām 'Mukhliṣ', *Mir'āt-al Iṣṭilāḥ*, a glossary of idioms and technical terms, A.D. 1745. Or 1813.

G. OTHER WORKS

145. *Bayāẓ-i Khushbū'ī*. I.O. 828. The work is concerned with all the requirements of the person and household of an aristocrat, and its contents range from recipes for dishes and medicinal appliances to plans for the lay-out of stables and gardens, and from descriptions of perfumes to instructions about pen and paper. It also contains a table of revenue statistics. The MS. was transcribed in 1697-98; but from internal evidence the work can be confidently assigned to the first two decades of Shahjahan's reign.

146. *Dabistān-i Maẓāhib*, the famous work on the religions of the world, completed between 1653 and 1656, by an unknown author. Ed. Nazar Ashraf, Calcutta, 1809*. The English tr. by Shea and Troyer, London, 1843, 3 vols., is unsatisfactory.

147. Satnāmī Scriptures, *Satnām Sahā'i*. MS. R.A.S. Hindustani 1, giving the Braj text in both Nagari and Persian characters.

H. EUROPEAN SOURCES

148. Caesar Frederick (Caesar de Frederici), "Extracts of.....his eighteen years Indian Observations", A.D. 1563-81, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, pub. MacLehose, Glasgow, 1905, X, pp. 88-143.

149. Fr. A. Monserrate, 'Information de los X'pianos de S. Thome', 1579. Portions tr. H. Hosten, *JASB*, NS, XVIII, 1922, pp. 349-69.

150. Fr. A. Monserrate, *Commentary* on his Journey to the Court of Akbar, tr. J. S. Hoyland & annotated by S. N. Banerjee, Cuttack, 1922.

151. Du Jarric's account of the Jesuit missions to the Court of Akbar, tr. C. H. Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, London, 1926.

152. J. H. van Linschoten. *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, from the old English translation of 1598, ed. A. C. Burnell (Vol. I) and P. A. Tiele (Vol. II), Hakluyt Society, Vols. 70-71, London 1885.

153. Ralph Fitch, Narrative, ed. J. H. Ryley, *Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India and Burma*, London, 1899*. Also included in No. 154.

154. *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)*, being a collection of the narratives of Fitch (pp. 1-47), Mildenhall (pp. 48-59), Hawkins (pp. 60-121), Finch (pp. 122-87), Withington (pp. 188-233), Coryat (pp. 234-87), and Terry (pp. 288-332). Ed. W. Foster, London, 1927.

155. Fr. J. Xavier, Letters, 1593-1617, tr. Hosten, *JASB, NS*, XXIII, 1927, pp. 109-30.

156. *A Supplementary Calendar of Documents in the India Office relating to India or to the Home Affairs of the East India Company, 1600-1640*, by W. Foster, London, 1928.

157. *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, 1602-17. 6 vols. : vol. I, ed. Danvers; vols. II-VI, ed. Foster, London, 1896-1902.

158. Fernao Guerreiro, *Relations*. Portions tr. C. H. Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, London, 1930.

159. *Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century*, a collection of the 'relations' of Methwold (pp. 1-50), Schorer (pp. 51-65) and an anonymous Dutch factor (pp. 67-95). Ed. & tr. W. H. Moreland, Hakluyt Society, London, 1931.

160. John Jourdain, *Journal*, 1608-17. Ed. Foster, Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, No. XVI, Cambridge, 1905.

161. Joseph Salbancke, 'Voyage', 1609, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, MacLehose, III, pp. 82-89.

162. Manuel Godinho de Eredia, 'Discourse on the Province of Indostan', &c., 1611. Tr. Hosten, *JASB*, Letters, IV, 1938, pp. 533-66.

163. Peter Floris, *His Voyage to the East Indies in the 'Globe'*, 1611-15. Contemporary tr. of his Journal, ed. Moreland, Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, LXXIV, London, 1934.

164. Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1615-19*, as narrated in his Journal & Correspondence, ed. W. Foster, London, 1926.

165. Richard Steel and John Crowther, 'Journall', 1615-16, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, MacLehose, IV, pp. 266-80.

166. Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East India, &c., 1616-19*, London, 1665; reprinted, 1777. Earlier version from *Purchas his Pilgrimes* printed in No. 154.

167. *The English Factories in India, 1618-69*, ed. W. Foster, 13 vols., Oxford, 1906-27. The volumes are not numbered and have, therefore, been cited by the years which each of them covers and which appear beneath their titles on the cover pages.

168. Pietro Della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, tr. Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, 2 vols., London, 1892.

169. Pieter Van Den Broecke, Surat 'Diary', 1620-29, tr. Moreland, *JIH*, X, pp. 235-50; XI, pp. 1-16, 203-18.

170. Francisco Pelsaert, 'Remonstrantie', c. 1626, tr. Moreland and Geyl, *Jahangir's India*, Cambridge, 1925.

171. Wellebrand Geleynssen de Jongh, 'Verclaringe ende Bevinding, &c.', extracts tr. Moreland, *JIH*, IV (1925-26), pp. 69-83.

172. Joannes De Laet, 'De Imperio Magni Mogolis, &c.', 1631, tr. J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerjee, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, Bombay, 1928. Little in this work is original, and the discovery and publication of most of its sources has deprived it of its old authority.

173. Peter Mundy, *Travels*, vol. II: Travels in Asia, 1630-34, ed. Sir R. C. Temple, Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, XXXV, London, 1914.

174. Fray Sebastian Manrique, *Travels*, 1629-43, tr. C. E. Luard, assisted by Hosten, 2 vols., Hakluyt Society, 1927.

175. John van Twist 'A General Description of India', c. 1638, extracts tr. Moreland, *JIH*, XVI (1937), pp. 63-77.

176. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, 1640-67, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition revised by W. Crooke, London, 1925.

177. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire 1656-68*, tr. on the basis of Irving Brock's version by A. Constable, with notes, 2nd edition revised by V. A. Smith, London, 1916.

178. Jean de Thevenot, 'Relation de l'Indostan, &c.', 1666-67. Lovell's tr. of 1687 reprinted with corrections, notes and an introduction by S. N. Sen in *The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi, 1949.

179. John Marshall, 'Notes & Observations on East India', ed. S. A. Khan, *John Marshall in India — Notes & Observations in Bengal, 1668-72*, London, 1927.

180. Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, ed. R. C. Temple, Cambridge, 1905.

181. John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia being Nine Years' Travels, 1672-81*, ed. W. Crooke, 3 vols., Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, XIX, XX & XXXIX, London, 1909, 1912 & 1915.

182. Streynsham Master, *The Diaries of Streynsham Master, 1675-80, & other Contemporary Papers relating thereto*, ed. R.C. Temple, Indian Records Series, 2 vols., London, 1911.

183. 'Maulda Diary and Consultation Booke' & 'Maulda and Englezavad Diary', 1680-82, ed. Walter K. Firminger, *JASB*, NS, XIV (1918), pp. 1-241.

184. William Hedges, *The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., during his Agency in Bengal*, &c., transcribed and annotated by R. Barlow and illustrated by copious extracts from unpublished records by Col. Henry Yule, 3 vols., Hakluyt Society, Nos. 74, 75 & 78, London, 1887-89. I have only cited Vol. I, which contains Hedges's diary. Vols. II & III largely consist of biographical material.

185. J. Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, ed. H. G. Rawlinson, London, 1929.

186. Giovanni Francesco Gamelli Careri, 'Giro del Mondo'. Careri visited India in 1695. 'Early English version' of portions of Careri's work relating to India reprinted in *The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S. N. Sen, New Delhi, 1949.

187. Nicolao Manuchy, *Storia do Mogor*, 1656-1712, tr. W. Irvine, 4 vols., Indian Texts Series, Government of India, London, 1907-8. I have followed the spelling of the author's name found in his signatures preserved at Pondicherry (*IHRC*, 1925, p. 175). But in citing Irvine's translation, I have used the form 'Manucci', this being the spelling adopted by Irvine.

Modern Works

A. AGRICULTURE, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE, & STATISTICS

188. Watt, *The Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, 6 vols.

189. *The Agricultural Statistics of India*, issued by the Department of Revenue & Agriculture, &c., Government of India, as a series at uneven intervals from 1884-85.

190. John Augustus Voelcker, *Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, London, 1893.

191. N. G. Mukerji, *Handbook of Indian Agriculture*, Calcutta, 1915.

192. W. H. Moreland, *Notes on the Agricultural Conditions of the United Provinces and of its Districts*, Allahabad, 1913. The notes on districts are separately paginated.

193. The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, *Report*, London, 1928.

B. LAND SYSTEM & LAND-REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

194. Khwāja Yāsīn of Dehli, Glossary of revenue and administrative terms, in Persian. Add. 6603, ff. 40-84. Date not stated, but probably compiled in the latter part of the 18th century. The author claims to have had experience of revenue administration in Dehli and sets himself out to explain terms in use in both Dehli and Bengal for the benefit of the British officials.

195. Report (in Persian) on the pre-British system of administration in Bengal, prepared by the Rā'i Rāyān and the *qānūngos* under instructions of the Governor-General & Council, January 4, 1777. Add. 6592, ff. 75b-114b; Add. 6586, ff. 53a-72b.

196. *Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Khāliṣa-i Sharīfa*, a work of late 18th century, which contains a glossary of administrative and revenue terms. Edinburgh 230.

197-99. Miscellaneous papers relating chiefly to revenue administration in Bengal, mostly in Persian, late 18th century. Add. 6586, and Add. 19,503-04.

200. *The Fifth Report* from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, together with the Appendix, Vol. I: Bengal Presidency. Reprinted, Madras, 1883.

201. H. M. Elliot, *Memoirs on the .... Races of the North-Western Provinces of India*, being an amplified edition of the original *Supplemental Glossary*, revised by John Beames, 2 vols., London, 1869.

202. H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial & Revenue Terms, &c., of British India*, London, 1875.

203. Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1892.

C. AGRARIAN SOCIETY

204. (S. 688) Col. James Skinner, *Tashrīḥ-al Aqwām*, A.D. 1825. MS. Add. 27,255 (magnificently illustrated under the author's direction, 1825).

205. W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, 4 vols., Calcutta, 1896.

206. Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, London, 1896.

207. D. Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, Lahore, 1916.

208. Surendra J. Patel, *Agricultural Labourers in Modern India and Pakistan*, Bombay, 1952.

D. LOCAL HISTORY

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220. W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, London, 1920.

221. W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, London, 1923.

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Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Annual Sessions.
The Oriental College Magazine, Lahore.

ABBREVIATIONS

The numbers placed against the abbreviations are those given to the respective works in the Bibliography. Thus the work for which an abbreviation stands can be located only by reference to the Bibliography under the number here shown against it. Abbreviations for particular MSS. or editions of the same work, when more than one have been cited in this book, are given within brackets under each work in the Bibliography, and have not been listed here.

Abbreviation	No.
'Abbas Khan	94
Adab-i 'Alamgiri	66
Add. 6586	197
Add. 6603	194
Add. 16,859	64
Add. 19,504	199
Agrarian System	229
Ahkam-i 'Alamgiri	80
Ahmad Yadgar	105
Ain	2
Akbar & the Jesuits	151
Akbar to Aurangzeb	221
Akbarnama	100
Akhbarat	45
'Alamgirnama	121
Allahabad	29
'Amal-i Salih	119
A.N.	100
'Arif Qandahari	97
'Arzdasht-ha-i Muzaffar	64
Asad Beg	103
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Bayazid	96
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Bowrey	180
Caesar Frederick, *Purchas*	148
Careri	186
Chahar Gulshan	140
Char Chaman / *Char Chaman-i Barhaman*	4
Chronicles of Oonao	211
Commissariat, *Mandelslo*	218
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Daftar-i Diwani, &c.	42
Daftar-i Diwani o Mal o Mulki, &c.	42
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Early Travels	154
Edinburgh No. 83	16
Elliot, *Memoirs, &c.*	201
Factories	167
Factories, N.S.	225
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Faizi Sirhindi	102
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Farhang-i Kardani, Edinburgh 83	16
Fathiya-i 'Ibriya	120
Fifth Report	200
Fitch, Ryley / Fitch, ed. Ryley	153
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Fryer	181
Hadiqi	70
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IHRC	255
India, &c., of Akbar	220
Insha-i Abu-l Fazl	60

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 5: f.n. 7, l. 3: For '*arāẓī*' read '*ārāẓī*'.

P. 13: f.n. 35 (continued from p. 12), l.1: For 'Aonla' read 'Anola'.

Add at the end of f.n. 35 *the following paragraph:*

'Rennel's Map of 'Oude, Allahabad, with part of Agra', issued on January 30, 1780 (& printed in his *Bengal Atlas*, 1781, as Map X) confirms the evidence of all of our other sources about the great extent of the Tarai Forest in this region. It shows the entire country between Gorakhpur and the Gandhak river to be under forest (except for a clearing along both the banks of the Little Gandhak in its lower reaches). South of Gorakhpur, again, it shows a 'Small Forest' on both sides of the Rapti river. To the north-west of Gorakhpur, Bansi was surrounded by forest; and there was extensive forest just south of the Rapti river below Balrampur, which was separated from the Tarai forest by a stretch of clearing.'

Add at the end of f.n. 36:

'Rennel's Map, *op. cit.*, shows that by 1780 this forest had already disappeared, although the 'Small Forest' south of Gorakhpur still touched the Ghagra at a point near Azamgarh.'

P. 15: l.4 from bottom: For 'our period.' read 'our period.[46a]'

Insert the following *foot-note* after f.n. 46:

'46a. Rennel's Map of 'Oude and Allahabad', 1780, in his *Bengal Atlas*, shows that the territory around Shahjahanpur was by now well-cleared, although the territory along the upper reaches of the Gomti and its tributaries was under forest.'

P. 27: f.n. 19, l.8: For '(*Ain*, I, p. 153)' read '(*Ain*, I, p. 513)'.

P. 28: f.n. 23, l.7: Delete the inverted commas after the word 'caused'.
f.n. 26: For '*Ma'āṣiri-i*' read '*Ma'āṣir-i*'.

P. 29, l.16: For 'upper chan' read 'upper chan-'.

last l.: For 'Panjnad' read 'Chenab'.

f.n. 31, ll. 3, 6, 10: The spelling 'Beth-Jālandhar' is given by Abu-l Fazl in *Ain*, I, p. 537, but the spelling adopted in the *Ain's* statistical tables is 'Bet-Jālandhar'.

P. 30: f.n. 33, l.2: For 'Chunhat' read 'Chanhat'.

P. 32: f.n. 42, l.6: for 'Salim was' read 'Salim, was'.

P. 36, l.2 from bottom: For 'limts' read 'limits'.

P. 38: ll. 11-16: The statement that the value of output per acre of small millets in terms of that of wheat has declined should be deleted. The data about per-acre output of the smaller millets do not appear in modern agricultural statistics, and so no comparison can be attempted. I seem to have misunderstood Moreland (*India & c. of Akbar*, 103) on this point.

At the end of f.n. 32 add the following paragraph:

'Moreland's study of the comparative values of output of various crops per acre in the time of the *Ain* and in recent times may be checked with the information contained in the *Meerut District Gazetteer*, 1922, pp. 42ff., about the value of output per acre of various crops in the district. The comparative values of output of food crops (with Wheat = 100) based on this information can be set alongside the comparative figures of revenue rates on the same crops (with Wheat again as base, = 100) in the *dastur*-circle of Mīrath (Meerut) drawn from the *Ain*.

Crop	*Ain*	*Meerut Distt. Gaz.*
Wheat	100·0	100·0
Rice	82·5	66·6 to 77·7
Barley	65·3	55·5
Juwar	57·7	44·4 to 66·6
Bajra	38·4	44·4
Gram (ordinary)	69·2	66·0
Peas	42·3	55·5
Urd	59·6	44·4
Moth	38·4	33·3

This table broadly confirms Moreland's finding that the relative output per acre of most food crops has remained constant, with the exception of *bajra* which fetched less per acre in the time of the *Ain*. The *Meerut Distt. Gaz.* has probably under-estimated the value of output of barley, for the U.P. figure of the value of barley per acre in 1950-51 worked out at 72·5 per cent. of that of wheat. The two pulses, peas and *urd*, listed in the Table, show a curious reversal in their values, peas being valued more now and *urd* in the time of the *Ain*'.

P. 40: Add at the end of f.n. 41: 'The value of cotton out-turn per acre given in the *Meerut Distt. Gaz.* is only 66·6 to 77·7 per cent of that of wheat, while the revenue-rate on a *bigha* sown with cotton in the *dastur*-circle of Mirath, as given in the *Ain*, was 153 per cent. of the rate on a *bigha* sown with wheat. This suggests that the relative value of cotton has fallen by more than half.'

P. 41: l.13: For 'of *ghi*, It', read 'of *ghi*. It'.

f.n. 46, l.1: For 'four oil-seed crops' read 'five oil-seed crops'.

Add at the end of f.n. 46: 'Groundnuts, another oil-yielding crop, were not cultivated in Mughal times'.

Add at the end of f.n. 49: 'This also emerges from a comparison of the data in the *Meerut Distt. Gaz.* with the rates of the *dastur*-circle of Mirath in the *Ain*. With the value of yield of wheat as 100 in either case, sesame is rated at 76·9 in the *Ain*, but only 44·4 in the *Meerut Distt. Gaz.*'

P. 44: Add at the end of text of l.4 from bottom: 'The cultivation of safflower, which yields a purple dye, has also declined considerably.[64a]'

Add at the end of f.n. 63:

'According to Malcolm, *Memoir of Central India*, 1824, II, p. 77, "aul" was also cultivated in Malawa and was exported from there in considerable quantities.'

Insert the following foot-note after f.n. 64:

'64a. The dye is known as *kusum* and is extracted from the flower. For the decline in its cultivation, see *Meerut Distt. Gaz.*, p. 47, and *Bulandshahr Distt. Gaz.*, p. 37.'.

P. 46: Add at the end of f.n. 76:

'The *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, p. 184, provides still earlier evidence for the rapid extension of its cultivation. It says that tobacco cultivation began in the Sehwan region during the term of Dīndār K͟hān, who was appointed *jagirdar* by Shahjahan soon after his accession in 1628 and was recalled a little before 1634, when the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* itself was written.'

P. 47: f.n. 84, l.4: For '*(Makhī)*' read '*(Maghī)*'.

P. 49: l.5: For 'owned richer people' read 'owned by richer people'.

P. 53: f.n. 131: A photograph of the original document in the Research Library, Department of History, Aligarh University, has enabled me to check the text printed in the *Selected Documents*. The total as read by the editor is correct, but under *pargana* Pārnīr, where the editor has marked the figure for bullocks as illegible, the original in fact has the symbol for 'nil'. The absence of the figure for bullocks in this *pargana* probably explains the lower total for bullocks at the top. The total figures for men and bullocks in *parganas* other than Parnir and two others, where they are not legible, are 150 for men and 298 for bullocks, and not 158 and 290 as printed in l.7 of the foot-note.

P. 67: f.n. 29, l.1: For '*Factories 1655-67*' read '*Factories, 1665-67*'.

P. 88: f.n. 27 (continued from p. 87), l.9 from end of f.n.: For '*ibid*, 1666-67' read *ibid, 1665-67*'.

P. 91: l.3 from bottom: For 'From both, religious' read 'From religious'.

P. 100: l.5: For 'bounty; All might' read 'bounty: All might'.

P. 101: l.7: For 'paricularly' read 'particularly'.
f.n. 3, l.2: For '*Ain*, III' read '*Ain*, II'.

P. 110: l.3 from bottom: For 'nothng' read 'nothing'.

P. 116: l.16: For '*faujdar* of Talkokan' read '*thānadār* of Kalyan'.

P. 127: l.1: For 'the watchman' read 'the land-surveyor'.

Delete the text of f.n. 30 and substitute for it the following:

'30. *Mīr-deh*, lit. chief of the village. The position and functions of this official are described in Malcolm, *Memoir of Central India*, II, 13-14. In the Uttar Pradesh, he is a subordinate of the Qanungo, measuring the land at his direction (I owe this information to my colleague, Dr. Athar Ali). In the specimen village accounts in the *Dastur-al 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri*, the perquisites of the *mir-deh* are not included in the *k͟harj-i-deh*, but classed under the exactions of revenue officials and their agents.

P. 133: f.n. 19, l.2: For 'bot' read 'both'.

P. 136: f.n. 1, l.11: For 'the *Farhang-i Rahīdī* (s.v. *marzbān*' read 'the *Farhang-i Rashīdī* (s.v. *marzbān*)'.

P. 138: f.n. 9, last l.: For 'Glossary' read 'glossary'.

P. 147: l.3: For '*bratyas*' read '*birtyas*'.

last l.: For '(and *va'dal*) *Banth*' read '(and *va'dal*). *Banth*'.

f.n. 40: Delete ll. 2-11 and substitute the following:

'A *birtya* (i.e. holder of *birt*) may be defined as a *zamindar* whose right originated really or supposedly from gift by a superior *zamindar* and who paid land revenue to the authorities normally, but not invariably, through the grantor or his successor holding the title of *ta'alluqdar*. See also Elliot, *Memoirs, &c.*, ii, pp. 25-6.'

f.n. 40, l.12 & last l.: For '*brat*' read '*birt*'.

P. 148: At the end of f.n. 43 add the following paragraph:

'The sense of *giras*, particularly with reference to its association with, as well as distinction from, *zamindari* right, is clearly brought out in Malcolm's *Memoir of Central India*, London, 1824, I, pp. 508-10. "Gras", he says, was a contribution paid to the "Grassiah" by villages "on condition of being exempt from plunder". The "grassiahs" in Malawa were all Rajputs and in many cases were chiefs who had been driven away from the lands in their possession. Yet Malcolm carefully sets them apart from the Rajput chiefs proper who "have never drawn any subsistence from plunder".'

P. 154: l.6 from bottom: For 'dispute was often' read 'dispute we often'.

P. 155: f.n. 65, l.8: For '1219 (of A.D. 1672)' read '1195 (of A.D. 1672)'.

P. 160: f.n. 3, l.15: For '*bratyas*' read '*birtyas*'.

P. 164: f.n. 19, l.1: For '*qil'acha*' read '*qil'acha*'.

P. 165: l.9: For 'abnoxious' read 'obnoxious'.

P. 204: f.n. 35, l.6 from end: For '*nābud*' read '*nābūd*'.

P. 205: l.6 from bottom: For '*the Jama'* of' read 'the *Jama'* of'.

P. 208: f.n. 50 (continued from p. 207), l.18 from bottom: For 'become pointless' read 'becomes pointless'.

P. 209: l.11: For '19-Years" tables' read '19-Year Tables'.

P. 211: f.n. 63, Table I, heading of column A: For 'Average of the Minimum Rates' read 'Average of the Maximum Rates'.

P. 216: l.15: For 'year" establish' read 'year, establish'; and for '(*Nasaq-i juzv*).[79]' read '(*Nasaq-i juzv*)".[79]'

P. 222: f.n. 17, l.4: For 'q. 62a-63b' read 'f. 62a-63b'.

P. 229: f.n. 58: For '*Salāṭīn*' read '*Salāṭīn*'.

P. 246: f.n. 23, l.5: For '*Zimmī-i nādār*' read '*ẓimmī-i nādār*'.

P. 252: f.n. 17, l.3: For '(original). *iẓāfa*' and '(original), *iẓāfa*'.

P. 257: f.n. 1: Delete the text from after 'technical sense:' in l. 8 to the end of l. 10. and substitute the following: "*Jāgīr*, *jā'igīr*. Tract of land which Kings, *umarā'* (nobles) and *manṣabdārs* and (persons) of that kind confer in order that (the benficiaries) may appropriate its revenue (*maḥṣūl*) from whatever is produced by cultivation; and, in the terminology of the clerks of the Kings of Hindūstān, (the same as) *tuyūl*, and part of the country assigned for pay (*tankhwāh*) in lieu of the monthly salary (*māhāna*). Although it occurs in the verses of some recent poets of Persia, it does not belong to their own idiom. In Arabic it is called *iqṭā'*." (Nawal Kishor ed., p. 276; also p. 283).'

P. 261: f.n. 16, l.8 from bottom: For '*chitthī-i qismat* was' read '*chiṭṭhī-i qismat*, was'.

P. 287: f.n. 79, l.5: For 'office to the *Khalisa*' read 'office in the *Khalisa*'.

P. 297: l.1: For 'have seen' read 'we have seen'.

l.5 from bottom: For '*abāb*' read '*arbāb*'.

P. 298: l. 6: After '*amlāk*' read 'or *imlāk*'.

P. 299: f.n. 8, last l.: For '*akhz-i kharāj*' read '*akhẕ-i kharāj*'.

P. 316: f.n. 76, l.3 from end: For '*bishan-barīt*' read '*bishn-prīt*'.

P. 355: f.n. 10, l.2: For '42:39' read '41:39'.

P. 372: f.n. 12, l.4: For 'cities' read 'cites'.

P. 375: f.n. 33, last l.: For '*London*' read 'London'.

P. 380: l. 10: For 'of 'free" coinage' read 'of "free" coinage'.

P. 383: f.n. 15, l.1: For 'Lakhau lith.' read 'Lakhnau lith.'

P. 388: f.n. 10, l.7: For 'but worth' read 'worth but'.

INDEX